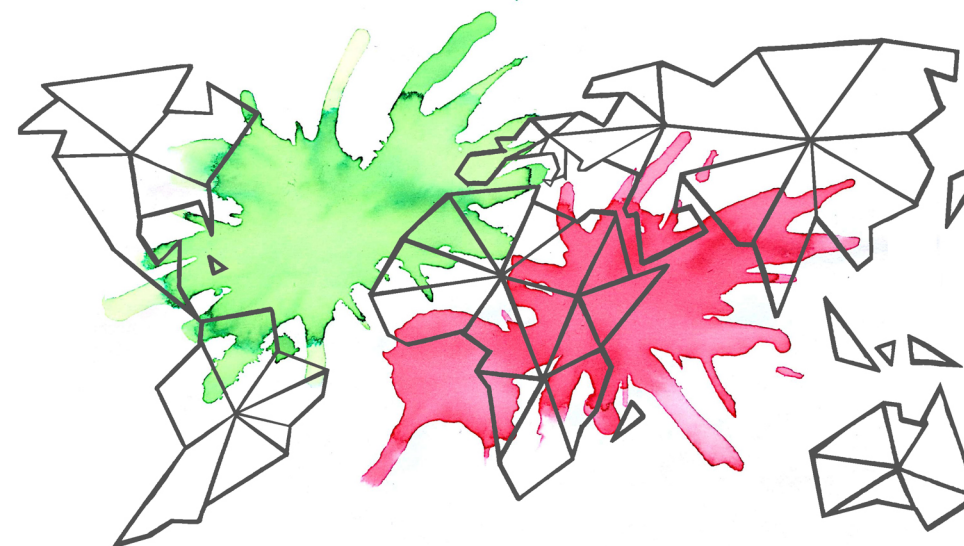


ITALIAN COMMUNITIES ABROAD

Multilingualism and Migration



EDITED BY
Margherita Di Salvo
and Paola Moreno

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Italian Communities Abroad

Margherita Di Salvo
Paola Moreno

This volume provides an overview of research on Italian communities abroad, and, thus, represents an important contribution to the recent wave of paradigm renewal in the field of migration (socio)linguistics of Italian. The contributors here are some of the most active and rigorous exponents of this renewal tendency, and here they discuss new approaches and paradigms for the sociolinguistic study of migrations.

Margherita Di Salvo is a sociolinguist with extensive experience in the field of Italian communities abroad. She has researched Italian communities in England for a project on “The Italian Identity between Local Particularities and Globalization”, directed by Rosanna Sornicola. She also investigated the Italian community in Toronto in collaboration with Barbara Turchetta and Massimo Vedovelli. She is currently Principal Investigator of the project “Transnational migrations: the case of the Italian communities in the UK (TransIt-UK)”, financially supported by Compagnia di San Paolo in collaboration with the “Federico II” University of Naples, Italy.

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We dedicate this book to the memory of Alberto Varvaro.

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INTRODUCTION

FOR THE STATE OF THE ART ON LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF ITALIAN COMMUNITIES WORLDWIDE

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1. Research from the past¹

The interest in (socio)linguistic studies on Italian emigration dates back to prescientific studies carried out by Nardo Cibebe (1900), Livingston (1918), Vaugham (1926) and Menarini (1947), who were interested in forms of language contact in countries of immigration.² The suggestions made in their works became the subject of systematic research in the mid-20th century, thanks to the progress in theoretical and methodological sociolinguistic paradigms: from studies carried out in contact linguistics, particularly Weinreich's theoretical classification (1953) and its subsequent applications on other groups of migrants (respectively Haugen 1953, Clyne 1967),³ to macro-sociolinguistics,⁴ from interactional

¹ Though the study was jointly conceived by the two authors, the sections were written as follows: Di Salvo is the author of sections 1, 2, and 3, Moreno is the author of section 4.

² For a review of this topic see Favero and Tassello (1978), Vignuzzi (1983), Bettoni (1993), Lorenzetti (1994), Bertini Malgarini (1994).

³ To this theoretical perspective belong the works of Correa Zoli (1973) in California; Bettoni (1981), in Australia; Kinder, 1985, in New Zealand; Rovere (1974, 1977), in German-speaking Switzerland; Franceschi (1970) in Costa Rica;

sociolinguistics⁵ to the analysis of the forms of linguistic expressions of identity. Scholars sharing an interest in Italian spoken outside Italy have long researched topics such as language interference (Timiras 1955, Franceschi 1970, Ursini 1988, Meo Zilio 1995),⁶ *language attrition*⁷ (Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983, Bettoni 1991, Berruto et alii 1990, Berruto 1991, Kinder 1994, Sorace 2004, Raso 2004, Scaglione 2000, Celata and Cancila 2008), *language maintenance* and *shift* (Bettoni and Rubino 1996, Di Salvo 2012, Moreno and Di Salvo 2012), forms of language contact (Auer 1984; Auer and di Luzio, 1984; di Luzio, 1991, Panese 1992, Bierbach and Birken Silverman 2002), and linguistic behaviour and variety prestige within a linguistic repertoire (Bourhis and Sachdev 1984, Gibbons and Ashcroft 1995, Smolicz et alii 2001).

Renewed interest was also brought about by the movement from an existentialist view of identity towards a constructivist perspective (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998), which is at the base of a relevant number of works all of which highlight how code-switching is used by speakers to express their own identity (De Fina 2007a, Giampapa 2001, 2007, Fellin 2007, Ciliberti 2007, Pasquandrea 2008, Rubino 2014b, 2015).

These studies, although carried out from different points of view, contributed to a general overview of the many Italian communities abroad. However, the data provided by Vedovelli and Villarini (1998) show how some areas of immigration had been investigated more than others: 41% of the studies they quoted feature Italian emigration to other European countries, 28% to North America, with only 10% to Central and South America. A similar distribution was observed almost ten years later by Bettoni and Rubino (2010) who linked it to the coexistence of demographic, socio-economic and political factors such as the number of people in the Italian communities, the economic resources and the political awareness in the countries of immigration of the need to invest in research studies on migration. We also believe that the presence in some centres of researchers interested in Italian emigration should not be underestimated.

Villata (1980, 1981) on Francophone Canada; Vizmuller-Zocco (1995) for Canada; Haller (2001) for the USA; Di Salvo (2011) on the contact with British English.

⁴ See Bettoni and Rubino (1991), Clyne (1967), Di Salvo (2011), Moreno and Di Salvo (2015). See also the chapter by Di Salvo and Turchetta in Turchetta and Vedovelli (in prep.).

⁵ De Fina (2007a, 2007b, 2015), Ciliberti (2007), Pasquandrea (2008), Rubino (2014a, 2014b, 2015), Birken-Silverman (2001, 2004).

⁶ See also Franceschini and Schimdt 1984, Prifti (2014), Schmidt (1990), Melchior and Krefeld (2008), Marzo (2004a, 2004b, 2005).

⁷ Wodak-Leodolter (1977) and Dorian (1981).

It is no coincidence, for example, that the boost in studies into Italian as a language of emigration in Switzerland can be traced back to Gaetano Berruto's stay in Zurich.

2. New migrants, new perspectives

In recent years the overview of Italian emigration has changed considerably. The changes it underwent together with the implementation of new interpretative paradigms contributed to redefine the subject of research and the perspectives by which it can be analysed so that recently new interests in the field of research have coupled with more traditional topics and methodological approaches.

Only in recent years, despite its consistency, has the phenomenon of new-migrations become a subject of study amongst linguists. I am referring in particular to the recent work by Vedovelli (2015) who, starting from the changed sociolinguistic characteristics of the new migrants (a higher level of education, an ability to read and write in Italian and competence in another language such as English), identified some elements which should be researched further:

- The impact of new linguistic environments on the new migrants, with particular reference to the stages and timing of L2 acquisition, in order to see whether the settlement trajectories and linguistic integration of migrants belonging to different migration waves coincide or not. In this perspective it is possible to assess the impact of some variables such as the role of a higher level of education in the new migrants, a more articulated linguistic repertoire at the time of departure, a previous knowledge of a foreign language such as English, the influence of various teaching methodologies, the possibility of accessing L2 teaching resources online, and lastly, the implementation of specific language policies aimed at migrant workers, especially in some North European countries;
- The relationship between migrants from different periods in the country of immigration, which appears to be highly complex and certainly problematic. On this point, Antonia Rubino (2014) recently showed that the new migrants do not relate to the migrants who preceded them and claim an impassable distance from them, which is exemplified in different linguistic behaviours. The new migrants in fact believe they can use both English and Italian without having to resort to mixed forms, which instead are

attributed, almost as a stigma, to migrants from earlier migration waves;

- The influence (in the historical communities) of the Italian spoken by the new migrants on the re-definition of the migrants' linguistic repertoires. Previous studies (Baldelli 1987, De Mauro et alii 2002, Giovanardi and Trifone 2012, Turchetta and Vedovelli in prep.) seem to indicate that current Italian could in fact increase the communicative functions within the community and concurrently favour the spreading of Italian amongst people who are not Italian;
- The linguistic situation of the children of new migrants, a topic which goes under the wider perspective of the maintenance of Italian;
- The aspects related to the readjustment, on a linguistic level too, of the new migrants returning to Italy. These can be viewed as carriers of (language) competences to the return areas.

It would appear that linguistic research needs to take into account the dynamics enabled by the new migration flows.

In particular, attention should be paid to intra-family dynamics which in new migrations are displaying new traits since contrary to historic migration, contemporary migration involves new protagonists (Colucci, in this volume). As shown by the *Rapporto Migrantes 2016*, Italian flows involve a growing number of people of different ages, with differing social and family roles, from children to pensioners all of whom are part of a trend of expatriation which is constantly growing:

Table 1 “Emigration Trend of Pensioners by Destination Area”

Continental Area	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Variation 2011-2015
Europe	1922	2189	2390	4059	3050	58,7
Africa	137	138	183	290	251	83,2
Asia	71	107	137	147	113	59,2
Oceania	55	58	57	223	377	585,5
North America	233	293	370	587	717	207,7
Central America	48	52	61	80	76	58,3
South America	185	222	259	263	321	73,5
Total	2651	3059	3457	5649	4905	85

Source: *Rapporto Italiani nel mondo 2016*

Table 2 “Presence of Minors and Elderly People by Area of Origin and Area of Destination”

Minors and Elderly People	First 5 Countries	First 5 Regions
Minors	Germany, Switzerland, Argentina, France, Brazil	Sicily, Lombardy, Lazio, Campania, Veneto
0-9 years old	Germany, Switzerland, Argentina, France, United Kingdom	Sicily, Lombardy, Lazio, Campania, Veneto
Elderly People	Argentina, Switzerland, France, Germany, Brazil	Sicily, Campania, Calabria, Veneto, Lazio
85+ years old	Argentina, France, Brazil, United States, Canada	Sicily, Calabria, Campania, Veneto, Lazio

Source: Rapporto Italiani nel mondo 2016

The growing presence of children and pensioners of Italian origin in the older established communities led to a redefinition of the linguistic repertoires present in the historic communities. Due to the presence of a growing number of Italian minors resident abroad, either migrants or born to families with a strong motivation to maintain the Italian language, it is ever more urgent to design and plan *ad hoc* initiatives so as not to repeat the mistake made in the past: that of losing a precious pool of users and Italophones.

The different competences of Italian migrants belonging to various migration waves are also at the base of the tripartite model devised by Barbara Turchetta (2005) who reported a greater competence in Italian and in L2 in more recent migration waves, showing how the intergenerational transmission of Romance varieties becomes diversified according to the migration wave and the level of education of the migrants. The greater Italophony of more recent migration waves has become a subject of study consolidated and also renewed by the interpretative model proposed by Vedovelli (2011). Starting from *Storia linguistica dell'Italia Unita* by Tullio De Mauro (1963), Vedovelli proposed to rethink the linguistic history of Italian emigration in terms of *parallelism*, *discontinuity* and *language shift*, concepts which allow us to interpret language processes occurring abroad in relation to processes simultaneously occurring within

the Italian national borders, from the creation abroad of shared linguistic models (parallelism), to the diffusion of Italian forms coexisting in the migrant communities, to residual dialect (discontinuity), all the way to the disappearance of Italian (and of Italo-Romance dialects) from the linguistic repertoires of the descendants of Italian migrants. For them, in fact, Italian is well and truly a foreign language, often pursued (even on a symbolic and identity level) but no longer part of their active competence.

Italian has become a foreign language both for Italian descendants and for the numerous learners who, for reasons connected to the positive image of the *Italy* and the *Made in Italy* brand, decided to study Italian, as recent studies have shown. These studies investigated, on the basis of previous works (De Mauro et alii 2002, Giovanardi and Trifone 2012), the presence of Italian in Ontario both inside and outside the ethnic community, breaking away from earlier studies which had looked at language transmission within the family and the community network (Turchetta and Vedovelli, in prep.). Within this research project entitled “Lo spazio linguistico globale dell’italiano in Ontario” the two threads of research share the concept of linguistic space, introduced by De Mauro (1980), continued by Banfi (2008) and recently discussed by Vedovelli, who suggests talking about a *global linguistic space* stressing how this must be able “to recompose past events (starting from the Unification of Italy) with recent ones concerning Italian migration” and “to interpret appropriately what is happening in terms of migration movements and population shifts in the current global world” (Vedovelli 2013, 308).

The reference to a global dimension is also central to the transnationalist paradigm which prevails in various fields of study concerned with contemporary migrations: from sociology to anthropology, from history to demography.⁸ In the literature of sociolinguistic nature we can find references to this matter in the studies carried out by Sornicola on the seafarers of Procida where, through the accurate analysis of their life stories, it emerges how much the attachment to one’s native land can influence one’s linguistic behaviour. As Sornicola states (2013, 186-7):

People who grow up in transnational families know in various ways more than one language and culture and develop a sense of belonging to more than one society which in turn favours the emergence of multiple or stratified identities, in a different way from past emigration experiences. [...] With new migrations the relationship with the hosting country is also different since now it is possible to take part in the economic, social and

⁸ For an overview see Vertovec and Cohen (1999), Szanton Blanc (1992), Miranda (1997), Baldassar (2009), Corti (2009).

cultural dynamics with more ease, exploiting at best all opportunities without the strong pressure exercised by integration, which in the past complicated migration experiences.⁹

Moreover, as recent studies of second generation Italo-Australian migrants have shown (Baldassar 2009),¹⁰ transnational movements are reflected in the re-definition of the migration experience itself which rather than being perceived as a completed process, with a final settlement, presupposes continuous movement, albeit limited to a symbolic and cultural level.¹¹

3. Old topics, new perspectives

Recent works have also resumed topics widely debated in previous literature, reviewing them from partially new perspectives which can be traced back to the new theoretical models but also to the changes in the Italian communities abroad. An example is the case of the relationship between Italian and an Italian dialect in the context of extraterritoriality about which, as late as 2010, Bettoni and Rubino (2010, 469) maintained there were “more opinions than certainties”.

Empirical studies on different contexts (Moreno and Di Salvo 2012, Rubino 2014a) confirmed the role of the migration wave in the growing Italianization of the Italian varieties migrated abroad, suggesting that migrants (and more so new migrants) have a more diversified repertoire than that of those who preceded them and whose language competence when they left was virtually exclusively in the local dialect.

On this point, Marzo (2015) and Gorla (2015) in their recent works carried out from different perspectives, attempted to contribute to the redefinition of the linguistic repertoire of the Italian abroad, partially taking into account what happened in Italy at the same time. The comparison between varieties spoken in the context of immigration and varieties spoken in Italy is at the base of the Heritage Language Variation and Change (HLVC) project,¹² coordinated by Naomi Nagy (University of

⁹ Our translation.

¹⁰ Cf. Baldassar (2009, 472). Along this line is also the research by Adele Miranda (1997).

¹¹ These aspects are also the base of some of the recent studies on return migration which suggested that the migration experience conditioned the language habits of returning migrants not so much according to the characteristics intrinsic to the varieties of their repertoire, but rather to the position each variety held in the family interactions (Tempesta 1978, Di Salvo 2014).

¹² See Nagy (2015, 2016), Nagy et alii (2014).

Toronto) whose aim is to study language variation and change in nine language varieties present in Toronto as immigrated languages, comparing them with the corresponding varieties spoken in the areas of origin of the migrants. This is also one of the objectives of the project “TransIt-UK. Transnational Migrations: the Case of the Italians in the UK” coordinated by Margherita Di Salvo (Federico II University of Naples). The project, resuming the theoretical and methodological approach of past research work (Di Salvo, Moreno, Sornicola 2014; Moreno, in this volume) aims at analysing the Italian varieties present in England from both an internal and a sociolinguistic perspective by comparing the varieties used by migrants who returned to Italy and those which are spoken by Italians who instead never left in order to contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms of language variation and code switching.

4. The present volume

The present volume hopes to be included in the recent wave of paradigm renewal in the field of migration (socio)linguistics of Italian; a wide scientific community, ever more bold and motivated, takes part in this renewal process and the experts hereby gathered are some of its most active and rigorous exponents.

For a few years now our consideration has been based on the assumption that new methodological approaches must be founded firstly on an accurate historical evaluation of Italian migration in general and on the specific contexts in which it took, and is still taking, place, giving unique importance to the comparative analysis of various migratory situations, usually analysed only in specific contexts, which have rarely been compared with one another. For this reason we placed at the beginning of the volume two important chapters with a strong historical and historicizing slant. The chapter by Michele Colucci provides a very accurate overview, presented by decades, of Italian migration from the Second World War to this day, emphasising with plenty of data the changes that Italian migrants experienced over time and particularly the different macro-sociological, environmental and structural factors which conditioned this evolution. We then felt it important to include the chapter by Vincenzo Orioles, which takes stock of the contribution to new sociolinguistics—and particularly to migration sociolinguistics—provided by a great Italian linguist, the late Tullio De Mauro (see Orioles, in this volume). Both chapters help to place the arguments made collectively by all the contributors to this volume in a perspective which inevitably

connects linguistic analysis to historical evaluation, linking it also to the history of this field of study.

The second section of the volume compares different geographical areas such as major Australian cities (Rubino), Anglophone Canada (Di Salvo), Croatia (Šimičić) and Francophone Belgium (Aresti). It has not been possible in this volume to entirely cover all the various Italian settlement areas. The comparison between the relatively few cases included here shows how much scientific needs and recent acquisitions converge regardless of the area under consideration, the languages spoken and the policies adopted by the host countries. We regard as an important result of our collaborative research, the fact that Rubino and Di Salvo agree on the effort to identify within the traditional category of “migration generation” distinctions which require suitable linguistic survey tools. Rubino observes how necessary it is to take into consideration the remarkable differences between the “older second generation” (the children of Italian emigrants who were born in Australia between the 1960s and the 1980s) and the “younger second generation” (the children of more recent Italian emigrants), differences which originate from the changed linguistic context of the motherland and produce considerable differences both in the speakers’ language practice and in their representation of their own language abilities. Di Salvo follows this same direction, observing how different are the characteristics of the first generation of migrants who settled in Toronto after the Second World War in comparison with those of the new migrants, by and large the result of the so-called brain-drain phenomenon which occurred in the last decade. The chapter by Aresti, although focussing on an individual case, ends with the same consideration: the need for a renewal of the theoretical sociolinguistic framework which should by now take into account additional variables other than the traditional variables of genre, migration wave, and age. Through the concept of “minority within a minority”, well suited to the Italian communities of older settlement in some rural areas of Croatia, Šimičić reiterates the need for adapting the theoretical framework to specific contexts trying not to apply, undiscerningly and without historical-geographical contextualization, generic categories purportedly valid for any time, any place, and any type of migrant community.

The third section of the volume has two chapters which attempt to link linguistic considerations to other fields, examining on a theoretical level the empirical observations discussed in the previous section, which, as already mentioned, are not devoid of theoretical implications. Bagna studies the impact that the evaluations related to the existence of a global market should have on language policies and on the studies on Italophony.

The representation of the “Italianness” and the Italophony, which spread at global level thanks to trade names and brands, is a field of study which involves not only linguists but potentially also economists, providers of cultural policies, sociologists, etc. Moreno too insists on the importance of a dialogue between fields of study and takes the concept of a “migratory career”, originally developed in sociology, as a cue for a renewed theoretical look at migration sociolinguistics.

In taking leave of this volume, many doubts and concerns overcame those who set the framework and tried to carry out the project to the best of their abilities. We ask the reader for leniency with the inevitably incomplete nature of our analysis and in exchange we offer our commitment to address in future investigations the issues not yet dealt with, and least of all resolved, raised by research still in progress.

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SECTION ONE:

HISTORY

CHAPTER ONE

ITALIAN EMIGRATION, FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO TODAY: DEPARTURE, RETURN, FLOWS

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1. The reconstruction

The history of Italian emigration since the Second World War has been mentioned many times, but has never been systemized in a uniform framework, probably caused by the diversity of the flows which characterize this phase. Emigration, internal migration, return migration, new immigrants from overseas, gather in fact and follow each other, forming a mobility and a structural body which are not easy to reconstruct.

Focusing on departures overseas, we can readily say that the mass emigration resumed after 1945 determined a massive displacement of the population, which was directed towards destinations already followed in previous decades but also to new destinations.

Already, beginning from 1945, we know that people who passed the border in search of work were numerous. These first flows made their way to the neighbouring countries, in particular France and Switzerland: within a few weeks the mechanisms had been put into action, legal or illegal, tried and tested for decades, which had guaranteed the exchange of labour. To organize and facilitate a regular flow, by the end of 1945, the Italian Government undertook negotiations with France and Belgium and tried to sign bilateral agreements on labour recruitment (Ballini 2009). Furthermore, in 1945 a debate had begun in the country about the needs and limitations for the recommencement of the involvement of political, intellectual,

business and union forces (Colucci 2008, Rinauro 2009, De Clementi 2010).

The available data show that western European countries were the preferred destinations for Italian emigration which flowed over three years, namely from 1946 to 1948. During the period 1949-1950 departures for Europe on the other hand dropped in favour of those for transoceanic destinations. These then accounted for 72.7% and 82.6% of total expatriates, respectively. Departures to European destinations regained importance in the five years from 1951 to 1955, when around half of the total amount wavered with the sole exception of 1954, and increased significantly in the next year, remaining above 60%.

In 1956 the emigration agreement that Italy and West Germany had signed began to operate on 20 December 1955. The beginning of a new cycle of emigration towards West Germany caused the overall redefinition of Italian emigration geography in Europe: Germany would quickly become the country which topped the statistics on emigration, together with Switzerland (Barcella 2012, Castro 2008). In addition, the regulation of migration was tied to the formation of a united Europe. In 1957 Rome signed a treaty which instituted the European Common Market (Del Gaudio 1978). The signing of the Treaty had very important consequences on the legal and legislative level: it changed the status of migrant workers in some countries and initiated a new phase—albeit with many contradictions—the Community management of the labour movement: Italian workers had become EU citizens, at least in France, Germany, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg (Romero 1991).

More generally, the two-year period 1956-1957 marked, in all countries involved in the Italian immigration to Italy itself, the overcoming of the phase of reconstruction, with very significant consequences on their labour markets, and the evolution of migration. As noted by Federico Romero, the transition from the emigration of unskilled workers to that of semi-skilled workers represented one of the most immediate consequences of exceeding the post-war reconstruction (Romero 2004).

Emigration after the war depended on many social and economic variables, as well as the difficulties of integration in the countries to which they emigrated. Those leaving often only hoped to scrape together small amounts useful for planning their future and that of their own family. Those countries who received the immigrants, did not want them to remain for too long: the countries that welcomed manpower did so under strict conditions and by linking the immigrant presence to contracts of employment.

In this framework many Italians had high hopes for the Americas or Australia: countries of abundance *par excellence* since the nineteenth century who had lost part of their male population and therefore needed workers. The furthest continents however were not easy to get to and it was not only a question of distance. The real problem was the restrictive policies already adopted between the wars and in some cases (the United States, for example) they remained virtually unchanged until the middle of the sixties. In other cases (Argentina and Brazil), a first opening and the agreement between the governments were later to be substituted with new restrictions, targeted to receive only technicians and skilled workers.

In this context, some countries attracted a number of immigrants, because they were relatively easy to enter (Australia and Canada), or for specific economic situations (the boom in oil extraction in Venezuela), or even for agreements between governments (Argentina). One had to consider, however, that even Canada and Australia had strict rules to curb immigration and that similar measures existed in Europe, for example in Belgium, France, Great Britain and Switzerland. It was Latin America that received the majority of those who set out to destinations outside Europe before 1960, but one must remember that countries such as Argentina began to show the first signs of economic crisis already in the fifties.

We have mentioned the government contacts and indeed in this period they played a certain role in the so-called "assisted migration", i.e. planned and controlled emigration—from selection to recruitment—of the Italian government in the first instance through the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, and later through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Candidates for emigration left in groups, the selections were exceeded and began, always in groups, over the border. The impact of this migration was remarkable: the paperwork of the Ministry of Labour kept in the central archives of the state, reported that in 1946 it counted for 28% of the total and in three years it rose to 39.7%, then declined to 37% and then soared to 42%. In 1950, controlled emigration was down to 24.5% again and continued wavering between 13.4% in 1954 and 34.7% in 1956. The post-war governments consciously favoured emigration, hoping that it would alleviate poverty and the political tensions of the Peninsula: the preparation of the organized parties was part of this choice.

We need to rebuild the general framework of the regional origin of migrants in order to grasp the real impact of emigration on the Italian reality. It serves in particular to understand the migratory dynamics of the regions in the years following World War II, but it must be read bearing in mind that in the same period, internal mobility in the Peninsula also gradually increased. In the Forties the region that topped the statistics was

still the Veneto, followed by Sicily, Campania and Calabria. Overall, at this early stage there was a certain balance in the distribution of macro-geographical area departures, particularly between the North and the South. However, it is quite evident that the Italian emigration in the Fifties became "meridionalized".

Illegal emigration ended up having a very wide range and over time was further disseminated around the world. Among those who illegally entered France, some ended up in the Foreign Legion or the French army and went on to die in the Indochina war. Others illegally entered Belgium, Switzerland, and later Germany, and even different American countries (Rinauro 2009). The clandestine departures phenomenon was also tied to a current of emigration "policy" that accompanied and sometimes overlapped with the economic one.

Many fascists left in the second half of the Forties, perhaps only for a few years, fearing not only the rigours of the courts, but also the climate of revenge after the war. Moreover, the defeat of the occupation of land in central and southern Europe and the electoral defeat of 1948 convinced many on the opposite side to leave the country. Often political motivations were not sufficient, but they were all the more reason for those who had already evaluated that departure was the best economic outlook.

The postwar period was marked by considerable political uncertainty in the management flow. The government favoured the diaspora, as we have said, because different administrators believed that emigrant remittances could also be a help to the Italian economic takeoff. But in some governmental structures there were those in doubt. In particular, many members of the Catholic world feared the consequences of the indiscriminate expulsion of the workforce: would the emigrants keep in touch with the homeland, and above all would they safeguard their healthy habits or would they be led astray by living in ultramodern countries which were predominantly Protestant? Similarly the forces of the left and even the union (in their broadest sense and not simply of the CGIL) were torn between the acceptance of a century-old reality and the idea that workers and peasants had to remain as much as possible in Italy (Di Vittorio 1947).

Meanwhile, the migratory movement became stronger and more institutionalized. Trade unions and religious and secular organizations undertook to assist migrants. The intervention alongside and in support of migrants thus provided new tools to understand the phenomenon, but this would be the story of a new period, which began with the Sixties.

2. The Sixties

In the decade between 1960 and 1970 the descending evolution of departure flows began to take shape which at the beginning of the Seventies would appear to be even more evident. At the same time the phenomenon of repatriation manifested with increasing incidence. The Italian emigration transformations in the Sixties not only concern the quantitative characteristics and in fact the whole layout of the Italian communities in the world which appear in motion, both from the associative point of view and that of their social composition. In addition, the impetuous rhythm of the economic miracle in Italy and its consequences have had a profound effect on the world of migration, from the development of internal migration to Italy up to the revolutions in the world of consumption and lifestyles, that began to significantly change the relationship between the areas of departure and destination abroad. The countries of emigration gradually became more and more "close" to Italy, not only because they were more easily accessible (for example, the diffusion of mass air transport occurred in those years) but also for cultural reasons. In the Sixties on the Italian scene some new mobility experiences were faced; we also began to see young Italians who travelled to European capitals for study purposes (and often remained there for many years).

By looking at the data on departures, the progressive reduction of emigration is immediately perceptible. The growing attraction of the Italian destinations of migratory flows determined by the economic miracle, however, forces us to deal not only with the purpose of emigration but also with a new geography of mobility: many emigrants returning from abroad did not return to their original settlements but went, for example, to the cities of northern Italy (Romero 1991).

Between 1960 and 1970 the annual departures for foreign countries more than halved: from 383,908 to 151,854. A slow and unstoppable hemorrhaging of emigration which, since the second half of the decade presented annual data which had never been as low since the end of the war, plummeted in 1969 actually far below the threshold of 200 thousand units. Emigration abroad was also presented as a direct phenomenon mainly of European countries, to which departures were far more numerous than non-European countries. That little transoceanic emigration boom in the Fifties had struck observers (especially since we had previously seen involved countries such as Canada, Australia and Venezuela less marked by the phenomenon) and had in fact been an exception—and Europe confirmed it—in the next decade as the most receptive continent for Italian workers.

Within Europe, Switzerland and Federal Germany had the lion's share (in 1947-48 it was already at the top of the statistics). The massive Italian emigration takeoff in Germany can be dated precisely in the transition from 1959 to 1960, when annual emigration grew from 28,394 to 100,544. The principle of free movement of workers between the signatory countries of the Treaty of Rome of 1957 was applied in practice only during the Sixties and especially favoured the rise of the movement of skilled workers.

Data on returnees also reveal the very marked turnover with European countries, to the point that in a few years (1966 and 1967) Italy had a positive net migration with Federal Germany. Compared to Switzerland, the Sixties marked a gradual change of reception policies. Due to the protests of previous policies and restrictions because of the changes that occurred in the labour market, Switzerland proceeded to make a redefinition of its laws on immigration, finding a direct application in the new agreement signed with Italy in 1964 (Corti 2003).

The new migration policy was defined as "stabilization": it sought not only to reorganize the mechanisms of entry to and exit from the country, but also to encourage forms of integration of foreigners. In this sense, the necessary working period in order to benefit from the resident permit was lowered to 18 months, it established the possibility to change jobs five years after the date of entry, and after another five years it was completely equivalent to that of a local worker. There remain however a number of discriminatory elements, mainly with regard to citizenship: foreigners were excluded in every respect from the possibility of participating in the political life of the cantons and there was a quota system which limited the presence of immigrants in certain economic sectors also organized by the so-called "business *plafondizzazione*", that is a quota system to limit the presence of immigrants in certain economic sectors. The protection of working conditions was still very precarious: 1965 was the year of the Mattmark dam tragedy, when half a million cubic metres of ice broke over the workers who were building the dam, 83 died, 57 of these were Italian (Ricciardi 2015). The catastrophe is still remembered by the Italian community, as well as the one that occurred a few years earlier in Belgium, in the Marcinelle mine in 1956.

From the mid-Sixties in Switzerland, the campaign against the so-called "inforestieramento" began (this is a term used mainly in Switzerland to indicate an excessive increase in the percentage of foreigners in the native population of the country), which culminated initially in 1969 with the Schwarzenbach proposal, that is, the progressive reduction of the foreign population in the country. That proposal was rejected in 1970 by a

referendum, in which the "no" vote prevailed with 55.5%. Across Europe, it is important to remember that Italians shared the migratory experience with a growing number of communities, not only from southern Europe but also from the rest of the world.

In Germany, 31% of the foreigners were Italians in 1964, 30.3% in 1966, 28.3% in 1968 and 16.7% in 1973. In the Sixties—after the agreement with Italy in 1955—Germany in fact signed similar treaties with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968) (Groppo 1974, Collinson 1994). Beyond Europe, the most sensitive data related to the final decline of departures for South America. The countries which were changed the most by the continuation of Italian emigration were Canada, the US and Australia, and only Venezuela in the first half of the Sixties came close to the latter. Indeed, Italy presented a positive net migration with Argentina for the whole of the Sixties, a country representative of Italian migration: if only 1967 and 1969 were excluded, departures for Argentina were lower than the returns from the same country.

Even for the non-European countries, the migration policies of host countries played a decisive role in determining the flows coming from Italy. There is for example the case of Canada. Until 1967, in Canada, the majority of Italians who had arrived after the war entered the country through the channel of "sponsorship", which was introduced in 1948. The mechanism provided that an Italian could legally enter Canada if a relative was already living there, willing to be a guarantor and to cover the expenses of the first period of settlement. Among the foreign communities in Canada, Italians were the major beneficiaries of such action, which involved, until 1967, the presence of Italian immigration to a low professional status.

The sponsorship mechanism in fact did not provide for any kind of professional standard and the newcomers for job placements had the possibility of being employed in areas related to ethnic entrepreneurship or other areas in which they did not require specific skills. As said, the practice of sponsorship came to an end in 1967: the Canadian authorities established the criteria related to professional qualifications for the arrival of new migrants—instead of sponsorship. The last stage of emigration to Canada—which ended in the mid-Seventies—was characterized by the arrival of skilled workers, already integrated into the labour market in northern Italy or into other emigration countries (like the US). In Australia, the signing of an agreement with Italy in 1967, brought an influx of new contingents of workers and arranged for the birth of Coasit, the Italian Assistance Committee. In the United States, the abolition in

1965 of the national immigration quotas recorded in subsequent years, on the increase of Italian emigration in the country, still hovered at what were then rather low figures. The quota system was in fact replaced by a system that included a number of mechanisms for access to migration, such as family reunification, vocational specialization, and the capacity of investments.

With respect to the action of the Italian Government, in the course of the decade there were ratified amendments and additions to the bilateral agreements already launched after the war. In this sense, there were two important milestones: the 1115 Law of 27 July 1962, which granted some compensation to the Italian workers suffering from silicosis in Belgium, and Law 302 of 10 March 1968, which guaranteed the health insurance scheme to Italian workers in Switzerland, including their families and cross-border commuters.

In confirmation of the centrality of migration, despite its quantitative downsizing, let us bring up the case of remittances. Remittances grew from year to year, except for the two-year period 1966-67, thus representing a major reservoir for the Italian economy. If remittances constituted a key element in the war to support the balance of payments and to prepare the economic miracle, in the Sixties they continued to grow, even surpassing the symbolic sum of one billion dollars in 1969.

Moving on to analyse the evolution of Italian communities abroad, the Sixties represent a decade of profound transformations, which can be reconstructed by following the paths of associations between the Italians who emigrated. In fact, gradually we can see the emergence of new social and cultural organizations that complement traditional mutualism. Patronage, trade unions, catholic and secular groups and political parties are still no doubt important landmarks but beside them new associations were spread, often born on a regional or provincial basis, that aggregate their members according to their geographical origin. This trend would strengthen considerably in the following years, partly as a result of the birth of the regions, which took on important responsibilities with respect to caring for the migrants and the relationship between the communities abroad.

3. The Seventies

The first fundamental characteristic to be highlighted with respect to the decade 1970-80 is that the Seventies were dominated by what was called, at a stretch, “the end of mass emigration”. And in fact in 1973, for the first time in decades and decades, Italy showed a positive balance in the

migratory movement of its citizens: the number of those who returned to Italy was in fact up to 1366 units with the number of expatriates. The 1973 data indicated a tendency that was on the rise, which was confirmed and partly strengthened in subsequent years. But we must carefully study the international economic environment of the period to understand in depth the reasons for this trend, and in this case we encounter the scientific literature.

It is clear that there is a close link between Italian emigration downsizing and the international economic crisis initiated by the so-called oil crisis. The migratory movement of the crisis must therefore be framed in the wider context of the international economic crisis: layoffs, closures of national labour markets, and the end of an expansive cycle of production which greatly influenced—in a determinate manner—the population movements. It is good to remember that in fact for some time (from the end of World War II) Italian emigration had been changing in depth. It was a flow characterized by increased seasonal and temporary migration and a very close dependence on national and even regional economic conditions. Above all, it was a movement directed mainly towards European countries; they suffered the effects of the "oil shock" the most. Of course, the first to pay the price of the economic crisis were migrant workers, the problem being that when they were not in a position to relocate in the labour market they were forced to return home. Therefore the Seventies were undoubtedly the years when emigration abroad was resized but they were also years in which the return home was configured as a kind of "contrary migration," because in most cases they did not voluntarily choose to return but this was imposed on them by the recently unfavourable circumstances in destination countries (Corti 2003).

A study of the regional distinctions of repatriates reveals that the countries which were most marked by the phenomenon are those areas traditionally linked to emigration. Take for example the year mainly characterized by the phenomenon of the decade, 1972, during which 138,246 Italians returned home. The region where the most people come home was Puglia (21,200 people), followed by Campania (17,830), Veneto (15,444), Sicily (13,055 people) and Calabria (12,760 people).

Compared to emigration, the overall trend was clearly downward; it went from 167,721 emigrants in 1971 to 84,877 in 1980: the outgoing flow from Italy was practically halved. Taking once again 1972 as an example, the regional distinction of emigration revealed that even in this case the first region was Puglia (21,685 emigrants), followed by Sicily (19,520 people), Campania (19,350 people), Calabria (16,975 people) and Veneto (13,293 people).

The connection between the economic crisis, the turnaround of net migration and the persistence of emigration at the centrality of the Italian economy was described to us in a very timely manner in the data on remittances. Well then, looking at the 1971-1980 period, there were two elements: on the one hand it was clear that the crisis also affected the remittance mechanism, and on the other hand it was clear that remittances—apart from the stoppages of 1974 and 1975—continued to grow significantly, indeed in some cases in a whirlwind manner.

The annual increase in the amount of remittances was in fact more than 10% in 1971, 1973, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, and 1980. Only in 1974 and 1975 did remittances decrease over the previous year, reflecting the effects of the crisis and of the repatriates. Looking at the regional figures, we can estimate the flow of remittances to the end of the decade, 1980. In this year, Sicily was the region where most savings were sent (213,027,000 Lire), followed by Campania (139,609 Lire), Puglia (136,722 Lire), Abruzzo (103,468 Lire) and Veneto (99,022 Lire). In the same year, 1980, the country from which Italians sent the most remittances was Federal Germany (829,739,000 Lire), followed by Switzerland (360,552 Lire), the United States (293,340 Lire) and France (243,629 Lire).

It is interesting to cite the final economic data which are related to the amount of retired persons paid by INPS Italians abroad. The total amount was 95.744 persons in 31 December 1980; precisely 46.121 in Europe, 54 in Asia, 506 in Africa, 20.399 in North America, 19.491 Lire in South and Central America and 9,173 Lire in Oceania.

However, the entire European migration system was being transformed in the course of the Seventies and policies and legislation also began to change. European countries in fact accentuated the restrictive measures on immigration policy, greatly complicating the procedures to welcome foreign workers. The first country to move in this direction was Switzerland in 1970, followed by West Germany in 1973 and France in 1974. The Italians, although partly protected in France and Germany by Community regulations, were subjected to these choices and at the same time in the same countries illegal immigration increased from non-EU countries. While the emigration of working men and women became more difficult, family reunions and the number of citizens living in the European countries were growing but still they managed to keep their jobs and in this way stabilized their positions. Also in this case a significant exception was Switzerland, where the procedures for reunification remained very harsh and particularly serious cases occurred such as that of clandestine Italian children who had illegally immigrated with their mothers to reach

their spouses and were of course heavily penalized because they were virtually living hidden lives.

From the point of view of the relationships between the Italian communities abroad and the Italian institutions, 1970 was certainly a year of change. The implementation of the constitutional provisions on the establishment of regions, in fact decisively changed the system of competences for policies for emigration and Italians abroad. With the coming about of the Regions, it was the latter who would progressively acquire the most important skills on migration, especially in the field of vocational training and social care. Parallel to these institutional changes, even the voluntary sector of Italians abroad changed appreciably. That tendency towards the regionalization of associations and the organization of groups, initiatives and projects related to the countries and already evident provinces of origin in the early Sixties was further strengthened and became dominant. Large clusters of Italian emigration in Europe and in the world were filled with cultural associations—recreational, economic and sport—formed by citizens originating in or by descendants of specific Italian territories.

These associations moved mainly in the cultural and economic sectors, also promoting trade exchanges between departure and arrival areas, twinning, the rediscovery of local identities through public initiatives and the promotion of the culture of origin. The associative structures were paying the price to be the most connected to political parties, trade unions and mutual aid that they lost importance in the internal balance of the community. Naturally, the birth of the Regions in Italy and their institutional leadership in the field of migration were greatly affected in this transformation. In those years it further articulated the Italian emigration economic presence which had by then expanded in many areas. Hence a new voluntary sector emerged, which organized its members based on their professional position: restaurant owners, the self-employed, and small and large business owners.

Public attention was increasingly oriented towards migration issues, an accessory probably to the wave of returns and the effects of the crisis. This focus had found, especially in the late Seventies, a remarkable correspondence also in scholarly initiatives, which had systematically begun, for the first time accurately and organically, to trace the long history of Italian emigration. Over the Seventies the flow of emigration recovery was registered that was even more related to political and social movements, although it was much less significant than in the past. The cycle which began in Italy in the years from 1968/69 was determined in fact in the years following a long period of conflict, which had an ample

criminal level aftermath. The resource of exile abroad then began to be practised by those who had legal disputes, or the need to move away to avoid risks, especially towards those countries which authorized extradition to Italy only for a few cases.

At the conclusion of a decade of this complexity, in 1980 an earthquake hit Campania and Basilicata. As in many other similar cases, even in 1980 the emigration resource proved to be one of the few possibilities for the population to survive with dignity. The earthquake revealed once again the social and economic contradictions of a territory of remarkable suffering and marked in a structural way by emigration.

4. The most recent phase

The migration scenario of the last thirty years was programmed in a very well-structured manner if we look at the relationships between Italy and the countries of emigration. Migration flows from Italy and abroad have attracted the growing attention of the public and the scientific world in the first direct glimpse of the twenty-first century. Coinciding with the anniversary of the international economic crisis, beginning in 2007, these flows were continuously placed in relation to the weariness of the national labour market, its consumption limits, the stagnation of the university and research systems, and more generally, the difficulty in ensuring one source of employment within Italy for the new generation, including the most qualified individuals in terms of training and specialization. This increased attention has led to a general media overexposure of the so-called phenomenon of "brain drain", which on closer inspection is only part of the latest Italian emigration, to the detriment of that consistent flow formed by working men and women, often precarious and very young people, used in various sectors of the international labour market, from catering services to manufacturing, to agriculture.

Looking at the data provided by the AIRE (Italian population residing abroad) and updated to January 1, 2016 the countries where the largest numbers of Italians are concentrated are Argentina, Germany and Switzerland. The AIRE data are actually able to restore only a part of the Italian migration experience, because not all those who moved abroad were registered and because a significant number of members are to be counted among the Italian citizens born overseas who have acquired citizenship only because they are descendants of Italians and thus they have not been counted in the migration scenario, as such since the last decade. The AIRE registry is still continuing to rise. In 2006 it counted 3,106,251 subscribers, it went up to 3,568,532 in 2007, 3,734,428 in 2008,

3,915,767 in 2009, 4,028,370 in 2010, 411,523 in 2011, 4,208,977 in 2012 and 4,811,163 in 2016. This is very significant growth, which in 10 years has seen an increase of more than a million and a half units. Just over half of residents abroad in 2016, reside in Europe (53.8%), while 40.6% live in the Americas (Rapporto italiani nel mondo 2016).

It is not easy to study the different types of migration that characterize Italians today. At a glance, we can identify 6 groups of individuals who for various reasons can be considered as Italian migrants. The first group is that of the emigrants who could be called "classical" working men and women who departed from Italy in general with a labour contract and who are engaged in employment, especially in industry and services, mainly in European countries. These are individuals who often come home at weekends to their respective points of origin and who keep alive a tradition of long-term migration, often linked to migratory chains with the workplaces of Germany and Switzerland, countries where this mobility is still very strong.

The second group is that of young people, graduates or non-graduates who leave without necessarily having in mind a precise destination and who find employment mainly in trade and catering, initiating mobility experiences that can last for a few months or continue for a very long time. This typology is linked to European countries but there are also experiences typical of overseas countries, such as Australia, where, thanks to the special working holiday visa, the number of young Italians has grown in recent years, engaged mainly in agriculture as their first work experience.

The third type is that of highly skilled workers, recruited in selected areas and directed towards all types of destinations, both in Europe and outside Europe. In this category we find employees in Italian companies abroad and foreign companies and multinationals. It is a slice of the labour market with very high mobility, which actually has not represented a novelty in recent years but has been identifiable albeit in different forms since the second half of the twentieth century.

The fourth type is linked to research and education, from Erasmus students to PhD students, from researchers to research executives up to full professors. It is a universe which includes the employees of both the public sector and the private sector, and this universe has spread throughout the world, with particularly high peaks in Europe and North America. The data on the so-called "brain drain" are not really easy to obtain. A good place to start is on research conducted in 2010 by Istat on PhD students who achieved their degree between 2004 and 2006. According to this survey as much as 7% of these scholars moved abroad

after obtaining their degree. Men tend to move away more than women and this tendency usually relates to educated families (with at least one of the two parents having a degree) and those who achieve their PhD at a young age (under 32 years). The so-called "brain gain", which consisted of different programs carried out by the Italian government in order to facilitate them, appears however to have failed. The data collected by the OECD in 2005 on the migratory movements of graduates had already signalled a tendency towards a negative balance in Italy.

The fifth type is closely related to the foreign immigration reality. Among those who in fact leave Italy to head abroad are many immigrants of foreign nationalities, who after arriving in Italy choose other destinations or are second-generation immigrants born in Italy. The international networks of the many communities in our country, given mobility by the recent economic crisis and the potential of European Free movement for citizens of EU member countries have encouraged the development of the international migration of immigrants already in Italy, or the children of immigrants.

The sixth type is linked to commuting, and is typical of those who cross the border every day to go to work abroad and perhaps return the same evening to Italy. These are the so-called cross-border workers who are present on the French border and above all on the Swiss side. It is estimated that every day about sixty thousand people cross the Swiss border *en route* to Canton Ticino. In the years between 2008 and 2012 in Ticino, multiple policies focusing on xenophobic political campaigns have increased against Italian frontier workers, so that the issue of the migrant labour of the Italians was one of the hot topics of the electoral campaign of 2011. The Italian migrations after 1945 represented a social and economic phenomenon in the middle of republican history and in the history of the countries affected by the flows. They enabled exchanges and relationships between territories that were distant from each other; they worked as a stimulus for growth both at the places of departure and at arrival points, guaranteed income and wages to the people concerned and their families, and had a significant impact on the composition and organization of labour markets. Most importantly, in the first ten years migrants paid dearly for their recruitment and working conditions, also experiencing forms of discrimination and social exclusion, and were deliberately ignored by the relevant institutions for their health and their rights.

The post-war European flows have had a more rotatory and circular character than in the past, returns home are numerous and often the stages of the migration path have touched different parts of Africa, passing through even the most developed areas of Italy. Despite this temporary

dimension, migration has put down solid roots in many states and second and third generations of descendants have been born. Private voluntary organizations have spread so much that in recent years there have been key contact points between Italy and other countries in the context of globalization.

Italian migration in the world today is an important aspect of the Italian economy. The choice of working abroad, also due to the economic crisis that began in 2007-2008, is a seriously considered option taken ever more frequently by younger generations. To understand and deepen the bonds between old and new migrations, which frequently and often—in the present and the past—affect the territories of origin and destination are still an open challenge for scholars and researchers (Filef 2014).

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CHAPTER TWO

TULLIO DE MAURO'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDIES ON ITALIAN IN THE WORLD

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1. Premise

In Tullio De Mauro's work there is a consistent awareness of the interdependence between linguistic and extra-linguistic data; from the point of view of De Mauro (who passed away in January 2017), what Saussure characterized in terms of *external linguistics* interacts systematically with the communicative practice of the *body of speakers*. A particularly useful test bench for the application of this perspective is provided by migration dynamics and in particular by the effects that the century-long Italian diaspora produced on the linguistic fabric of Italy but also on the overall, global balance of the "language market". Capitalizing on the careful synthesis made by Massimo Vedovelli (2017)¹ we will endeavour to trace a route through the most significant contributions that De Mauro made on the topic of "*Italian in the world*", with the aim of identifying crucial passages and turning points and highlighting the proposals which marked a "strong" discontinuity with the conventional mainstream interpretative framework. Here, as elsewhere, De Mauro proves himself to be a keen observer of transformations in progress which he was able to recognize as they were first developing, thus anticipating research methods which later became common practice.

¹ See www.treccani.it/lingua_italiana/speciali/DeMauro/Vedovelli.html.

2. Linguistic History of post-unification Italy

The first time that Tullio De Mauro thematises the condition of the Italian language in the world as a subject of research is linked to the *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita* first published in 1963. In a substantial paragraph entitled “Gli effetti dell'emigrazione” (De Mauro 1963, 51-60), he puts centre stage the effects of the great Italian emigration: this approach sanctions a real “interpretative fracture” with the past as it introduces a perspective based—this is the interpretation in Vedovelli 2011a—on *parallelism* for which

the linguistic dynamics which involved on the one side the Italian emigrants in the world and on the other the Italian society of origin, developed along parallel paths showing, despite distances and separations, similar or comparable outcomes. (Vedovelli 2011a, 38)²

Recently De Mauro himself rightly re-asserted such a priority reminding us, not without irony, that a reviewer at the time accused him of having given too much relevance to the linguistic effects of emigration dealing with it as if it were a “touristic-literary adventure” (De Mauro 2014b, XXVI).³

2.1 The method

Looking at the investigative techniques favoured by De Mauro and the perspectives which inspire them, the discontinuity in the areas of study regarding the analysis of migration contexts practised until then is clearly evident. There were two cornerstones on which the studies on Italian abroad were based. The first was the rhetoric of emigration supported by a symbolic vision based upon the projection of national identity beyond state borders, almost as if the diaspora of the Italians scattered around the world were “a global supranational entity, an enlarged State united by a common culture”⁴ (as pointed out in Sornicola 2012, 28). The second was the insistence on lexical features, on loanwords and on hybrids which had resulted from interference with the language of the host country.

But what is the methodological innovation which emerges from the *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita*? Against a conventional and inward-looking view, De Mauro firstly made available, as was his habit in

² My translation.

³ My translation.

⁴ My translation.

research, a series of significant sociodemographic indicators on “expatriates between 1871 and 1951” (estimated to be 20.753.005): but he did not stop at statistical data and focussed with great acumen on the analysis of what he called “the linguistic efficacy of Italian emigration abroad”. The extent of such an impact, assessed until then only by “searching for lexical Italianisms spread in other countries by emigrants and lexical exoticisms introduced into Italy by the same”⁶ (De Mauro 1983, 54), ran the risk of being underestimated; in reality—De Mauro specifies—emigration “influenced the Italian linguistic situation in a deeper and more complex way than it is possible to realise by cataloguing the exoticisms introduced by people in some Italian regions” (De Mauro 1983, 55).⁷ In this regard De Mauro's conclusions entail a seeming contradiction since “in terms of absolute figures and percentages emigration affected mainly those regions with a higher number of illiterates and, therefore, dialect speakers”⁸ (De Mauro 1983, 59), paradoxically emigration has become a factor in the Italianization of the peninsula.⁹ As Massimo Vedovelli highlighted,

remoteness did not mean separation of linguistic destinies. On the contrary, the emigrants themselves, with their financial remittances to Italy and their returns to the motherland, influenced both directly and indirectly the linguistic evolution of the nation.¹⁰ (Vedovelli 2011b, 36)

3. Global Italian Linguistic Space

Starting from the *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita* the “philosophy” with which De Mauro suggests looking at the migration universe begins to take shape. As is known, he opened the way to a new sensitivity, able to

⁵ Of course today we have up-to-date and updated estimates; see for example Turchetta (2005).

⁶ My translation.

⁷ My translation. By introducing in the *Rivista Italiana di Dialettologia* one of the periodic reviews proposed on *Italian and Italian dialects outside Italy*, Ugo Vignuzzi confirmed De Mauro's argument thus observing how relevant the studies dedicated to “surveying the penetration of the Italian (dialects) of the emigrants of elements, more or less substantial, deriving from the new linguistic context” (Vignuzzi 1983, 309 and for an example Menarini 1947) had been before the turning point in the 1960s.

⁸ My translation.

⁹ For an overall evaluation of the *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita* see Mancini (2013).

¹⁰ My translation.

consider the idiomatic balances of our country in terms of polycentrism and multilingualism. It is not by chance that he uses the expression *Italia delle Italie* which appears as the title of one of his seminal works (De Mauro 1987), first published in 1979. Consistent with this formulation, anyone who wishes to explore the language settings which appear in a situation of extraterritorial mobility cannot restrict the subject of research to the standard variety but must be open to taking into account—this is De Mauro’s standing—the complex variational and interlinguistic context in which the Italian communities spread around the world find themselves as well as the communication networks which they use to interact. The methodologies current in sociolinguistics as well as the results achieved by the “migration linguistics” of North American influence (from Haugen to Fishman)¹¹ must also be applied rigorously to these communities. De Mauro clearly mentions these assumptions in a manifesto appearing in the English preface to a study carried out by Camilla Bettoni.

Studies on the linguistic reality of emigrant communities presuppose the following:

- 1) an interest in the sociolinguistic dimension of variation;
- 2) a willingness to study all language varieties and not only the (real or supposed) standard varieties;
- 3) a methodology which fully accepts the need for fieldwork, even when this involves not only dialects, but also languages of higher culture; and
- 4) last but not least, a motivation, a drive to develop (1), (2) and (3), that is, a human, social and political interest in the total socio-cultural, anthropological condition of the emigrant communities (De Mauro 1986, 6-7, to which Prifti (2014, 13) rightly drew attention).

¹¹ *Migration linguistics* is not extraneous to the European scene; it is likely in fact that the name of the field of study has its origin in the studies by Thomas Krefeld (2004) in particular in *Einführung in die Migrationslinguistik. Von der Germania italiana in die Romania multipla*, Tübingen, Narr, 2004. Today *migration* or *migratory* linguistics “is an accredited field of study and it is recognised as particularly relevant in the understanding of the Italian linguistic event” (De Mauro 2014b, XXVI): exemplary models of such an approach are the monographs by Prifti (2014) and by Di Salvo, Moreno and Sornicola (2014). For a review dedicated to the evolution of the research models applied to the studies on Italian in a migration context see Bettoni and Rubino (2010).

There is a typical De Mauro concept which lends itself to being applied to the peculiar idiomatic configuration of migrant communities. I am referring to the concept of *linguistic space* devised “to emphasise the variety and variability of linguistic occurrences”¹² (De Mauro 1980, 108). Starting from the conceptual tool of “Italian linguistic space”, Vedovelli (2011a) later elaborated the idea of “global Italian linguistic space”, extending the field of application outside national borders.

4. Focus on recent Italianism

In the 1980s there took place a

profound redefinition within the system of motivational choices of foreigners who approached the Italian language: in the last few years the types of people and their motivations for learning Italian have changed as a result, in positive or in negative, of the changed perception of the Italian socio/political/economic system and its characteristics.¹³ (Bagna and Barni 2007, 529)

It started to be acknowledged that the success of Italian in the world depends on the fortuitous combination of traditional factors and recent causes: the value of Italian as a language of culture remains intact, and the effects induced by the great emigration, which took tens of millions of Italians out of the country, continue to play a role. However in the last two decades of the 20th century a third driving factor was added to the culture component and the identity component: the *made in Italy* brand. The unexpected success of Italian excellence in various sectors such as fashion, design, quality craftsmanship, cuisine, etc., takes centre stage and as a result it can be concluded that the products of Italian creativity

reflect the profound change which has taken place in these last decades within the economic-social reality of our country which moved from an agricultural society to a society where the tertiary sector largely prevails, and they export the idea of Italy as a country rich in prestige.¹⁴

Open as always to identifying the changes in progress within the Italian linguistic landscape De Mauro does not fail to identify the parallel transformations which affect the Italian language outside national borders.

¹² My translation.

¹³ My translation.

¹⁴ My translation. See also Bertini Malgarini (1994, 889-890).

Wondering whether “today Italian is still traditionally appearing to the world as it did some decades ago as the language of the *bel canto*, the language of the libretti by Da Ponte or Rossini or Verdi, the language of verses like *senti l’orma dei passi spietati*”¹⁵ (De Mauro 1990, 76), De Mauro intercepts and recasts a phenomenon which is all-pervasive today: the capillary diffusion of the Italian language in the semiotic universe and linguistic landscape, recently strongly thematised by Massimo Vedovelli and his school (suffice to mention Bagna and Barni 2007).

For the recording and contextualization of the original synthesis of traditional factors and recent causes of the fortune of Italian in the world and the initial assessment of the implications of this new trend I refer you to the accurate investigation carried out by De Mauro in collaboration with Massimo Vedovelli (De Mauro and Vedovelli 1998). The occurrence emerged in an overt and structured manner from a subsequent survey of the “motivations and audiences” of Italian abroad carried out on a global scale, *Italiano 2000*, which puts forward interesting theoretical suggestions and new interpretative models but also operational proposals, partly left unfulfilled.

5. An overview of Post-World War II

Up-to-date data and accurate considerations on post-Second World War mobility and on the new face of the *Italianness* in the world can be found in De Mauro 2014a (chapter III, *Dagli anni Cinquanta ai Duemila: cambiamenti sociali e culturali e loro riflessi linguistici*; § 2. *Emigrazione e immigrazione*, 62-67). Taking into account, as usual, quantitative data (on page 65 we are reminded that between 1974 and 2005 the migration flow decreased to 1,868,108 units; the emigration rate per thousand inhabitants, which had reached 17.3 per thousand in the period between 1901 and 1913, after the mid-1970s until 2005 settled to around 0.6) De Mauro observes that “during the years of the Republic the phenomenon of emigration abroad did not have the same significant effects on the overall population which the great emigration wave had between the unification of Italy and World War I”¹⁶ (De Mauro 2014a, 64).¹⁷

¹⁵ My translation.

¹⁶ My translation.

¹⁷ See Orioles (2014) for an overall consideration on the important changes which took place in the profiles which identify the “Italians in the world”, particularly with regard to the new target of the so-called *Italics*.

6. Conclusions

If much has changed *vis-à-vis* the then state of affairs, which was the subject of a stern warning formulated in the premise to the Conference Proceedings of the Society of Italian Linguistics in 1970 (De Mauro 1971), and if today the institutions responsible for the *governance* of Italian in the world are aware of its strategic, and not nostalgic, importance, much is owed to the significant impulse given by the scientific and institutional figure of Tullio De Mauro. Although there is still a long way to go, it is promising to see that institutions like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and the Dante Alighieri Society have undertaken a new course fully aware that the promotion of the Italian language and culture abroad is one of the main tools our country has to consolidate its status on the international scene and in language ranking.

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SECTION TWO:

GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE DYNAMICS AMONG ITALIANS IN AUSTRALIA

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1. Introduction

With over 900,000 people reporting Italian ancestry in the 2011 Australian Census, the Italo-Australians represent the largest non-English speaking ethnic group that is present today in Australia and 4% of the entire Australian population (ABS 2013). In spite of the geographical distance from Italy and the initial difficulties in maintaining contact with the homeland, the Italo-Australian community is characterized by high linguistic vitality. A combination of socio-demographic, cultural and linguistic factors has favoured such vitality, as demonstrated by much of the sociolinguistic research conducted so far.

Today, the various cohorts of Italian migrants—and their descendants—that are present in Australia are highly diversified culturally and linguistically. This is in the main the result of different pre- and post-migration conditions. The bulk of the Italo-Australian community is currently made up of ageing post- Second World War migrants and their Australian-born children and grandchildren. To these, we must add the Italians who migrated throughout the 1970s to the 1990s, albeit in less numerous waves, as well as young Italians who have been arriving in Australia in growing numbers in the past 7 to 10 years.

This chapter explores such sociolinguistic diversity among Italo-Australians, focusing on differences in linguistic practices and language attitudes, and accounting for current dynamics between different cohorts of the first and second generations. Such diversity can foster different affiliations and it can also cause problematic relationships. Indeed, while at this stage I am using “Italo-Australian” as an inclusive term to refer to all people of Italian background living in Australia, it must be noted that

labels such as “Italian” or “Italo-Australian” are frequently used as identity markers.

After a brief historical overview, I will first provide the broad linguistic context by presenting a quantitative account of the Italian speakers in Australia based on data from various censuses. I will then discuss the sociolinguistic situation of (i) the post-war migrants and their children, and (ii) later migration cohorts, taking into account the findings of past studies as well as current trends. The discussion about the post-war cohort is by necessity more exhaustive, due to the higher number of studies.

The main analytical focus is on the changes that have occurred to the linguistic repertoires of the Italian-born migrants and their children, in light of the factors that have promoted—or discouraged—language maintenance, including changes in the broad Australian context. Overall, the analysis will bring to the fore the following linguistic dynamics: firstly, the process of shift from dialect¹ to English in the transition from the first to the second generation. Secondly, the important role that dialect—often mixed with English—continues to play among the post-war migrants and their children. Thirdly, the increasing process of Italianization that has been taking place among Italians in Australia.

2. Migration from Italy to Australia

Italian migration to Australia has a long history dating back to the 19th century; however it became a mass phenomenon in the post-Second World War period, due to the dire conditions in Italy at the time. The highest number of arrivals was reached in the decade 1951-61, with an average of almost 18,000 new migrants per year and a total of 179,420 net migration (Castles 1992, 43).

The majority of post-war Italian migrants were day labourer agricultural workers from small rural villages and towns, with limited education. Six regions (Calabria, Sicily, Veneto, Campania, Friuli and Abruzzo) were the source regions for approximately 60% of Italian migrants to Australia (Ministero degli Affari Esteri 1982, 199), as the post-war exodus took place mainly through chain migration. The majority of Italians settled in Melbourne and Sydney, where they worked in the semiskilled or unskilled sectors of industry or became self-employed, as a way of escaping from the racism of the time (Collins 1992, 75). In these cities, as in other Australian capitals, Italians formed fairly clustered

¹ Note that in the Italian context a dialect is a language distinct from Italian.

communities from particular villages, towns and regions in individual suburbs, which facilitated language and cultural maintenance.

From the late 1960s Italian migration started to decline, due to improved economic conditions in Italy and easier access to employment in other nations of the European Community (Castles 1992, 70). Also the typology of Italian migrants changed, as more tradespeople and skilled workers migrated from larger cities, often as individuals, mainly in order to better their conditions. Throughout the 1990s migration from Italy reached its lowest, with a few hundred arrivals per year according to Australian statistics (DIMIA 2005, 62) and a few thousand according to Italian statistics that take into account a wider range of visas (CSER 2003, 10). As a result of the lack of new arrivals from Italy and the ageing of the Italo-Australians, since the 1990s the second generation, that is, people born in Australia with one or both parents born in Italy, has outnumbered the Italy-born (by nearly 30% in 1996, McDonald 1999, 5). While the highest number of Italy-born was reached in 1971, with 289,476 people (Castles 1992, 43), by 2001 the number had declined to 218,718 (ABS 2007).

Since the early 2000s, migration from Italy has recommenced on a much larger scale, due in the main to difficult economic conditions, particularly for Italian youth, and the availability of different types of Australian visas (Armiti and Mascitelli 2016). Although quite different both quantitatively and qualitatively from the post-war movement (Armiti and Mascitelli 2016), this recent migration is increasingly noticeable, particularly in large cities like Sydney and Melbourne, and has started to attract the attention of scholars (e.g. Baldassar and Pyke 2014).

Overall, the Italians in Australia are considered to represent a case of successful settlement both in terms of economic indicators as well as acceptance by the wider society (Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989). Indeed, in spite of the declining numbers of the Italian-born population, it is acknowledged that the Italo-Australian community has played a significant role in the Australian society, by contributing greatly to shaping modern Australia (Castles et al. 1992).

3. Home speakers of Italian in Australia

The “ecology” of Italian in Australia can be explored through the rich data of the Australian Census where a question on language use, generally formulated in terms of home use (Kipp and Clyne 2003), has been included since 1976. Census data provide insights into the broad linguistic dynamics both diachronically and synchronically. In addition to yielding

changes in the number of speakers, it allows the identification of relevant socio-demographic variables that impact the shift from Italian to English. Furthermore, Census data allow for fruitful comparisons among various non-English-speaking migrant groups. On the other hand, such data suffer from the limitations of self-assessed language use (Pauwels 2016, 44-45), particularly considering the complex Italo-Australian situation of trilingualism (Italian, dialect and English), and the diglossic relationship between Italian and dialect.

Between 1976 and 2006, Italian was consistently the most spoken home language other than English, and since the 2011 Census it is the second, after Mandarin (Table 1).

Table 1: The eight most spoken home languages in Australia

	1976	1986	1996	2006	2011
Italian	444,672	415,765	375,752	316,893	299,833
Greek	262,177	277,472	269,770	252,222	252,217
Cantonese	(29,903)*	(139,100)*	202,494	244,554	263,673
Arabic	51,284	119,187	177,599	243,662	287,174
Mandarin	(29,903)*	(139,100)*	92,360	220,596	336,411
Vietnamese	n.a.	65,856	146,267	194,858	233,390
Spanish	48,343	73,961	91,254	97,998	117,498
German	170,644	111,276	98,808	75,634	80,370

* Calculated as “Chinese”.

Sources: Clyne (1991); Clyne and Kipp (1997, 2006); Clyne (2005); Clyne et al. (2008); SBS Census Explorer. Possible discrepancies are due to the fact that sometimes people under 5 years of age are not included.

As shown in Table 1, between 1976 and 2011, Italian home speakers decreased by 32.6%, mainly due to the lack of new arrivals. In fact, as shown in Table 2, in the 2011 Census, among all those who reported Italian as their home language, those who arrived in the 1950-1960 decade were in the thousands, whereas they were in the hundreds in the following

decades. Italian home speakers tend to increase throughout the 2000s, at least partly as a result of recent migration flows.²

Table 2: Speakers of Italian by selected years of arrival (2011 Census)

Year of arrival	Number of home speakers
1950	4,361
1956	9,875
1960	8,139
1970	3,683
1975	766
1979	527
1983	319
1990	317
2000	438
2010	1,075

Source: SBS Census Explorer.

Due to declining arrivals, the bulk of Italian home speakers are increasingly in the older age brackets. In 2011, the largest group (9.1%) was in the 75-79 year bracket for men and in the 70-74 year bracket (9.7%) for women (SBS Census Explorer).

Overall, the Italians display a relatively good rate of intergenerational language transmission. Table 3 presents home usage of Italian in various censuses and across generations, showing that the large majority of the Italy-born and well over 40% of the second generation report using Italian at home.

Table 3: Use of Italian among first and second generation Italians

	First generation	Second generation*
1991	87.7%	48.4%
1996	83.7%	40.2%
2001	82.8%	--
2011	80.7%	--

Sources: Clyne and Kipp (1997); Kipp and Clyne (2003); ABS (2012); Karidakis and Arunachalam (2016).

* The Table does not distinguish between speakers with one or both parents born in Italy.

² The Australian Census records all people present in Australia on Census day, irrespective of their visa status.

Since 2001 the question on the parents' birthplace has been removed from the Census (Kipp and Clyne, 2003), therefore it is no longer possible to have comparative data about language maintenance among the second generation. Yet, the relative vitality of Italian is attested by the fact that in 2011, 43.9% of those reporting home usage of Italian were born in Australia (ABS 2012). Furthermore, by accounting for only home usage, Census data underestimate the number of Italian speakers among the second generation, given that many of them would use Italian (or dialect) only in their parents' home (Cavallaro 2010).

As shown in Table 3 and as acknowledged by a long tradition of studies (e.g. Clyne 1991), generation is a crucial factor that influences language maintenance/shift. Other factors that appear to be at play among the Italians in Australia are age, gender and marriage patterns. Table 4 illustrates the relevance of age among the Italy-born, as the younger speakers and those still at work tend to use more English compared with older and presumably retired people.

Table 4: Shift to English and age among the Italy-born in Australia (2011)

Age	Shift to English
65+	9.4
35-64	30.5
15-34	19.5
5-14	21.4

Source: Karidakis and Arunachalam (2016)

The use of English is normally higher among first generation males than females (e.g. 22.3% vs. 13% respectively in 2011, Karidakis and Arunachalam 2016, 6). With regard to marriage patterns, the shift to English is generally higher among people with non-Italian-background partners as well as the children of exogamous marriages.

Although the duration of residence and the specific period of arrival may be important factors in influencing the shift to English, they seem to be less influential among the Italy-born than for other groups (Karidakis and Arunachalam 2016, 9). Table 5 shows the relatively low variation in the rate of shift across different migration waves from Italy. Notice the inconsistent trend, with a higher rate in the decade 1980-1989 compared with the previous period. As language maintenance/shift is the result of different sets of factors (Clyne 2003, 69), it is possible that in the case of the Italians, the length of residence and the time of arrival are counterbalanced by other factors, for example family networks and/or

settlement patterns (Kipp et al. 1995, quoted in Karidakis and Arunachalam 2016, 7).

Table 5: Shift to English, duration of residence and period of arrival among the Italy-born (2011)

Period of arrival	Shift to English
Pre-1980	17.8
1980-1989	19.2
1990-1999	16.2
2000-2004	14.6
2005-2011	12.5

Source: Karidakis and Arunachalam (2016)

In a comparative perspective, Census data show that the Italians maintain their language(s) more and for longer than other groups with a similar history of migration in Australia, such as the Germany-born, but less than others, such as the Greece-born.

Table 6: Shift to English among selected ethnic groups

Place of birth	1991		1996		2001	2011
	First gen. %	Sec gen. %	First gen. %	Sec gen. %	First gen. %	First gen. %
Germany	42.4	88.7	48.2	89.7	54	52.7
Italy	11.2	49.8	14.7	57.9	15.9	17.8
Greece	4.4	21.0	6.4	28	7.1	7.4

Sources: Clyne and Kipp (1997); Kipp and Clyne (2003); ABS (2012); Karidakis and Arunachalam (2016)

Table 6 shows that well over half of the Germany-born and the large majority of their children report using English at home. This contrasts with the Greece-born and their children, where the shift is well below 10% and 30% respectively. In the overall scale of shift among migrant groups, the Italo-Australians appear to occupy an “intermediate” position (Kipp and Clyne 2003).

4. Linguistic practices and attitudes in post-war migration

4.1 *Post-war migrants*

Given the widespread use of dialect in post-war Italy (De Mauro 1970), particularly in small rural centres and highly depressed regions, the majority of Italians who migrated in the 1950s and 1960s spoke dialect as their dominant language. Although they display a good competence of (mainly) popular-regional Italian, dialect is also the language that by and large they have continued to use in Australia. Post-war migrants acquired English at varying levels depending on a range of factors such as age on arrival, occupation and the general degree of integration. For example, in the 2006 Census, 35% of the 65+ Italian speakers reported that they did not speak English well or not at all (SBS Census Explorer). The dynamics between dialect, Italian and English in post-war migrants' speech have been investigated extensively, and through a range of different approaches.

At the community level, a project conducted through the sociology of language approach among two large regional groups, the Sicilians and the Venetians (Bettoni and Rubino 1996, Rubino 2014a) identified the broad patterns of self-reported language choice by first and second generations in a range of domains, the family in particular. The findings show that post-war migrants use dialect predominantly with family and friends, and Italian with Italians from other regions and in more formal situations, such as at work or in transactions. This confirms that the pre-migration diglossia is maintained in the new context.

At the micro-sociolinguistic level, research has yielded insights into post-war migrants' ability to vary their language choices according to situational and discourse variables in addition to the speaker's variables. Importantly, such research has also uncovered linguistic practices widely used in conversation, such as language mixing and code-switching.³

With regard to situational and discourse variables, interview data (e.g. Bettoni 1985, 1986) show that as a result of the type of interlocutor (normally an Italian-speaking academic) and the formality of the interview setting, post-war migrants tend to select Italian as the unmarked choice throughout the interaction, and minimize dialect or English—and even

³ Code-switching here refers to the juxtaposition of two languages within the same conversation as a contextualisation strategy (Gumperz 1982); and a point in the interaction that involves a renegotiation and change of the base language (Auer 1984). Language mixing refers instead to the use of more than one language at one time without any local function (Auer 1999); and where it is difficult to establish the base language.

more so language mixing. Furthermore, the influence of dialect and English on Italian occurs in different degrees according to the speaker's variables, either socio-demographic (e.g. age upon arrival, level of education) and/or linguistic (e.g. competence in each language). Italian is chosen as the unmarked language also in a different discourse type, namely, spontaneous conversation, in the case of interlocutors that similarly contribute to framing the situation as formal. For example, conversations with italophone strangers (Rubino 1990), or with academic researchers from Italy (Ciliberti 2007) tend to elicit Italian. Changes in the relationship between participants, and increased intimacy, can influence language choice, from Italian towards dialect or increased language mixing (Rubino 1990).

Recent analyses of data from a talk back program broadcast by an Italian radio station confirm that for dialectophone post-war migrants Italian is the “high” language to be used in formal contexts, and mixing is to be avoided (Rubino 2012, 2016). In (1), in referring to a reclining chair that she wants to sell Carmela employs the English term, however this is soon followed by a description in Italian:

(1)⁴

c'ho la **reclining chair** chiamata questa grande poltrona che si fa a letto †

[I have a reclining chair as it is called, this big armchair that becomes a bed]

On the other hand, in the informal context of the home, post-war migrants resort to a very flexible linguistic norm, with frequent dialect-English (and sometimes Italian) mixing. Excerpt (2) shows an everyday conversation between post-war Sicilian migrants husband Carlo and wife Anna (Rubino 2014a, 103).

⁴ Transcription criteria: † ascending intonation; ::: phonemic lengthening; = latching; [overlapping; - false start; (() situational notations; (.) short pause; (...) omitted text; (?) unclear; > < fast talk; + self or other interruption of word; * names of people or places that have been omitted. Capital letters indicate louder talk. Sicilian retroflex consonants are underlined. Plain font is used for Italian, Italics for dialect and small caps for English. English borrowings are transcribed in the font of the receiving language and in bold.

(2)

1	Carlo	<i>cci dissi quantu quantu travàgghiu ddà chi cc'è dda màchina ddà pi ppitturalla</i>	I said so much work to paint that car
2	Anna	<i>yeh?</i>	
3	Carlo	<i>uh::: e cca ddà cu li sprai clina [spray cleaner] cci a ffari</i>	I have to do it with the spray gun
4	Anna	<i>sprai clin [spray cleaner] cci a ffari?</i>	do you have to use the spray gun
5	Carlo	<i>pi ppitturari lu culuri: è troppu hard a ppitturari cù brush cci a ffari nanticchia culuri cù brush ntà rrùggini >ma è troppu hard n+ non pigghia everywhere capisti? ca:: a: ficiru: [quannu ficiru a: màchina<</i>	to paint it it's too hard to paint it with the brush I have to do a little bit with the brush on the rust but it's very hard it doesn't stick everywhere, do you understand? because when they made the car

Of particular note is turn 5, where Carlo resorts extensively to Sicilian-English mixing. This can be explained by his effort to describe his work while emphatically conveying the difficulties encountered, as evidenced by the repetition (e.g. the phrase “è troppu hard”) and the fast pace of talk. Both parents' preference for Sicilian-English mixing in talking to each other is a mode of speaking that can be considered indexical of their identity as Sicilian migrants in Australia.

Alternation between dialect and English and/or Italian can also be employed by Italo-Australians as an effective resource to mark particular discourse meanings or signal different identities and social roles (Rubino 2015).

A factor that has long been recognized as crucial in the process of language maintenance is the attitudes that speakers hold towards the language varieties that they use (Kloss 1966). A few specific studies in the socio-psychological perspective (Bettoni and Gibbons 1988; Hogg et al. 1989), abundant observations, and numerous comments emerging from recorded data reveal that in general post-war migrants attribute low prestige to dialect in spite of their emotional attachment to it. For example, while they refer to their dialect as “la nostra lingua” (“our language”), they take on an apologetic tone when explaining that it is the language used at home (Rubino 2014a, 95).

Dialect is even more censored when mixed with English, as demonstrated by a matched guise study (Bettoni and Gibbons 1988) where the “heavy” mixtures (considerable English transference on a dialect base) were more negatively rated than the “light” mixtures (light English

transference on a regional Italian base). Negative attitudes towards language mixing also emerge when post-war migrants apologetically refer to their home speech as “mixed up”, as in the case of this woman from Veneto:⁵

(3)

un poco di tutto (.) tutto mischiato (.) un poco italiano un poco inglese un poco dialetto (.) è tutto mischiato così (.) ‘gnerebbe parlare l’italiano per far prendere l’italiano ai figli

[a bit of everything, all mixed up, a bit Italian a bit English a bit dialect, it’s all mixed up like this, we should speak Italian to teach it to the children]

As evident in (3), post-war migrants value Italian, especially when “pure” and they often regret not having made a bigger effort to use it with their children, although they also acknowledge how difficult it was at the time. Overall, these negative attitudes associated with dialect and language mixing, are considered a factor that has favoured a shift from dialect to English among post-war migrants (Bettoni and Gibbons 1988).

4.2 The “older” second generation

Today the second generation comprises two main groups: the children of post-war migrants, that is, the “older” second generation, now in their 50-60s; and the children of those who migrated in the 1970s, the “younger” second generation, now in their 30-40s. To these we must add the lower numbers of the children of those who have migrated since the 1980-1990s.

The first language of the “older” second generation in a chronological sense is their parents’ dialect that was used extensively within the home. In (4) Franco, a Sicilian man born in 1953 (interviewed in 1984) talks about the language spoken by his parents while he was growing up:

(4)

loro m’inzignaru u sicilianu quann’era bambino e a casa (.) parlamu u sicilianu (.) sicilianu u pallu peffettu

[they taught me Sicilian when I was a child and at home we speak Sicilian, I speak perfect Sicilian]

⁵ Some of data reported here are from the 1985 Bettoni corpus. I thank Camilla Bettoni for letting me use it.

In the above-mentioned project among Sicilians and Venetians, the “older” second generation (then in the 35-44 age bracket, today +55) reported using much more dialect at home than the “younger” second generation (then below 34), in particular when addressing older relatives (Bettoni and Rubino 1996, 61, Rubino and Bettoni 1991, 71).

The “older” second generation grew up at a time when Australia was strongly assimilationist, the “English only” ideology was highly enforced and there was little space for migrants’ languages and cultures. Dialect, therefore, was not used outside the home, as speaking languages other than English was highly censored. Rose, a 65 year old woman (interviewed in 2016) grew up speaking Calabrian dialect. In (5) she explains that when she was little, outside the home she would never speak anything but English because of the rampant racism by the children in her primary school:

- (5)
quando eru piccola no pallava quasi di nienti perché mi:: HOW DO YOU SAY
 (.) YEH *picchi* THEY MADE FUN OF US ALL THE TIME THAT WAS *era bruttu*
quannu eramu piccolo YOU KNOW

[when I was a child I didn’t speak at all because HOW DO YOU SAY (.) YEH *picchi* THEY MADE FUN OF US ALL THE TIME THAT WAS it was bad when we were young]

From the time they started school or even earlier, through older siblings (Bettoni 1986), second-generation Italo-Australians began to use English as their dominant language while continuing to use dialect at home, often increasingly mixed with English. For many of the “older” second generation English was the only language that they developed into an adult language, as the language of education and the one used in the full range of social functions. Many of them never learnt Italian formally, as learning and teaching Italian (or other languages) was not common or popular throughout the 1960s. In any case, as Italian was then taught as a “language of culture”, it was of little relevance to the children of migrants (Totaro 2005, 206). While the proximity between dialect and Italian, and some exposure within the community favoured a good comprehension of Italian, the ability to speak it or to keep dialect and Italian—and English—apart varied a great deal. In (6) Franco talks about his difficulties in Italian:

(6)

quanno que-quelle che pallano i scento pe cento italiano (.) ci sono parole che *dicinu* che n io (.) non capisco quello che vonno dire (.) a po *si mettemu* u pochetto a (.) mi mi *trattennu* (.) **and** ma insomma ma *m'arranciu anyway*

[when those who speak Italian one hundred per cent, there are words that they say that I don't understand what they want to say, and then they do (?) a little, and I refrain myself [from speaking] but anyway I can manage (in Italian)]

Some studies conducted in the 1980s and 1990s explored the limited Italian proficiency of the second generation in an interview situation. The analysis focused on the high and non-systematic variability between Italian and dialect forms and their use of extensive code-switching from Italian or dialect to English, to overcome linguistic incompetence (Bettoni 1985, 1986; Kinder 1994, Rubino 1987).

Even for those who did study Italian, formal instruction was often not very effective. As teachers normally operated with very mixed groups, they did not have the possibility—or the ability—of taking into account the Italian students' previous linguistic and cultural knowledge. On the contrary, teachers often censored any “slippage” into dialect, thus discouraging motivation to improve. The language learning experiences of some dialectophone Italo-Australians have been investigated in a recent study by Frangiosa (2017). Overall her participants recall school programs that were not stimulating or challenging, where English was generally the language of instruction, the language content was at a very basic level, and the cultural content did not account for their backgrounds. While Italian schooling was acknowledged as having an impact in developing literacy skills and providing additional language input, Frangiosa's participants were far less confident in their Italian skills than in their dialect skills, and reported a very limited use of Italian in their current lives.

In the matched guise test by Bettoni and Gibbons (1988, 1990), the “older” second generation of today did not display the same emotional attachment as the first generation to the Italian varieties, dialects and mixtures included in the test, yet they rated all varieties more favourably. Although admittedly some informants may not have distinguished between Italian and dialect, the two scholars explain this result on the basis of an attitude of respect from the younger Italo-Australians towards their parents' language varieties, as the latter were probably seen in connection with their rich cultural heritage. In spite of such positive attitudes, however, the “older” second generation usually shifted from dialect almost exclusively to English in their own homes. Even though

they displayed more favourable attitudes towards Italian than dialect, their linguistic insecurity and their lack of confidence in their Italian skills explain why they have not used Italian with their children (Cavallaro 2010).

Today, for many “older” second-generation Italo-Australians, dialect—or dialect-English mixing—is an essential resource while caring for their ageing parents and more generally to communicate with older relatives. Furthermore, the “older” second generation appears to value dialect as an important element for family cohesion. Indeed, Frangiosa’s participants (2017) refer to dialect as the only language that they would speak to their parents, displaying a strong attachment to it. Anecdotal evidence and observations also indicate that for the “older” second generation dialect (and language mixing) can represent a useful resource beyond the immediate family. For example, Rose values her knowledge of dialect because it has given her a strong understanding of Italian, which was helpful to her at work. Frangiosa (2017) also found that the “older” second generation extensively use dialect in interacting with relatives in Italy, either on the phone or while visiting them. While travelling in Italy, this is the email sent by Rose: “My Italian is going very well. I have never had to converse with so many people outside my family before but am doing well. Everyone is understanding me thank goodness”.

Interestingly, sometimes the “older” second generation today regrets having opted for an English-only household, as was found by Rapone (2014, 201-202) in her study of migrants from Abruzzo living in Griffith, a large rural town in New South Wales. Several of her middle-aged participants reported that their children were now asking them to speak to their grandchildren in Italian. Similarly, Rose regrets her decision of not using her “Italian” with her children, a decision taken in the past on the basis that “*picchi non parlavo ehm l’italiano bbuono*” (because I didn’t speak good Italian).

5. Linguistic practices and attitudes of later migration cohorts

5.1 Italian migrants from the 1970s

As a result of profound socio-economic and socio-cultural changes, from the 1960s Italians started to shift rather quickly from dialect to Italian (Doxa 1996). Therefore, the linguistic repertoire of the Italians who migrated to Australia from the late 1960s also differed markedly from that of the post-war migrants. Knowledge and use of dialect were still

widespread, depending on the migrants' socio-economic and educational background, type of occupation and region of origin. Yet, migrants increasingly spoke as their first language a regional (i.e., marked at the phonological, prosodic and lexical levels) and more frequently a regional-popular (i.e., marked also at the grammatical level) variety of Italian rather than a dialect. Competence of Italian was also favoured by their higher educational levels attained in Italy.

With regard to the migrant community, by the 1970s the Italo-Australians became more organized (e.g. through the establishment of many regional and national associations), and overall more italoophone. An important factor to consider is that since the 1970s, it became increasingly easy for migrants in Australia to maintain contacts with Italy. Initially this was the result of cheaper phone calls and cheaper air fares. Since the 1990s, increased access to Italian media and especially technology (e.g. skype, email, mobile phones) aided considerably in beating the tyranny of distance.

As observed above, the host society is also very relevant to the shaping of the migrants' linguistic outcomes. During the 1970s Australia embraced a multicultural policy, through which linguistic and cultural diversity was acknowledged, respected and promoted. This also favoured the use and maintenance of Italian. For example, Italian became the most widespread language in schools (Slaughter and Hajek 2015). Furthermore, following its economic boom of the 1980s, Italy started to exercise a strong appeal to Australians by projecting the image of a modern and sophisticated nation. Throughout the 1990s, Italian products and style proved attractive to middle-class Australians, who became more attentive to home décor and fashion. Consequently, broad attitudes towards Italians and all things Italian also became more favourable.

Sociolinguistic studies of the Italians who migrated throughout the 1970s and 1980s are very scarce. Yet, an in-depth study of spontaneous conversations gathered within a Sicilian family who arrived in 1969 (Rubino 2014a) shows that their linguistic practices are quite different from those of the post-war migrants. Although all family members resort to dialect as their preferred language, they also employ Italian as an important resource, either on its own or more frequently in alternation with Sicilian. Furthermore, they draw on English only to a limited extent. In (7), Mario, the father, is trying to tell his wife Teresa how to identify real bargains ("special") in the shops (Rubino 2014a, 172-173).

(7)

1	Father	[ora tu ti devi calcolare Teresa <i>quannu tu vai ni</i> *]	now you have to calculate when you go to *
2	Mother	<i>ca poi era di menu picchè [era special</i>	because it was less because it was on special
3	Stephanie	[<i>tu a vvardari</i>	you have to look
4	Father	<i>ca vai ddani</i> (.) <i>rici mittemu sta cosa chi costa tantu scritta</i> (.) <i>chista co ca poi vai ddani</i> (.) <i>unni c'è special o chiddu ca sia e viri</i> (.) confronti i pe+ i prezzi ca ci stanno NOMMALE QUA (.) e <i>ddà special</i> (.)	and you go there, let's say this item how much is this, so and so, then you go there where there are special deals or whatever and you see, you compare the prices, that there is normal here and special there

In arguing with his wife, Mario switches between Sicilian and Italian, frequently to signal a particular speech activity. For example, in turn 4, he employs Italian to reformulate in more abstract terms what he has just exemplified in Sicilian. Notice how in comparison with excerpt (2) dialect-English mixing is limited to the English borrowing “special” that recurs throughout the conversation. It is also to be observed that, in alternation with the Sicilian or Italian words, Mario and Teresa tend to use English borrowings widely used in the Italo-Australian community.

Differently to post-war migrants, in this family both languages: dialect and Italian, play a crucial role in the enacting of identity and family cohesion. For example, Mario’s switches to Italian are often associated with identity claims of expertise and authority, as in (7). In terms of cohesion, Italian is of relevance to this family as it is the common language to teach and promote among new family members (see below). Other factors support such relevance, such as the family’s increasing use of Italian when communicating with relatives in Sicily; and the prominence that Italian has gained in Australia.

The trends noted above, in particular the increased use of Italian, become much more prevalent among later migrants. This is shown in a corpus of interviews gathered among 24 Italians who migrated in the 1990s from different parts of Italy, from different socio-economic backgrounds and with different levels of education. Rubino (2009, 2013, 2014b) explored their self-reported linguistic practices in the migration

context, their perceptions of linguistic changes following migration, and their language attitudes.

For the large majority of these migrants, regional or popular-regional Italian is their first language. Yet, the majority of the interviewees, irrespective of their region of origin, grew up speaking dialect at home, and used it extensively up to the moment of migrating. Most of them offered positive evaluations of the dialect, as in the case of Dino, from Lazio:

(8)

ah:: il dialetto è una cosa che a me piace eh io parlerei sempre il dialetto (...) il dialetto è=è 'na tradizione (...) il dialetto per me è 'na cosa fondamentale (.) senza il dialetto non esisteresti

[dialect is something that I like, I would always speak dialect, dialect is a tradition, for me dialect is a fundamental thing, without dialect I would not exist]

Once in Australia, however, in addition to English, dialect recedes into the background and only Italian appears to be of any relevance (Rubino 2013). Indeed, the interviewees report using Italian in a wide range of sites, primarily the family, but also with friends—who are mainly Italian—and sometimes also at work, as several of them are employed in Italian agencies or companies. Even when one of the partners is not of Italian origin, all interviewees—and the women in particular (Rubino 2009)—, show a strong commitment to transmit Italian to their children. This is first and foremost to allow communication with relatives in Italy, with whom they are in regular contact; following this, they are encouraged by the prestige that Italian has acquired in Australia.

On the other hand, in spite of the widespread use of dialect in the migrant community, the interviewees report continuing to employ dialect with family and friends in Italy, but only very occasionally in Australia. Some of them explain the choice of Italian in light of instrumental reasons, as maintaining both languages in the family would be too difficult; therefore they opt for Italian as the more useful of the two. For other interviewees, however, leaving out the dialect appears to be a way to distance themselves from post-war migrants and their children who—in their view—display a low competence of Italian and often are not even sure of the Italian-dialect boundaries. Furthermore, the dialect spoken by post-war migrants is judged as very archaic and hard to understand. Some of these attitudes are exemplified in the exchange below between Gaetano, a Sicilian man, and the interviewer, herself a recent migrant:

(9)

1	Gaetano	infatti infatti anche questo qua ho visto che::: questi italiani quando sono arrivati qua non non parlavano italiano (.) cioè per loro- loro parlavano dialetto siciliano, e anche dialetto antico siciliano [o calabrese-	indeed indeed this is also something I have seen, that these Italians when they arrived here they didn't speak Italian I mean for them they would speak Sicilian dialect and even old dialect Sicilian or Calabrian
2	Int.	[loro hanno lasciato l'Italia che ancora [l'italiano-	they left Italy when still Italian
3	Gaetano	[eh e per loro era italiano loro- loro sono convinti che è italiano capisci? ((laughs))	yes and for them it was Italian for them, they are convinced that it's Italian you know? ((laughs))
4	Int.	eh certo	of course

Importantly, many interviewees—women in particular—express very negative views about language mixing, dialect-English mixing in particular, as it occurs in the speech of post-war migrants and of their children. Such judgements can become particularly harsh, as in the case of Rina, who expresses her profound hatred for it:

(10)

ma quello (= il dialetto) mischiato con l'inglese io lo odio (.) quello proprio::: fra i due è meglio parlare il tuo dialetto secondo me ((giggles))

[but that one (dialect) mixed with English I hate it, that one, between the two it's better to speak your dialect I think]

Overall, therefore, the encounter with the established migrant community appears to impact upon recent migrants' linguistic practices. Firstly, as in the migrant context dialect indexes a low competence of Italian, recent migrants tend to abandon its use in order to identify themselves as "Italians from Italy" (Rubino 2013, 2014b). Secondly, the strong censorship of language mixing promotes fairly puristic attitudes about the linguistic norm to be adopted in a multilingual setting.

Interestingly, a recent study of Italians who migrated to Australia as children also found that knowledge of Italian was used to authenticate their identity claims as real Italians (Sala et al. 2010). Similar trends have been found among the more recent young migrants from Italy (Di Palma

2014). By referring humorously to the mixed speech of “old” migrants, Di Palma’s participants also tend to distance themselves, although they occasionally and jokingly resort to such mixed speech themselves.

5.2 The “younger” second generation

As a result of the linguistic changes outlined above, in the linguistic repertoire of the “younger” second generation there also appeared to be increasingly more space for Italian. This was favoured by more opportunities to be exposed to Italian as they were growing up, for example through Italian media and technology, studying Italian at school, or visiting Italy.⁶ A trip to Italy has been regarded as the event that often triggers interest in the Italian language and culture and shapes young people’s Italian identity in Australia (Baldassar 1994, 2001, Kinder 1994, O’Connor 1994). Overall, younger Italo-Australians’ contacts with Italy not only intensified but they also diversified, in that many of them forged links that only partly built upon family heritage. Contacts with Italy included visits by Italian relatives, who started to come to Australia more often and easily than in the past, thanks to the increasing popularity of Australia as a tourist destination and reduced relative costs.

The renewed prestige of Italian internationally, together with the prevailing multicultural climate of Australia, also contributed to a revived interest among the younger Italian generations in their ethnic identity. Since the early 1990s, young people have started to take on hyphenated identities or their parents’ nationalities and refer to themselves as Italo-Australian (O’Connor 1994, Vasta 1992). Although young people’s constructed identity can rely on salient elements other than language (Baldassar 1992), some studies did suggest that for many young Italo-Australians the Italian language was a defining element of their Italian identity (O’Connor 1994, Pitronaci 1998, Rubino 2006).

The gradual shift towards Italian is quite evident in the linguistic practices of Stephanie, the youngest daughter within the Sicilian family explored in Rubino (2014a). For example, she reports that as a child, both parents spoke to her in Italian, possibly in view of their return to Sicily. She studied Italian throughout her life, up to university level, and has been to Italy a few times. Although Stephanie considers Sicilian her domestic language, she frequently switches to Italian, in particular in talking to her

⁶ Since the 1990s, schools and universities have organised study tours and exchange programs in Italy. Also the Italian regional governments started to offer such tours to second and third generation Italo-Australians.

father. Furthermore, she promotes Italian as the language that can enhance communication within the extended family (Rubino 2014a, 226-231). In a study which tested the role of Italian as a “core value”, Chiro and Smolicz (1993, 1994) found a fairly high self-reported rate of Italian use at home among university students having an Italian background. The self-reported choice of Italian was higher among the participants who studied Italian and among those displaying positive evaluations of Italo-Australian cultural values.

As they are more competent in Italian, the “younger” Italo-Australians appear to be aware of language mixing occurring in their parents’ speech, and more broadly in the migrant community. Such mixing is viewed with humour and at times with a certain distance, if not necessarily purism. This is shown for example in the frequent metalinguistic comments made by the younger members of Stephanie’s family and their friends (Rubino 2006, 2014a). In (11), Joe, Lino, Stephanie and Carmel mimic the mixtures and accented English of the first generation for the benefit of Giorgio, a recently arrived Italian:

(11)

1	Joe	Giorgio tu parli come a mia madre mezzo italiano mezzo inglese tu vuoi <i>nu</i> BIT?	Giorgio, you speak like my mother half Italian half English you want a bit?
2	Lino	tu WANNI HALF no <i>avveru</i> ?	you want half right?
3	Carmel	WHAT WAS THAT?	
4	Stephanie	no tu WANTA HALF	
5	Joe	SOME SPEAK HALF ITALIAN HALF ENGLISH	
6	Carmel	tu WANT A LITTLE BIT	

Some of the trends discussed so far seem to be further advanced among the younger generations. For example, in an ongoing project (Rubino, in preparation), second- and third-generation Italo-Australians aged between 18 and 30 self-report a much lower competence of dialect compared with Italian. While slightly over 60% of the participants declare they understand Italian “very well” or “well” and almost 34% speak it “very well” or “well”, only slightly over 38% report understanding dialect “very well” or “well” and a mere 16% speak it “very well” or “well”.

In spite of their higher competence of Italian, however, it appears that as in the case of the “older” second generation, the “younger” second generation also tends not to use Italian with their children due to a similar linguistic insecurity in their Italian skills (Frangiosa 2017, Rubino 2006).

6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored some major sociolinguistic dynamics that characterize the Italo-Australian community today, taking into account the changes in the linguistic repertoires of various migration cohorts.

We have seen how, in spite of the general shift from dialect to English among post-war migrants and their children, dialect (or dialect-English mixing) still plays an important role both as a communicative tool and as a marker of identity and family cohesion. On the other hand, the more recent migration cohorts opt for Italian as the language to use and promote in the migration context, for instrumental as well as ideological reasons.

More research is certainly needed, particularly into the linguistic practices of the “older” and the “younger” generations, in order to better understand how and where they employ their linguistic resources. In any case, it is my view that closer relationships between the different cohorts, especially the younger Italo-Australian generations and recent migrants from Italy, have the potential to enhance the Italianization of the community, and consequently also its overall linguistic vitality.

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CHAPTER FOUR

HERITAGE LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN OLD AND NEW ITALIAN MIGRANTS IN TORONTO

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1. Aims

This chapter¹ compares the linguistic behaviour of two groups of first generation Italian immigrants in Toronto, Ontario. The two groups, which differ both in when they came to Canada and the circumstances under which they came, were selected with the aim of providing a critical analysis of the opposition between “old” and “new” migrants which deserves to be investigated in all its facets² in order to be adopted as a sociolinguistic variable.

The two groups under investigation are representative of the Italian emigration to Canada between the end of the Second World War and the mid-1960s on the one hand, and that in the 2000s on the other (§ 2). The analysis examined code-switching (henceforth CS) with English which was investigated within the interactional paradigm (De Fina 2007, 2015,

¹ This article is part of the research project entitled “*Lo spazio linguistico globale dell’italiano: il caso dell’Ontario*”, directed by Barbara Turchetta (University for Foreigners of Perugia) and Massimo Vedovelli (University for Foreigners of Siena) and carried out in collaboration with the General Consulate of Italy in Toronto, Toronto University, the Italian Cultural Institute and the School Center in Toronto. My thanks go to the University for Foreigners of Siena for covering my travel expenses with funds from research projects coordinated by Prof. Massimo Vedovelli, and to the Italian Cultural Institute in Toronto and its director Alessandro Ruggera, for the hospitality I received during my stay in Toronto.

² For studies on new ways of Italian mobility see Greco (2013), Rubino (2014), Vedovelli (2015), and Colucci, in this volume.

Rubino 2014b, 2015) with the aim of identifying the factors which are more relevant to define the variation between the groups. I was convinced that the difference between “old” and “new” migrants needed to be discussed critically in search of a theoretical model that could best explain the relation between all the factors at play. Such a model was built based upon those developed by Norton (1995) and Darvin and Norton (2015) and adjusted to suit the case under investigation.

2. Old and new migrations: the Canadian case

The first groups of Italians in Canada date back to the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century³ but Italian emigration to Canada increased greatly after the end of the Second World War thanks to the repealing of a law (promulgated before the war and on the statute books until 1947) which considered Italians as “foreign enemies” and the stipulation of a bilateral agreement between the Canadian and Italian governments in 1951 to promote Italian migration. Following this agreement approximately 25,000 Italians arrived in Canada every year. However, the memory of the war was still fresh and they were often met with great diffidence and racism (Machetti 2011, 420).

The situation changed somewhat in 1967 when the old sponsorship system was abandoned and replaced with a system (in place until 2008⁴) based on professional qualifications. The legislative intention was to favour the immigration of more qualified individuals as opposed to the unconditional immigration favoured and encouraged by family ties which often meant the arrival of migrants with a low level of literacy and often with no language competence in English. This legislative change resulted in a dramatic reduction in the number of migrants as well as a change in the social and cultural characteristics of the migrants who are now more professionally skilled. Suffice to say that whilst the 1951 agreement made no mention of the language competence in English or in French required to enter Canada, today the language skills of a prospective migrant are a key element for the acceptance of their request to enter Canada. It follows that the cultural, social, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986) of yesterday’s migrants is completely different from that of today’s migrants.

³ For a general overview of linguistic aspects of Italian migration, see Vedovelli (2011).

⁴ This scenario changed only in 2008 when a new system based “on the abilities of the applicant to satisfy labour market demands and provide an achievable financial contribution” came into force (Scarola 2007, 20).

But in fact Italian emigration to Canada changed not only because of the policies in Canada, but also because Italy itself changed due to a series of complex historical, economic, and cultural developments (Ginsborg 2006). Those who leave today are men and women with a high level of education (Fondazione Migrantes 2016, 36), greater professional marketability, and higher language competences than those who left in the 1950s and the 1960s.

Therefore “old” and “new” migrations differ not only in the cultural, social, and symbolic capital at the time of departure but also in the integration dynamics which are also conditioned by the migration and cultural policies of the settlement country (Bettoni 2008) and by the various socio-cultural characteristics of the migrants which in turn determine the settlement trajectories (professional, economic and social) in Canada.

The Italians who arrive in Canada today find a strong multicultural society. Canada is the country with the highest percentage of foreign citizens (20.6%, in the 2010 data) amongst the G8 countries. Ontario, and Toronto in particular, are the areas most affected by immigration: 7 immigrants out of 10 live in Toronto and 32.8% of new migrants arriving from all over the world choose to live there (Canadian Census 2011) making it one of the most multilingual cities in Canada (Berkowitz 2003).

The position Italian occupies in a highly competitive linguistic market (Bourdieu 1977) such as Toronto is certainly not a secondary one. Studies in progress (Turchetta and Vedovelli, in prep.) suggest that there is a renewed interest in Italian today (also from those who are not of Italian origin) due to the attraction of the *Made in Italy* brand and a far more globalised job market where in certain sectors (food, fashion, design, ...) ⁵ knowing Italian can be a determining factor in obtaining employment. ⁶

3. The migration wave as a sociolinguistic variable: an analysis model

In order to verify if a migration wave can be considered a sociolinguistic variable we compared the CS dynamics in the two groups of migrants according to the international sociolinguistic perspective (Gumperz 1964,

⁵ Cf. Baldelli (1987), De Mauro et alii (2002), Giovanardi and Trifone (2012), Bagna in this volume.

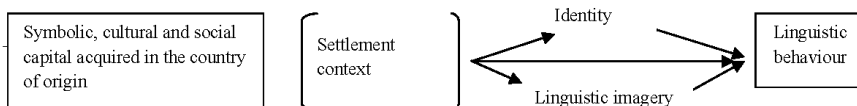
⁶ Also not to be overlooked in the relationship between Italy and Canada, the recent CETA (Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement) free-trade agreement.

Ciliberti 2007, Rubino 2014a, De Fina 2015). The results of the analysis were then interpreted in the range of the model devised by Darwin and Norton (2015)⁷ elaborated here on the basis of the topic being investigated.

In Darwin and Norton's model (2015) language learning is determined by an *investment* defined on the basis of three factors: the identity, ideology, and symbolic capital of those involved in the learning process.

In this elaboration, the social and symbolic capital of the migrants is instead a factor determined by the social, economic, and political macro-context and constitutes an independent variable. This is in opposition to the linguistic imagery and the identity configurations which can be built locally, according not only to the characteristics (macro-social) of the country of immigration but also to the strategies used by individual speakers to adapt to their new context. Whilst in Darwin and Norton's model (2015) symbolic capital, identity, and ideologies contribute equally to define the *investment*, in the sociolinguistic studies on variation between "old" and "new" migrants it is assumed that the first factor (symbolic capital) can influence the other two (the speakers' ideologies and identities) and their expression can be mediated by the dynamics of alternation and more generally by linguistic behaviour as summarised in this diagram:

Fig. 1 "A model of the interaction of factors having an impact on linguistic behaviour"



In the model I am suggesting that the known premise is the different symbolic and cultural capital of the two groups which, in our research hypothesis, will have diversified integration modalities since

occupying new spaces involves not only acquiring new material and symbolic resources but also using the capital the learners already possess as affordances and transforming this capital into something that is regarded as valuable in the new context.⁸

⁷ The theoretical framework defined in 1995 and revised in 2015 is always relevant also because of the many empirical applications to single case studies on several languages within the perspective of Applied Linguistics (Block 2007, Kramsch 2013, Ortega 2009, De Costa 2010, Chang 2011).

⁸ Darwin and Norton (2015, 45).

Between the social, symbolic, and cultural capital on one side and the settlement context on the other there is a correlation of mutual inference insofar as the first influences the ways in which the migrants adapt to the second; and the second can cause changes in the first. In other words, the different resources that the migrants have can influence their relationship with the environment found on arrival as well as their identity which, according to a constructivist point of view (Remotti 2007, Antaki and Widdicombe 1998), is to be understood as multiple, fluid, and locally and interactionally constructed (De Fina 2015, Paltridge 2015).

As for the categories which contribute to the definition of *investment* in Darvin and Norton's model, this research hypothesis replaces *ideology* with *linguistic imagery* to be understood as the set of social and symbolic values attributed by the migrants to the varieties of their own linguistic repertoire and that of the imagined communities (Anderson 2007) to which they feel they belong. The reference to imagination is necessary if we want to include in the model the linguistic ideologies and the feelings towards the language varieties spoken in Italy, which the speaker can only but imagine from a distance since, especially for some types of migrants, the relationship with Italy is only on a symbolic and emotional level. More than the relationship between power and ideology (Bourdieu 1987, Blommaert 2005, partially revisited also by Darvin and Norton 2015) with the category of *linguistic imagery*, I intend to highlight the emotional (and at times even the irrational) component which links the migrants to the language of their birthplace which becomes a symbol of identity (Altan 1995) even though it is no longer part of their active competence.

On the basis of this premise the study on linguistic behaviour can be used to identify the position of an individual with regard to the world, language, and other people and to reconstruct their linguistic ideologies which are also influenced by external variables (macro-economic capital and context):

the valuing of languages, the establishment of language policies, and the construction of ethnolinguistic identities are inscribed by language ideology, and hence any examination of linguistic exchange is inevitably an extrapolation of ideological forces at work. (Darvin and Norton 2015, 43)

This is also the perspective adopted in this chapter which aims at defining a migration wave as a sociolinguistic variable within a model that can explain the various factors which influence the linguistic behaviours of migrants.

To this end we analysed the variation starting from two variables whose importance is pivotal for the dynamics of language contact and the two processes of *language shift* and *language maintenance*, that is, code-switching (CS), which has been investigated within the interactionist paradigm (De Fina 2015, Ciliberti 2007, Rubino, in this volume), and the speakers' linguistic ideologies (van Dijk 1998, Ricento 2013).

4. Data collection methods

The corpus was collected by Barbara Turchetta and Margherita Di Salvo through qualitative interviews in Italian as part of wider research which included the use of diverse techniques (perception questionnaires, observations through ethnographic techniques, etc.) which allowed us to get a full picture of the linguistic behaviour of the Italians in Ontario.

The interviews were collected between February and November 2016. The presence of two Italian interviewers influenced the linguistic performance of the speakers who were interviewed insofar as Italian (in all its various forms, with more or less dialect interference)⁹ was the unmarked language choice (Myers-Scotton 1998). Despite having been made aware of the fact that the two Italian researchers also spoke English, the interviewees chose to use Italian during the interviews and kept this variety throughout resorting only occasionally to the L2.

The interviews included a series of open questions on individual life stories and were carried out using a microphone in full view; they were then filed, orthographically transcribed and finally analysed.¹⁰

The corpus analysed here consists of 20 interviews gathered with:

GROUP 1: 10 interviewees (five men and five women) who arrived in Canada between 1951 and 1967 with the migration wave that followed the Second World War. They all have a medium-low level of education;

⁹ On this specific topic, the researchers are carrying out suitable studies which will be part of a volume edited by Massimo Vedovelli and Barbara Turchetta and included in the series "Studies on Educational Linguistics" of the Centre of Excellence for Research, Permanent Linguistic Observatory of the Italian Language among Foreigners and of Immigrant Languages in Italy, and the University for Foreigners of Siena.

¹⁰ The speakers are identified by initials as follows: gender (F female; M male), migration period (O first wave migrants; N new migrants) and by a progressive number between 1 and 5.

GROUP 2: 10 interviewees (five men and five women) who arrived in Canada between 2000 and 2015 as part of the new wave of transnational mobility. They all have a higher level of education than their predecessors and hold either a diploma or a degree. Some of them have attained, or are in the process of attaining, a further qualification in Toronto.

5. CS in an international perspective

5.1. *Migrants who arrived between 1951 and 1967*

The CS strategies of the migrants who arrived in Canada between 1951 and 1967 convey their perception of an unbridgeable gap with Italy. For the interviewees the relationship with Italy is severed by an impassable rift and by the loss of family and loved ones back in Italy. This identity position is expressed by the CS with English, as is evident in the following excerpt where two women, Iolanda (I) and Franca (F), talk about identity and Canadian citizenship from partially different standpoints: on one side there is Iolanda who by switching to English expresses (not just on a formal level) her Canadian identity; on the other there is Franca who in her previous speech turn, reiterates how Italy is still an identity reference at the emotional level of “the heart”:

(1)

R: siete diventate canadesi allora?

F: oh yeah

I: yeah yeah/siamo... e io vedo

F: siamo canadesi ma l'Italia è sempre dentro a qua

I: m'ho fatto cittadina/Canadian citizen u sessantatre/sixty three/after six years/because you have to wait five years and

F: yeah

I: one year take time to make application

[R: did you become Canadian [citizens] then?

F: oh yeah

I: yeah, yeah/we are ... and I see ...

F: we are Canadian [citizens] but Italy still remains in here [in our hearts]

I: I decided to become a Canadian citizen/Canadian citizen in 1963/sixty-three/after six years/because you have to wait five years and

F: yeah

I: the application process takes one year]

The acquisition of Canadian citizenship is not only the result of an administrative procedure but also an act of identity since, at least in Iolanda's case, the bond with Italy had been severed both at the formal level and at the practical level. In fact, Iolanda visited her motherland only once during the sixty years she spent in Canada. Franca, instead, admits to still feeling attached to Italy although she has not gone back there since 1956. It follows that the bond with the motherland can remain alive only at a symbolic level thus conditioning an idealised image of their country of origin.

Amongst the migrants in Group 1 code-switching with English is also used to signal the inclusion of direct speech according to a known practice (Gumperz 1964, Alfonzetti 1992). In the following two excerpts the speakers use English to report both the direct speech of their Canadian employers and their own replies. Here the interviewees underline not only the polyphony of speech and the change to direct speech, but also their own rebuttal ability (often achieved with a great deal of effort) thus stressing the fact that they can indeed interact with the locals on an equal language footing. There is no feeling of antagonism here, but rather the desire to show their integration also at the language level.

In the first excerpt, for example, Rocco, an entrepreneur in the Italian film and catering sector, recalls when he decided to open his bar "Caffè diplomatico" which is to this day a point of reference for the Italian community. His goal was to be able to sell spirits to the customers sitting at the outside tables and to achieve this he often had to fight with Canadian officials since the practice was prohibited then. By choosing to include his quotation in English, Rocco seems to wish to stress to his interviewers that he had been perfectly capable of holding his own with the officials showing them with tenacity and strength that he had acquired suitable language resources and was—at least linguistically—their equal and perfectly capable of replying to his interlocutor:

(2)

M: e mi venne l'idea del Caffè Diplomatico/di mettere un bar/ma il bar come voleva io/infatti fu anche il bar Caffè Diplomatico fu il bar pure per la prima volta la licenza fuori per i liquori/dall'inizio/sapessero quello che ho passato/io ho avuto ...

B: perché qua è difficile avere la licenza

M: oh! Quello quando feci la domanda/"What? What did you say? You wanna put the table outside to serve the liquor? No!"/tutto era negative//e pensa signora/era tutto approvato/quello/quello e quell'altro/il Fire Department non mi voleva dare l'ok/ancora/perché?/indovina perché/immagina perché?/perché se lei nota/davanti c'è il coso dell'acqua [...] allora io

m'incazzo/vai lì/proprio a tipo militare/parlai col ... col manager là/col presidente del ... "you must tell me the right reason/if you tell me the right reasons why you cannot give me the license/I understand"/e lui mi fa "bah!!"

[M: I got the idea of Caffè Diplomatico/of opening a bar/ but a bar just as I wanted it/in fact Caffè Diplomatico was also... was the first bar to have a license to serve spirits outside/from the beginning/you can't imagine what I had to go through/I had...]

B: because it's so hard to get a license here

M: oh!/that man when I made the application/[he said]/"What? What did you say? You wanna put the table outside to serve spirits? No!" /everything was negative/and imagine/madam/everything had been approved/that/that and that/the Fire Department did not want to give me the go ahead/still/why?/guess why/can you imagine why?/because/if you notice/outside [the bar] there is that thing for the water [...] /so I got pissed off/I went there/very tough, like a soldier/I spoke with ... with the manager there/with the President of ... "you must tell me the real reason/if you tell me the real reason why you cannot give me the license/I'll understand"/and he said/bah!"]

(3)

T: ah canadesi stanno bravi/vedi dita della mano/perchè gli italiani siamo tutti bravi?/siamo ... s'è presentato ... qua a giungo chiudono le strade/e fanno Italian day/la festa delli italiani/s'è fermato tre poliziotti/e ci dissero a mio figlio ... "italiano?"/"no/I'm Italo-canadian/mia madre it's really italiana"/ci disse/"nata in Italia/sposata in Italia/emigrata in Canada"/"I speak to you mother?"/"yeah/why no?"/"m'ha chiamato "ma"/dice/"stu puliziotte ti vuole parlare"/sono andata/ci dis/"ma io non parlo bene l'inglese"/"lo parli bene/vai"/sono andata/"can help you?/ci dissi allora/tu non lo capisci l'in:....

R: no no no/sì/un poco sì

T: "yes Missis/what part you come from Italy?"/"South"/"What's city?"/"Monasterace"/"What's provincia?"/"Reggio Calabria"/risposto o terzo...?"/"mh mh/I know/I ... you?"/"no"/"I know what you wanna say//look your fingers"/e se l'ha guardate/"you have all same?"/"no"/"understand Italian people/all over the world/they have good people/they have bad people//and before your father born/my father it's already police for ten year/never make a scriminage"/o puliziotto che ha volute parlare con me/m'ha dato a mano "signora"/in italiano/io non lo sapevo che era italiano/"hai dato la risposta [...]"/"la risposta come l'ha meritato"/così ti dico/ci stanno i bravi canadesi/ci stanno... come gli italiani/io non faccio scriminaggio/siamo tutti figli di Dio/non siamo tutti uguali

[T: ah the Canadians are good/look at the fingers of my hand [they are not all the same]/do you think we Italians are all good?/we are ... they [some

policemen] turned up all of the sudden... here in June they close the roads/and they have Italian day/a celebration for Italians/three policemen stopped him [my son]/and they asked my son: ... “Are you Italian?”/“No/ I’m Italo-Canadian/my mother is 100% Italian”/he replied/“born in Italy/married in Italy/emigrated to Canada”/“Can I speak to you mother?”/“yeah/why not?”/he called me “Ma [mum]”/he said/“this policeman wants to speak to you”/I went/I told him/“I don’t speak English very well”/“You speak it well/go”/I went/“can I help you?”/I said/you don’t understand English well/do you? ...

R: no no no/yes/a little

T: “yes Mrs/Which part of Italy do you come from?”/“South”/“Which city?”/“Monasterace”/“Which province?”/“Reggio Calabria”/I answered the third policeman ...??/“mh mh/I know/I ... you”/“no”/“I know what you are trying to say//look at the fingers of your hands”/and he looked at them/“are they the same as mine?”/“no”/“understand Italian people/all over the world/there are good people/there are bad people//and before your father was born/my father had already been a policeman for ten years/never discriminate”/the policeman who wanted to speak to me/he shook hands with me “*Signora* [Madam]”/in Italian/I didn’t know he too was Italian/“I replied [...]”/“I replied properly [...]”/so I’m telling you/there are good Canadians/as there are good Italians/I do not discriminate/we are all God’s children/but we are not all the same]

In the second excerpt Rosina reports a conversation she had with a Canadian police officer. By choosing to use English, the woman underlines her determination and courage to reply and defend her own cultural origins through the use of a language acquired through effort.

Showing one’s ability to interact in the language of the host country is a sign of integration which in some speakers like Iolanda coexists with the awareness of no longer being *Italian*.¹¹

In fact, despite claiming a deep love for their motherland the speakers who were interviewed do not really go back there anymore and feel very detached from it. For them Canada is their home and they no longer invest resources to nurture the symbolic bond with Italy. The only way they keep abreast with what is happening in Italy is through Italian TV channels available in Canada which, all considered, are a recent innovation used only by some. Italian media produced in Canada (Cin Radio, Tele Latino, Radio Maria, the local press in Italian) are preferred showing that their life

¹¹ By comparing the two texts we can also see a different presence (greater in Rosina) of the Italian dialect: the presence and distribution of Italian and Italian dialect will be the subject of a chapter written by me as part of the volume edited by Turchetta and Vedovelli (in prep.).

perspective, although linked to the Italian language, is strongly oriented towards the country of immigration.

5.2. Migrants who arrived between 2005 and 2015

In the group of migrants who arrived in Canada between 2005 and 2015, CS with English concerns solely the introduction of reported direct speech. On the functional and syntactic level CS is similar to that found in the last two excerpts described for the older group of migrants; on the level of the interactional expression of identity CS is very different since it does not express the same identity positioning as with the other.

In this group CS to English is rare (Di Salvo, in prep.) and it is generally used to describe one's own language habits within the home. As we will see in §6, although the speakers say they use Italian at home, English also appears when they want to express concepts which they feel are missing in the Italian culture or when they want to be more incisive with their children:

(4)

P: cioè ci sono cose che ho imparato sentendole dire in inglese/soprattutto quando devi essere un genitore di quello modello//no/ci sono dei termini che ho fatto fatica cioè come... direbbe un italiano sta cosa qui/"share your toys"/per esempio/è un concetto che gli italiani ... "fai un po' per uno" [...] ci sono altre cose "give him his space"/cioè dagli un po' di spazio/sì/sono cose un po' artificiali in italiano/quindi sono delle cose che effettivamente loro sentono/che io ho sentito ma non saprei esattamente ...

[P: that is there are things which I learnt by listening to people saying them in English/especially when you must be a model parent/there are words which I had difficulty with ... how would an Italian say/share your toys/for example/it is a concept that Italians... "to each one a little bit" [...]there are also other things "give him his space" that is *dagli un po' di spazio*/these are things which sound a bit artificial in Italian/so these are things they actually feel/which I also felt but I would not know exactly...]

(5)

R: in che lingua rimprovera i suoi figli?

C: in italiano/la maggior parte in italiano

R: però

C: però alla fine se gli devo dire "non t'azzardare"/"don't dare"/perché secondo me "don't dare" è più cattivo di non t'azzardare

[R: what language do you use to reproach your children?

C: Italian/Italian for the most part

R: but

C: but in the end if I have to say “*non t’azzardare*” [don’t you dare, in Italian]/[I say] “don’t dare”/because in my opinion “don’t dare” is stronger than “*non t’azzardare*” [don’t you dare, in Italian]]

From the excerpts of the two women it clearly emerges that the value assigned to English is negative, as we will see in the next paragraph, since it is perceived as the language of command described as “harsh”, “mean”, or “assertive”. It is almost as if by using English these mothers wanted to give their children the impression of harshness and strictness.

6. “Old” and “new” migrants: linguistic imageries in comparison

As described in §2 on the basis of the available literature it was possible to assume that the two groups had diversified symbolic capital and language competences at the time of departure. Those who migrated between the 1950s and the 1960s arrived in Canada without any competence in English. Since work was the priority for these migrants and their families very little, if any time at all, was left to formal English learning with the result that to this day if asked to consider their own metalinguistic competences some interviewees maintain that they do not speak English even though these statements are often contradicted by their everyday language practice. Amongst those speakers who maintain they do not speak English is Rocco who in fact is perfectly capable of interacting in English as he himself demonstrated during the interview and our observations at his workplace (where Italian is prevalent being an ethnically marked activity).

On the other hand, many of the informants in group 2 said they already had some English competence before leaving but that after arriving in Canada this proved to be insufficient to cope with life in the new environment. Paolo, for example, remembers the difficulties he encountered at school, even though he had started speaking English at an early age in Italy:

(6)

P: [...] noi eravamo/o comunque siamo l’unico ramo della famiglia che era rimasto in Italia/perché il resto della famiglia è venuto qui con ... negli anni Cinquanta con la grande onda migratoria/e quindi pensavo di parlare l’inglese molto meglio di quanto lo parlassi effettivamente/mi ricordo la prima volta/ripeto/a tredici anni/primo superiore qui in Canada/“what’s

your name?"/boh!/io non capivo/non capivo/quindi un trauma per i primi sei sette mesi/però sono stato fortunato perché pur essendo la mia prima scuola superiore in una zona storicamente italiana/a nord/diciamo/dieci minuti a piedi/a nord di College Street/su Harbour Street/non c'era quasi nessuno che parlasse italiano/quindi mi sono dovuto assolutamente immergere dal primo momento [...]

[P: [...] we were/or rather we are the only branch of the family which was left in Italy/because the rest of the family came here with ... in the 1950s with the big migration wave/and so I thought I spoke English much better than I actually did/I remember the first time/I said this already/aged thirteen/first year at high school in Canada/"what's your name?"/what?!/I did not understand/I did not understand/so it was a trauma for the first seven months/but I was lucky because although my first high school was in an area which was historically Italian/to the North/let's say/ten minutes away on foot/North of College Street/on Harbour Street/there was hardly anybody who spoke Italian/so I had to throw myself into the deep end from the start [...]]

The difference in English competence in the two groups, much like most of that described for other contexts (Rubino 2014), is used by the new migrants to differentiate themselves from those who preceded them thus becoming an identity marker:

(7)

C: non fanno più/no/non fanno più perché gli italiani giovani ... ti adatti molto prima/parli molto prima l'inglese/o vieni che già parli inglese/quindi non ... non voglio dire che non ci sia problema a parlare col medico in inglese perché è sempre un po' straniante parlare in un'altra lingua di ... di ... problemi personali/però non è un problema insormontabile/mentre ...

[C: they don't do it anymore/no/they don't do it anymore because young Italians.../[when you are young] you adapt more easily/you start speaking English much earlier/or you arrive here already knowing English/so I don't... I don't mean to say that there are no problems speaking with a doctor in English because it always feels strange talking about personal issues in another language/but it is not an insurmountable problem/while instead...]

(8)

A: loro/specialmente loro tendono a parlare più dialetto/dialetto italiano che italiano italiano//però tendo a parlare in italiano sempre/e loro parlano italiano//ci sono delle persone che conosco/che si sono trasferite qua tipo cinquant'anni fa/per dire/qualcosa del genere/e sanno veramente poco di inglese/sanno poche parole d'inglese proprio perché la ... la comunità

italiana qui è molto molto grande e hanno parlato sempre italiano nella loro vita/poche volte parlano inglese/solo quando vanno al supermercato/per dirti no/è molto strana come cosa/che ti dice “come fai a cambiare paese e non imparare la lingua dopo così tanti anni?”/e loro parlano solo italiano/fa un po’ ridere

[A: they/they especially tend to speak more dialect/Italian dialect than proper Italian//I tend to speak always in Italian/and they speak Italian//I know some people/who moved here some fifty years ago/let’s say/something like that/and they really speak very little English/they know only a few English words because the ... the Italian community here is very big and they have always spoken Italian in their life/they rarely speak English/only when they go to the supermarket/for example/it is very strange, isn’t it/you would say “how can you change country and not know the language after so many years?”/and they only speak Italian/it’s ridiculous]

With regard to the transmission of Italian within the home, different linguistic biographies determined different choices. In the first group of migrants, especially in those families where both partners were Italian, it was common for the parents to speak to one another in a Romance variety.¹² This was not so much a conscious choice made because it would guarantee the survival of their own mother tongue over the next generations but rather because of their difficulties with English. On the contrary, as the initial processing of quantitative data gathered within the project to which I belong, show (Turchetta and Vedovelli, in prep.), it appears that later on this same generation preferred the use of English in their conversations with their children in order to spare them the language difficulties they had experienced themselves, much as Machetti maintained (2011, 425) highlighting

the strong and stubborn determination of Italian parents to have their children integrated as soon as possible in the country where they were born, coupled with an awareness [...] of the importance, if not the priority, of investing in the language(s) of the host country.¹³

¹² It is difficult to establish with certainty if they spoke Italian or dialect since, as it emerged from other research work carried out in other contexts (Di Salvo 2012), the migrants often used the category “Italian” even when referring to dialect. This shows the distance between the perspective of the researcher and that of the speaker, which do not always coincide especially in the definition of the linguistic boundaries between varieties.

¹³ On the contrary, the behaviour of new migrants is still partly unknown although some studies are being carried out as part of the project entitled “Lo spazio

The analysis of the interviews showed how for many parents in group 1 the teaching of Italian was delegated to the school system, which was held responsible to some extent for the lack of transmission:

(9)

R: giusto una domanda/ma voi che parlate italiano/ma i vostri figli parlano italiano?

I: sì ca parlano italiano

F: a me/u primo maschiu è ... s'è muortë/yeah/ma a femmina parla italiano bene perché è andata a la scuola cà

R: ma qua c'è la scuola italiana?

F: si si

I: sì/una volta l'insegnavano a la scola/adesso picchè ci sta chiù ... altre razze/chiù portoghesi/chinesi co/allora a scola portoghese è rimasta/ma gli italiani si vai sopra a Woodbridgè vajë.../da a parte di sopra/dove ci stanno assai italiani insegnano agli italiani ancora

[R: just a question?/you speak Italian/but do your children speak Italian?

I: yes, of course they speak Italian

F: I/I lost my first son ... he died/yqah/but the girl, she speaks Italian very well because she went to school here

R: so there is an Italian school here?

F: yes, yes

I: yes/in the past they taught it [Italian] at school/now it is no longer so ... there are other races/more Portuguese/Chinese/so the Portuguese school remained/but Italians must go to Woodbridge .../up there/where there are lots of Italians they still teach them]

In group 2 the situation is reversed. The priority of the interviewees is to have the next generations speaking Italian. Consequently the use of English is virtually banned:

(10)

C: parliamo solo italiano/solo italiano/e sono una nazista anche con le bambine/di otto e tre anni/parlano solo italiano a casa/e quindi ... si parlano//parliamo tutti italiano a casa [...]/le bimbe parlano italiano tutte e due/la grande è perfettamente bilingue/ha una capacità di ... è molto molto brava in italiano/adesso le sto correggendo tutti i congiuntivi/il ... non so ... se mangiassi/se facessi/in maniera più eccessiva di quello che farei se fossimo in Italia perché a otto anni non usi il periodo ipotetico della possibilità

linguistico globale dell'italiano: il caso dell'Ontario". Further studies are those carried out by Ferrini in Germany. Vedovelli (2015) instead offers important theoretical and methodological considerations on this topic.

[C: we only speak Italian/Italian only/and I'm like a Nazi with my girls/an eight year old and a three year old/they speak only Italian at home/and so ... yes, they speak//we all speak Italian at home [...]/the girls, they both speak Italian/the older one is perfectly bilingual/she can ... her Italian is very, very good/now I'm correcting all her subjunctives/for example ... I don't know... *se mangiassi* [if I ate]/*se facessi* [if I did]/more strictly than if we were in Italy because an eight year old in Italy would not use the Second Conditional]

Considering that even those who do not yet have a family would like to transmit Italian to their children it follows that language choices tell a great deal not only about the current perception of their social position but also about its projection in the future, a crucial dimension as underlined in the models by Norton (1995) and Davis and Norton (2015):

(11)

A: ma penso sempre ... penso che vorrei tenere sempre l'italiano/perché voglio dire/è sempre una lingua in più/no//non si sa mai/mia madre me l'ha sempre detto/lei/quando era in Canada/non ha mai voluto imparare l'italiano/perché dice "tanto a me a che mi serve/no"/poi s'è trasferita in Italia e ha dovuto imparare in Italia/quindi/voglio dire non si sa mai dove ti trovi/comunque la cultura da cui vengo è quella italiana/vorrei sempre trasmetterla/vorrei comunque portarli eventualmente in Italia/e far vedere da dove sono venuta e tutto quanto//è una cultura molto ricca quella italiana

[A: but I often think ... I think that I would like to keep my Italian/because I mean/it is always an extra language/no//you never know/my mother used to say to me/she/when she was in Canada/she never wanted to learn Italian/because she would say "what do I need it for/no"/then she moved to Italy and she had to learn Italian/so/I mean you never know where you may end up/in any case my culture is Italian/I would always want to pass it on/eventually I would like to take them to Italy/to show them where I come from and all the rest//it's a very rich culture the Italian culture]

8. Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed the variation in the relation between CS and identity and in the linguistic choices of two groups of migrants (differentiated by migration wave) in order to verify if the period of migration can be assumed as a sociolinguistic variable. Specifically, my goal was to identify which divergent factors between groups of migrants were mainly responsible for the linguistic variation.

To this end, I made a comparative analysis of the forms of alternations as expressions of linguistic identity and the linguistic imageries of two groups of migrants that are representative of, respectively, the Italian emigration to Canada between 1951 and 1967 and the Italian emigration to Canada in the last ten years.

The analysis confirmed that the two groups are different in cultural, social, and symbolic capital; moreover, it was observed how they arrived in completely different contexts due to a different immigration policy, the rate of cultural diversity, the different stand of Italian and Italians who from “foreign enemies” became bearers of the *Made in Italy* brand and of a positively regarded culture. In Toronto as elsewhere the interest in the Italian language has grown considerably in recent years for reasons linked to the *Made in Italy* brand in fashion, arts and food, and because globalisation and the presence of Italian businesses in Canada induce many to consider Italian as a resource worth having in a strongly competitive market.

All this is reflected in the position and identity of the speakers as expressed linguistically through code-switching with English. Those in group 1 “became Canadians” starting from a position of disadvantage both at the linguistic level due to the lack of an English competence, and at the social level since they were employed in subordinate positions and often marginalised. For these immigrants today using English has become the symbol of their linguistic, cultural, and often legal, integration. For this reason they also encouraged their children to learn English relegating Italian to minor conversations within the home with the inevitable consequence of the interruption of its transmission. The relationship with Italy is often mediated by the image offered by local TV and radio programs in Italian produced in Canada.¹⁴

On the other hand, the migrants who reached Toronto in the last fifteen years left with social, professional, and linguistic capital which allowed them to obtain influential and often well-paid positions in the workplace. They arrived in a context where being Italian was considered an asset both on the ethnic-cultural level and on the economic level, so much so that Italian has become a potential resource in the search for work. These new migrants do not need to claim, stress, or communicate (even through CS) their own English competence because this is a given with their social and economic position. What they tend to stress instead is their preservation of the Italian language and culture which is accompanied by full integration not only in the workplace but also

¹⁴ On this aspect our research group is carrying out some analyses.

financially and linguistically within a multicultural and Anglophone social fabric. In this way they can differentiate themselves from their predecessors both in behaviour and ideology. The vast difference in symbolic, cultural, and social capital and in the context on arrival between the emigration of the 1950s and the 1960s (at least until 1967) and the emigration of the last fifteen years determined very different behaviours both with regard to real interaction and the transmission of Italian.¹⁵

At the theoretical level the analysis confirmed the importance of diverse symbolic capital which, combined with the cultural context of immigration, shapes the linguistic imagery and the identity of the speakers as also expressed through CS. Hence the sociolinguistic variable cannot be the migration wave itself, but rather the different symbolic and cultural capital of the migrants along with the changed conditions (political, cultural, linguistic, and economic) of the country of immigration. The migration wave therefore needs to be considered and analysed in depth since the two groups are different not only in the number of years spent in the host country but also in a wider range of factors whose sociolinguistic relevance has been demonstrated in this chapter.

The proposed model allows us to understand the interrelations between behaviour determined by the location and wider social forces which affect and determine it and are in turn affected by it (Darvin and Norton 2015, 45).

At the methodological level the relevance of the analysis of real language exchanges has been confirmed as the place where it is possible to understand identity expressions which reveal the present position of the person with regard to the individual communicative event, the context on departure and that on arrival, and the projection of the speaker's image in the future as data on the transmission of Italian confirm. When the speakers decide to take charge of the transmission of Italian it is obvious that their own identity choices are being projected on to the future behaviours of their children whom they want to pass on not only Italian but also the identity associated with it.

¹⁵ The data processing (still in progress) will allow us to say whether the distance between the two groups generated identity and linguistic tension as described for other contexts (Rubino 2014). Currently we have only described the identity tensions caused by different professional profiles in the second groups of migrants (Di Salvo, in press).

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CHAPTER FIVE

LOOKING AT THE ITALIAN OF AN EMIGRANT FROM CAMPANIA LIVING IN THE LIÈGE PROVINCE OF BELGIUM: A LINGUISTIC PROFILE

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1. Premise

The Italian community of both Liège and the country as a whole¹ is the largest foreign community in Belgium with over 60,000 people according to a 2010 estimate (Moreno 2014, 63-64). Of these Italian immigrants, the most numerous are those from Sicily, followed by those from Veneto and Friuli (Moreno 2014).² Regarding Campania, the Italian Consulate General

¹ “Italian immigration to Belgium is [...] the most important migration phenomenon this country has ever witnessed” (Morelli 2002, 159, my translation). As in Barni (2011, 225-27, my translation), the Italian community in Belgium fluctuates from roughly 250,000 to 290,000 units (it is an underestimate: “the criterion of citizenship by birth does not allow us to include in the count children of mixed couples, that is children whose parents were born in Belgium—the so-called fourth generation—or became Belgian citizens before their children were born. [...] The Italian community of today consists mainly of Sicilians (41.4% of those born in Italy and registered in the Consular Registry Office) followed by Apulians (9.5%), people from Abruzzo (7.3%), Campanians (6.6%) and people from Veneto (5.8%)” (Note that these data are from Perrin/Poulin 2002, 22). Two large historical-sociological profiles on Italian immigration in Belgium are Morelli (2004) and the more dated Aubert (1985).

² A brief historical outline on the Italian migration to the Liège area can be found in Moreno (2014, 61-63). Also see Moreno for various bibliographical references. Cf. also Di Salvo and Moreno (2015, 108-109).

in Liège estimated that in 2010 there were about 3,000 householders from Campania in the country (Moreno 2014, 64 note 11).³

The linguistic scenario of the typical Italian immigrant in the Liège region includes French, Italian (ranging from standard Italian which is the desired variety, to regional Italian which is the variety most well-known and used and which has several traits that match the so-called *italiano popolare*:⁴ see Bernini 2010, Marzo 2004, 47, Marzo 2005, 1551), and Italian dialect.⁵ Obviously the competences in the three are the result of the intersection of various personal, relational and social factors: from the level of schooling, to the domains of usage, to the frequency of contacts within Italophone environments.⁶

The aim of this paper, already evident in the title, is to give an insight into the Italian of the emigrants as it has manifested itself in a speaker from Campania who emigrated to the Liège province. The analysis is based on an oral interview and its transcription was carried out by Laura Masut, a student at Liège University,⁷ under the supervision of Paola Moreno, within the research project entitled “L’identità italiana tra particolarismi e globalizzazione”, promoted and coordinated by Adam Ledgeway (Cambridge University) and Rosanna Sornicola (Federico II University in Naples), along with Moreno herself, and with the collaboration of researchers and students from various universities.⁸ The 30 minute long interview was carried out in Italian using a recorder in view and is a “life story” type (though some questions were also aimed at encouraging the linguistic self-awareness of the interviewee). The purpose

³ On the presence of people from Campania in Liège and its province see Moreno (2014, 63-67). On worldwide migration from Campania, see Pugliese and Sabatino (2006).

⁴ This refers to the variety used by low class, quasi-educated speakers.

⁵ On the verbal repertoire characteristic of Italian emigrants, see Bettoni (2007, 415-417).

⁶ Thanks to the telephone and the internet as well as low cost flights (at least within Europe), contacts with Italy are much more frequent than in the past when communication was done exclusively in writing.

⁷ I personally double-checked the transcriptions used for the analysis making small adjustments when required.

⁸ “Through the combined observations of scholars from different countries and scientific paths this research project aims at investigating, using a philological and sociological approach but with a strong interdisciplinary vocation, the many aspects of the linguistic behaviour of Italian migrants in Europe starting from two specific contexts (England and Belgium) which can be used as the main samples” (Di Salvo, Moreno and Sornicola 2014b, 8; my translation).

was to let the interviewee speak almost exclusively in a way that was as natural and as casual as possible.

2. Case study

The interviewee was Mrs A. M. M.⁹ who was born on July 23rd 1947 in Curti, in the province of Caserta. She emigrated to Belgium in 1953, aged six, with her mother and two sisters, to join their father who had gone there two years earlier to work in the mines. The specific reason why A. M. M.'s father was forced to seek employment abroad comes out at the very start of the interview:¹⁰

(1)

adesso papà è emigrato nel '51 perché l'ambiente in Italia non gli conveniva più molto troppo autoritaria molto... malonestà eccetera [...] l'Italia non non gli conveniva più lui aveva lavoro/lui lavorava/in un... una fabbrica dove si faceva olio di oliva/e lui lavorava guadagnava modestamente la sua vita stava/correttamente bene però quello che lui non digerivø era il modo come i capi lo trattavano/a lui come a tanti altri nelle fabbriche quello papà non poteva sopportare e dunque/ha deciso di venire in Belgio

[father emigrated in 1951 due to the situation in Italy which no longer suited him/it was too authoritarian very... there was dishonesty, etc. [...]
Italy was not a good place for him any more yes he had a job/he worked/in a... a factory which produced olive oil/and he earned enough his life was/fine but what father could not stand was the way in which his boss treated him/him like many other factory workers father could not stand and so/he decided to come to Belgium]

The initial difficulties of the mother in settling away from her home country also come out:

⁹ For reasons of privacy, the interviewee's full name has been shortened to initials only.

¹⁰ The following symbols have been used for the transcription:

(change of project);

... (hesitation);

? (question intonation);

/(short pause);

//(long pause);

:(lengthening of the preceding vowel or consonant);

' (apocope);

ə (indistinct vowel).

(2)

mamma [...] per due anni ha fatto un esaurimento nervoso/perché non si adattava per niente qui: in Belgio/era cattivo tempo era dicembre poi la lingua/tante di quelle cose [...] hanno avuto molto difficile di adattarsi mamma specialmente/papà no lui aveva deciso lui si è trovato bene in miniera

[for two years mother suffered from a nervous breakdown/because she could not settle at all here: in Belgium/it was December the weather was awful and then the language/so many things [...] it was very hard for mother/father instead was ok he was the one who decided to come here and he liked working in the mines]

Contrarily, twenty years later when her father had retired, her mother, having by then fully settled, opposed her husband's wish to retire to Italy:

(3)

papà lui aveva deciso di venire/e è venuto/è contento di essere venuto però/quando aveva finiti i suoi vent'anni di mina lui voleva andare via assolutamente/soltanto ci sono stato:... discussione brave però discussione perché lui voleva rientrare in Italia per sempre invece mamma ha detto no ormai c'abbiamo la vita qua/e i miei nipotini erano nato erano già nato i nipotini e no dice lei no io rimango qua

[father had decided to come here/and he came/he is happy he came but/when he retired after twenty years in the mines he very much wanted to leave/there were many: ... discussions in the family because he wanted to go back to Italy for good and mother instead did not want to she would say our life is here now/our grandchildren are born here they were born no I don't want to go I want to stay here]

Today A. M. M. lives in Wandre, in the Liège province, with her Belgian partner. She has no children and is retired having worked as a dressmaker ("sono rimasta indipendente nel mio mestiere di alta couture/per quarant'anni" "I have been a freelance worker in my haute couture job/for forty years"). At least once a year she goes back to her house in Santa Maria Capua Vetere, a location just a few kilometres from Curti, where she still has relatives with whom she has kept in regular contact. She also visits the north of Italy where she stays with other relatives:

(4)

il mio paese il mio paese/è: è sulla via Appia/la via Appia/che è una bellissima strada larga e lunga/che arriva da Roma a Salerno e io abito a Caserta Santa Maria Capua Vetere provincia di Caserta

[my town my town/is: is on the Appian Way/the Appian Way/which is a beautiful long and wide road/which goes from Rome to Salerno and I live in Caserta Santa Maria Capua Vetere in the Caserta province]

(5)

be' io c'ho contatto con i miei//è per loro che vado/vado perché poi c'è la mia casa e: abbiamo il contatto sì ci aspettono//questo sì ci aspettono con... con gioia ci aspettano//e e io mi sento come ho detto prima il bisogno di andar una # minimo una volta all'anno/perché poi c'è anche la famiglia lì su nel nord Italia/che sono la madrina di una sua figlia e là quando posso andare ogni due o tre anno vado/e rimango quindici giorni tre settimane anche lì nel nord//dove c'è la famiglia bisogno andare io mi sento il bisogno di andarci a trovarli/vedere un po' le condizioni della vita/de... delle loro figli/si per quello sono rimasta molto molto legata a tutto questo/poi mi chiedono vieni vuoi venire vieni e vado vado mi fa piacere di andare//ecco

[well I'm in touch with my family//it is because of them that I go [to Italy]/and then of course I go because my house is there and: we are in touch yes they expect us//yes they are always happy to see us... they look forward to it//and and I said before I feel the need to go # at least once a year/because of course there are also the relatives up in the North/I'm the godmother of one of the girls and I go and visit them every two or three years/I stay fifteen days three weeks up there in the North//if you still have family you must go and visit them and I really feel the need to go and see them/to see how they are doing/how their children are doing/yes I have remained very attached to all this/and they invite me to go and stay with them and I'm happy to go//there]

French is the language which A. M. M. uses daily and with which she feels most comfortable. This is clear from the beginning of the interview when (in a low voice) she expresses concern about having to speak in Italian (“Je dois parler italien? Oh/ça c'est compliqué” “Do I need to speak Italian? Oh that's hard”). She recalls very well the difficulties she had at school with the new language, soon after her arrival in Belgium:

(6)

a scuola a sei anni mi hanno messa:... alla prima/elementare però io non capivo niente/perché avevo # e là mi ricordo che c'era madame:... come si chiamava quella lì che # era veramente dura lei mi mi sgridava: in francese ma io non capivo lei diceva tu deve fare delle/des efforts: tu dois faire attends je n'ai que six ans attends et tu dois faire des eff' deve fare dei sforzi e madonna e lei mi pizzicava le orecchie mi ricordo sempre quella madame... Cariger ecco mi viene madame Cariger poverina

[when I was six they put me: ... in first/grade but I couldn't understand anything/because I had # and there I remember there was madame... oh what was her name # she was really hard she would tell me off all the time: in French but I could not understand she would say you must make an/effort: you must take wait I'm only six and you must take an eff' you must take an effort and she would pinch my ears I'll never forget that madame... Cariger there I remembered Madame Cariger poor lady]

A. M. M.'s specific case is symptomatic of the lability which can characterise the distinction made by field experts between "first-generation" speakers and "second-generation" speakers. Although technically a first-generation speaker since she was born in Italy, A. M. M. can be classified, linguistically speaking, as a second-generation speaker since, having arrived as a child, she attended Belgian schools in the same way as the Belgian-born children of immigrants. Of course this has had significant repercussions on the quality of her Italian.

She recalls that at home with her parents they always spoke Italian (which can be understood as the regional variety of Campania) along with the Neapolitan dialect:

(7)

Interviewer: e lei quando era # è arrivata qui in Belgio: quando era piccola/con i genitori a casa dunque parlava italiano

A. M. M.: italiano e napoletano/napoletano assolutamente no no non non abbiamo mai smesso noi di parlare # anzi quando ci mettevamo a tavola che la domenica venivano:... mia sorella con il marito e i primi bimbi piccolini/papà ci proibiva di parlare francese ha detto qui si parla italiano/quando si sta a tavola si parla italiano perché anzitutto loro volevano anche capire//ma poi si parla # siamo italiani si parla italiano no no/e personalmente trovo che ha avuto ragione//se no be la... la nostra lingua il nostro paese te non lo capisce c'est un po' dommage quand même hein

[Interviewer: and what about you # when did you arrive here in Belgium: when you were little/so you spoke Italian with your parents at home

A. M. M.: Italian and Neapolitan/we never ever stopped speaking Neapolitan # in fact when we gathered for lunch on Sundays they used to come: ... my sister and her husband with their young children/father would forbid us to speak French he would say here we speak Italian/when we are at the dinner table we speak Italian mainly because they [my parents] wanted to be able to understand what was being said//but also because we are Italian so we must speak Italian/personally I think he was right//otherwise well we would not be able to understand our language, our country and it would be a pity]

From the little information provided we gather that regional Italian and Italian dialect are the varieties used in the interaction with family members and particularly between parents and children; a rather common situation in the context of emigration. Obviously, the diglossic difference between the Italian language and a regional dialect is the same as that present before she emigrated, which on a prestige scale ranks the former at the top and the latter at the bottom (Bettoni 2007, 416).

2.1. Linguistic observations

2.1.1. Phonetics

On a phonetic and prosodic level, the Italian spoken by A. M. M. shows little regional marking. This is not a surprise considering that, as already mentioned, she is first and foremost a Francophone speaker (it is not by chance that she shows a uvular pronunciation of the vibrant).

The only phonetic trait worth mentioning in A. M. M.'s spoken Italian (appearing only occasionally¹¹) is the disappearance of the unstressed vowel in final position, pronounced as [ə]:¹² *abbastanzə* “enough”, *adolescenzə* “adolescence”, *allorə* “so/then”, *ancorə* “more/yet”, *andavə* “andavo” “I used to go”, *annə* (2) “anni” “years”, *arrivatə* “arrivate” “arrived”, *avevə* “aveva” “he/she/it had”, *bisognə* “bisogna” “it must/needs”, *completə* “completo” “complete”, *contentə* “contente” “happy”, *contentə* “contenti” “happy”, *digerivə* “digeriva” “he/she digested”, *eronə* “erano” “they were”, *italianə* “italiani” “Italians”, *italianə* “italiano” “Italian”, *mantenevanə* “they maintained”, *nientə* “nothing”, *paesə* “village/country”, *piccolinə* “piccolini” “very young”, *proibivə* “proibiva” “forbade”, *quellə* “quello” “that”, *questə* “questo” “this”, *settə* “sette” “seven”, *sonə* “am/are”, *trovatə* “trovato” “found”, *vedevə* (2) “vedevo” “I saw”, *venivanə* “they came”, *veramentə* “really”, *vestitə* “vestito” “dress/dressed”. This is a trait which goes back to her Campanian dialectal “substratum” but which is undoubtedly “reinforced” by French (as is known, the phoneme is present in both the phonemic inventories of the two language systems).

We found no other traits which can be attributed to the regional Italian spoken in Campania such as [s] which becomes [ts] when preceded by a lateral or nasal consonant (this is not found, for example, in the words

¹¹ In fact, for each occurrence at least one other standard occurrence is attested.

¹² Given the considerable problems A. M. M. had in selecting the correct morphological trait, in particular of adjectives and past participles (less so of nouns), the word between apices is merely indicative.

penso “I think” and *pensava* “he/she thought”, attested in the corpus), or the palatalization of the sibilant at the beginning of a word before the consonants [k] and [p] (in the corpus: *scuola* “school”, *sporchi* “dirty,” etc.), just to give a few examples.

Amongst the general phenomena it is worth mentioning the epenthesis in *andiammo* “we went” and the “casual” pronunciation of *come* in *era com’ a quello di quando ci stava papà* “it was like when there was father” (but it is reasonable to think also of the assimilation of *e* to the *a* that follows) and of *venim’* “venimmo” “we came”.

2.2.2. Morphology

The more frequent deviances from standard Italian are found at a morphological level, in line with the simplification process which is one of the most characteristic features of the language spoken by native Italians in general. It is worth noting that the deviance, relative to the same linguistic trait, is not systematic: solutions within the norm and aberrant solutions usually coexist, even in close proximity (often the standard solution is the result of self-correction). These fluctuations indicate an unresolved tension between the desired variety and the known variety.

Aberrant grammatical agreements recur often, particularly between nouns and corresponding adjectives: *l’ambiente in Italia non gli conveniva più/troppo autoritaria l’ambiente è cambiata* instead of Standard Italian “... troppo autoritario, l’ambiente è cambiato” “the situation in Italy no longer suited him/too authoritarian the situation changed” (here we need to also take into account the interference from the corresponding French word, *ambiance*, which is feminine), *buon formaggi* “good cheeses”, *sue peperoni* “his/her peppers”, *poco persone* “few people” (2); between articles and nouns: *le odori* “gli odori” “the herbs” (here, rather than interference from the corresponding French word which is feminine, I am inclined to consider the article a calque from the French *les* “the”); between subjects and verbs (more precisely the past participles): *è stato un’avventura mica facile* “è stata un’avventura mica facile” “it wasn’t at all an easy experience”, *erano già nato i nipotini* “erano già nati i nipotini” “the grandchildren had already been born”, *i miei nipotini erano nato* “i miei nipotini erano nati” “my grandchildren were born”, *quello sono i motivi* “quelli sono i motivi” “these are the reasons”, *mamma si è affezionato molto con una famiglia* “mamma si è affezionata molto con una famiglia” “mother became very fond of a family”, *mamma per due anni è stato molto male* “mamma per due anni è stata molto male” “mother was very ill for two years”, *siamo rimasto per due giorni a Milano* “siamo

rimasti per due giorni a Milano” “we stayed in Milan for two days”, *siamo stato molto inte’ integra’* “siamo stati molto integra[ti]” “we were very integrated”, [*loro*] *sono andato via* “loro sono andati via” “they left”, *sono venuto dopo anche greci, sono venuto dopo noi italiani* “sono venuti dopo anche greci sono venuti dopo noi italiani” “later came the Greeks they came after us Italians”, [*io, fem.*] *sono venuto qui in Belgio* “io sono venuta qui in Belgio” “I came to Belgium”, [*mamma e papà*] *sono venuto tardi* “[mamma e papà] sono venuti tardi” “[mother and father] they came late”. See also two cases of agreement “ad sensum”: *la generazione mia poca parlano italiano* “la generazione mia poco parla italiano” “my generation speaks little Italian”, *la gente erano contenta* “la gente era contenta” “people were happy”.

Also, there is the aberrant matching of “regular” endings of nouns and adjectives:¹³ *crisa* “crisi” “crisis” (4), *discussione brave* “discussione brava” “heated discussion”, *gente brave* “gente brava” “good people”, *granda pena* (but *pena grande*) “grande pena” “big heartache/great shame”, *meso* “mese” “month”, *quattro mese* “quattro mesi” “four months”, *sua morta* “his death”, as well as errors in the selection of morphemes: *i cortili erano grande aperte* “i cortili erano grandi aperti” “the courtyards were wide open”, *persono mature* “persone mature” “mature people”, *persono semplice* “persone semplici” “simple people”, *tutto chiusi* “tutti chiusi” “all closed”.

The form *Salerna* instead of “Salerno”, for example, could be explained by the influence of the syntagmatic context (*arriva da Roma a Salerna* “it goes from Rome to Salerno”), but we cannot rule out the phenomenon of indistinct pronunciation of the final vowel, as it seems even more likely with toponyms (perhaps A. M. M. became used to this pronunciation with her Italian relatives).

There is a tendency to regularise the paradigm of the definite article (*il* and *i* instead of *lo* and *gli*), and consequently of the articulated preposition, and the paradigm of the indefinite article: *al zio* “allo zio” “to the uncle”, *dei anni* “degli anni” “of the years”, *dei sforzi* “degli sforzi” “some efforts”, *dei sguardi* (2) “degli sguardi” “some looks”, *dei zii* “degli zii” “of the uncles”, *del zio* “dello zio” “of the uncle”, *i zii* “gli zii” “the uncles”, *il zio* “lo zio” “the uncle”, *nei anni* (2) “negli anni” “in the years”, *nei occhi* “negli occhi” “in the eyes”, *un zio* “uno zio” “an uncle”.

In one case the invariable *loro* is reinterpreted as variable, and as such declined in the plural: *lori figli* “loro figli” “their children”.

¹³ The wrong selection of gender and number morphemes finds fertile ground in those southern varieties characterised by indistinct final unstressed vocalism.

With regard to verb morphology there are exchanges of different person forms: [*tu*] *deve fare* “you must do”, *diceva* “dicevo” “I said”, *tu deve fare* “you must do”, *guardo* “guarda” “look”, *uno vedevi* “uno vedeva” “one saw”; endings are exchanged with those of other conjugations: *aspettono* (2) (but soon after *aspettano* “they are waiting”), *erona* “erano” “they were”, *lavoravano* “lavoravano” “they worked”; the loss of *i-* in the ending of the first person plural of the present indicative in *continuamo* “we continue”.

The adverbs *infatto* “infatti” “in fact” (3) and *quaso* “quasi” “almost” would seem to be the result of an attempt to reinstate the final vowel starting from [ə], whilst it would seem that the form *belghi* (3) is a rendering by analogy (*belgi* “Belgians” also attested), probably by phonetic adherence to the singular *belga* (attested).

There are also various types of simplifications (*rispetto tutte le altre lingue* “rispetto a...” “with regard to...”, *tutti tre* “tutti e tre” “all three”) and preposition substitutions (*avevamo in fronte una famiglia belga* “opposite there was a Belgian family”: here perhaps influenced by the French *en face de* “in front of/opposite”).

Lastly, a morphosyntactic trait typical of speech is the “actualising” *ci* of which there are several examples: *io c’ho due sorella* “I have two sisters”, *mia sorella che c’ha due anni più di me* “my sister who is two years older than me”, *io c’ho un bel ricordo* “I have good memories”, *c’hanno molto più paura adesso* “they are more scared now”, *c’hanno il tabacco* “they have tobacco”, *io c’ho contatto con i miei* “I’m in touch with my family”, *c’ha ancor prodotti italiani* “it still has Italian products”.

2.1.3. Syntax

With regard to syntax, we will consider the following two aspects: clause syntax and the order of phrasal constituents.

Regarding clause syntax, as in the typical spontaneous or quasi-spontaneous oral texts, there is a strong preference for coordination (mainly copulative, obtained through the conjunction *e* “and”), and especially for asyndetic juxtaposition at the expense of subordination (less practised). A few examples of various types of coordination are:

- (8)
sono nata il ventitré del luglio del quarantasette in Italia/è nel cinquantatré dicembre cinquantatré sono venuto qui in Belgio

[I was born in Italy on July 23rd 1947/and in December 1953 I came here to Belgium]

(9)

lui ha fatto la domanda per venire in Belgio/lavorare in miniera per vent'anni/è si è trovato molto bene

[he applied to come to Belgium/he worked in the mines for twenty years/and he liked it]

(10)

io mi ricordo quel viaggio/poco//ma un po' mi ricordo

[I remember that journey/not much//but I remember a few things]

(11)

lui lavorava guadagnava modestamente la sua vita stava/correttamente bene però quello che lui non digerivà era il modo come i capi lo trattavano

[he earned enough his life was/fine but what father could not stand was the way in which his bosses treated him]

(12)

quello papà non poteva sopportare dunque/ha deciso di venire in Belgio

[him like many other factory workers could not stand that and so/he decided to come to Belgium]

And some examples of asyndetic juxtaposition:

(13)

sono A. M. M./sono nata il ventitré del luglio del quarantasette in Italia

[I'm A. M. M./I was born in Italy on July 23rd 1947]

(14)

padà ha fatto vent'anni di mina/ha finito nel settantuno

[father worked twenty years in the mines/he stopped in 1971]

(15)

ho perso la mia sorellina nel novantuno lei aveva soltanto quarantadue anni

[I lost my little sister in 1991 she was only forty-two]

(16)

i miei genitori erano persone mature nel senso che papà è venuto a trentasette anni/mamma ne aveva trentotto

[my parents were mature people when they came I mean my father was thirty-seven/and my mother was thirty-eight]

As for subordination, there are very few subordinate clauses higher than first degree subordinate clauses; the type found is mainly explicit subordinate clauses (there are just a few implicit subordinate clauses: *papà aveva fatto una scelta di due o tre famiglie dicendo che la sua famiglia poteva frequentare quelle persone lì* “father had selected two or three families saying that his family could see those people”), and in particular reason clauses (introduced by *perché* “because”), object clauses, relative clauses and, less so, time clauses (introduced by *quando* “when”). A few examples are:

(17)

papà è emigrato nel cinquantuno perché l'ambiente in Italia non gli conveniva più

[father emigrated in 1951 because the situation in Italy no longer suited him]

(18)

mamma infatti per due anni ha fatto un esaurimento nervoso/perché non si adattava per niente qui

[for two years mother suffered from a nervous breakdown/because she could not settle at all here]

(19)

mamma... no/ha seguito papà perché: due anni dopo aveva bisogno di: di stare insieme al marito

[mother... no/she followed my father because: after two years she needed to: to be together with her husband]

(20)

io penso che avrei fatto la stessa scelta

[I think I would have made the same choice]

(21)

mi ricordo che mamma ce ne ha parlato tanto

[I remember mother telling us about this a lot]

(22)

lei dice che ha avuto/più difficoltà

[she says she had/more difficulty]

(23)

mia sorella che c'ha due anni più di me lei dice che ha avuto/più difficoltà

[my sister who is two years older than me says that she had/more difficulty]

(24)

il mio paese/è: è sulla via Appia/la via Appia/che è una bellissima strada larga e lunga

[my town/is: is on the Appian Way/the Appian Way/which is a beautiful long and wide road]

(25)

andavə a vedere delle persone che facevano il tabacco nei cortili quando stavano aperti

[she used to go and watch those people who worked with tobacco in the courtyards when they were open]

(26)

ha dovuto seguire i genitori quando era bambina

[she had to follow her parents when she was young]

(27)

quando aveva finiti i suoi vent'anni di mina lui voleva andare via assolutamente

[when he retired after twenty years in the mines he very much wanted to leave]

(28)

quando siamo arrivatə dans les baraquements hein/erano tutti emigrati

[when we arrived at the barracks/they were all immigrants]

The subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *perché* is only apparently a reason clause in the following two cases (in reality the

conjunction has lost its semantic value and functions only as a simple coordinative link):

(29)

io mi ricordo quel viaggio/poco//ma un po' mi ricordo che mamma ce ne ha parlato tanto perché io avevo soltanto sei anni

[I remember that journey/a little//but I remember that mother used to talk a lot about it I was only six]

(30)

un po' mi ricordo che mamma ce ne ha parlato tanto perché io avevo soltanto sei anni

[I remember that mother used to talk to us a lot about it I was only six but I remember a little]

There is also the case of the “undeclined” *che* (*mamma si è affezionato molto con una famiglia/che ancora tutt'ora siamo amici con i figli* “mother became very fond of a family/and we are still friends with the children”) used as an indirect complement, and various cases of “polyvalent” *che*, used as a generic indicator of subordination:

(31)

non è come un emigrato di diciotto vent'anni come mio cognato qua/che lui è venuto a ventiquattro anni

[it's not like for a twenty year old emigrant like my brother-in-law here/he came when he was twenty-four]

(32)

da noi c'era la cultura di tabacco/che le persone che avevano la possibilità di lavorare nelle... nelle campagne c'era molto molto tabacco

[we had tobacco crops/people could find work in the... in the fields because there was a lot of tobacco]

(33)

come ho detto prima il bisogno di andar una # minimo una volta all'anno/perché poi c'è anche la famiglia lì su nel nord Italia/che sono la madrina di una sua figlia

[and I said before I feel the need to go # at least once a year/and of course there are also the relatives up in the North of Italy/I'm the godmother of one of the girls]

(34)

un'amica mi ha trovatə un olio che viene dalla Calabria un olio veramente buonissimo/che bisogna mettere anche su un po' di pane

[a friend of mine found an olive oil which comes from Calabria a really nice oil/which you can drizzle on bread]

(35)

quando ci mettevamo a tavola che la domenica venivano:... mia sorella con il marito e i primi bimbi piccolini/papà ci proibiva di parlare francese

[in fact when on Sundays we gathered for lunch... my sister and her husband used to come with their young children/father would forbid us to speak French]

Typical of the *italiano popolare* is the sub-standard construction of the Second Conditional with the use of a double conditional: *io se dovrei andare vivere in Italia non mi troverei* "If I had to go and live in Italy I would find it very hard".

As for the order of phrasal constituents, contrary to what might be expected, segmented phrases are very few. They are usually common in everyday speech (also not uncommon in writing) and used to stress the topic/comment articulation and to mark the informative structure of the phrase. There are two cases of dislocation occurring to the left (*questo me lo ricordo* "I remember this", *la mia vita la sento che è qua* "I feel my life is here"), no cases of dislocation occurring to the right, two cases of suspended topic, that is of a construction where a syntactically complete phrase is preceded by an isolated element with topic function, which may or may not be referred back to by a clitic (*quello papà non poteva sopportare* "that father could not stand"; *des commercants ambulants che venivano/pa' # mamma gli parlava italiano* "the street vendors who came round/fa # mother spoke Italian with them"; *loro sforzi non è che ne hanno fatto tanto* "they didn't have to make too much effort"), and a case of an introductory *c'è* "there is" (*ci sono può darsi due o tre famiglie che lavorano ancora il tabacco* "there are perhaps two or three families who still work with tobacco"). No examples of cleft phrases were found.

2.1.4. Textuality

At text level there is a strong syntactic and semantic fragmentation. The text structure and the flow of information are broken into short segments and placed one next to the other without being merged into a cohesive sentence. Planning is minimal:

(36)

ma io no io non non è stato difficile per niente no/sinceramente no avevo sei anni//no per me no Antonietta invece mia sorella che c'ha due anni più di me lei dice che ha avuto/più difficoltà perché mamma e papà: la comandavano a fare quella a fare quella andare nei negozi/repérer certi negozi e tutto quello/ma io no sei anni no/e poi no no io non mi sono # sinceramente... nella mia enfance e anche l'adolescenza e e l'età adulta non mi sono sentita tanto emigrata no//non ho avuto quello... quel manco no le manque je ne l'ai pas/non ce l'ho assolutamente e neanche la mia sorellina che è deceduta neanche lei no/adesso neanche: # mais mia sorella lei era più più grande quando è venuta/e lei ha sofferto voleva la sua nonna voleva la sua zia/invece io... no quello no no/io stavo bene con i miei papà e mamma//no io non ho sofferto no

[for me it hasn't been difficult at all no/really I was only six//no my sister no Antonietta instead who is two years older than me says she found it/more difficult because mother and father: used to order her about do this and do that go to the shops/find certain shops and all the rest/but me no I was six so no/and after no no I have never # really... in my childhood and in my teens and also in my adulthood I never felt much like an immigrant no//I never felt... homesick I don't feel homesick at all/and neither did my little sister who died neither no/not even now: # but my sister who was older when she came/she suffered from homesickness she missed her granny she missed her aunt/instead me... I didn't no no/I was happy with my mum and dad//no I did not suffer]

Here, as elsewhere, there are uncertainties, repetitions, incomplete sentences, constant formulation adjustments, changes of plan, etc.

As in all spontaneous oral texts, textual fragmentation can be compensated for by using various types of discourse markers (see Bazzanella 2001, 145) whose main function is to articulate and structure discourse through non syntactic means. The variety of discourse markers present in A. M. M.'s speech is rather small: there are only a few markers frequently used.

One of the discourse markers which A. M. M. uses more frequently is *ecco* used with different values: to signal the start of discourse:

(37)

ecco mi presento sono A. M. M./sono nata il ventitré del luglio del quarantasette in Italia

[well I'll introduce myself I'm A. M. M./I was born in Italy on July 23rd 1947]

or, more often, to signal the end of discourse:

(38)

è andato molto bene ma mamma per due anni è stato molto male/poi si è adattata/ecco

[it all went well but for two years my mother was very ill/then she settled/there]

(39)

c'è ci sono può darsi due o tre famiglie che lavorano ancora il tabacco/ma pochissimo/pochissimo/ecco

[there are perhaps two or three families who still work with tobacco/but very little/very little indeed//there]

It can also appear within the discourse as a simple “filler” or as a useful element to highlight a particular piece of information:

(40)

nel cinquantatré dicembre cinquantatré sono venuto qui in Belgio/con i miei/papà stava già qua nel cinquantuno//ecco io c'ho due sorella/due sorelle/e: ecco//e dal cinquantatré siamo qua//siamo qua... contenta di esserci/e: dunque papà ha fatto vent'anni di mina/ha finito nel settantuno//e:... je ne sais pas je dois continuer? Nel cinquantuno # nel settantuno e: e ecco dunque la mia sorella prima si è sposata nel sessantasei/ho tre nipotini meravigliosi

[in 1953 December 1953 I came here to Belgium//with my parents/father had already been here since 1951//well I have two sisters/two sisters/and: well//we have been here since 1953//we are here... happy to be here/and: so father worked twenty years in the mine/he stopped in 1971//and:... I don't know shall I continue? In 1951 # in 1971 and: and so well my older sister got married in 1966/I have three wonderful nephews]

Sometimes A. M. M. also uses the corresponding French form:

(41)

sì nonna facciamo così: facciamo così nonna e nonno e voilà no è andato

[yes grandma let's do it so: let's do it so grandma and grandpa and there he did not go]

(42)

a Herstal c'è un bel negozio italiano che... che c'ha ancor prodotti italiani genere magasin primeur là ici... voilà

[in Herstal there is a beautiful Italian shop which... which still stocks Italian products a sort of fruit & veg shop... there]

The particle *no* is also very much present, used insistently (so much so as to come across almost as a habit), as in the following case, where it has a practical, emphatic function:

(43)

Interviewer: per lei è stato facile o difficile integrarsi in Belgio?

A. M. M.: ma io no io non non è stato difficile per niente no/sinceramente no avevo sei anni//no per me no Antonietta invece mia sorella che c'ha due anni più di me lei dice che ha avuto/più difficoltà perché mamma e papà: la comandavano a fare quella a fare quella andare nei negozi/repérer certi negozi e tutto quello/ma io no sei anni no/e poi no no io non mi sono # sinceramente... nella mia enfance e anche l'adolescenzə e e l'età adulta non mi sono sentita tanto emigrata no//non ho avuto quello... quel manco no le manque je ne l'ai pas/non ce l'ho assolutamente e neanche la mia sorellina che è deceduta neanche lei no/adesso neanche: # mais mia sorella lei era più più grande quando è venuta/e lei ha sofferto voleva la sua nonna voleva la sua zia/invece io... no quello no no/io stavo bene con i miei papà e mamma//no io non ho sofferto no

[Interviewer: Was it easy or hard for you to integrate in Belgium?

A. M. M.: no for me it hasn't been difficult at all no/really I was only six//no for me no my sister Antonietta instead who is two years older than me says she found it/more difficult because mother and father: used to order her about do this and do that go to the shops/find certain shops and all the rest/but me no I was six so no/and after I have never # really... in my childhood and in my teens and also in my adulthood I never felt much like an immigrant no//I never felt... homesick/I don't feel homesick at all and neither did my little sister who died/not even now: # my sister who was older when she came she suffered from homesickness she missed her granny her aunt/instead me... I didn't no no/I was happy with my mum and dad//no I did not suffer]

Another discourse marker used rather frequently is the interjection *eh*, which works as a complete pause:

(44)

Interviewer: dunque/secondo lei/la mentalità è cambiata?

A. M. M.: sì sì c'hanno molto più paura adesso/per me sì nel sud eh non lo so nel nord esattamente ma nel sud sì//parlophone c'è tutto eh non fanno rientrare mica come prima eh//no no la mentalità è molto cambiata da quando io ci andavo che avevo diciassette diciotto anni

[Interviewer: so according to you the mentality has changed?

A. M. M.: yes yes they are more scared now/I think so in the South I don't know exactly in the North but in the South for sure//speakerphone there's everything eh they don't let you come back in like before eh//no no the mentality has changed a lot since I used to go there when I was seventeen eighteen]

Finally we observed a tendency in A. M. M. to use direct speech instead of indirect speech (which would require a higher competence than her own, especially in handling verb tenses and *consecution temporum*). Here are just a few examples of the many found:

(46)

lui voleva rientrare in Italia per sempre invece mamma ha detto no ormai c'abbiamo la vita qua/e i miei nipotini erano nato erano già nato i nipotini e no dice lei no io rimango qua//e dunque: tante volte sentivamo parlare abbastanza forte mais lui ha detto: allora troviamo la... troviamo un po' un terrain d'entente

[he wanted to go back to Italy for good and mother instead did not want to she would say our life is here now/our grandchildren are born are here no I don't want to go I want to stay here//and so: often we would hear them talk very loud but he then said: well let's find... some middle ground]

(47)

lei mi mi sgridava: in francese ma io non capivo lei diceva tu deve fare delle/des efforts: tu dois faire attends je n'ai que six ans attends et tu dois faire des eff' deve fare dei sforzi e madonna e lei mi pizzicava le orecchie mi ricordo sempre quella madame.

[she would tell me off all the time: in French but I could not understand she would say you must make an/an effort: you must take wait I'm only six and you must take an eff' you must take an effort and God and she would pinch my ears I'll never forget that madame]

2.1.5. Vocabulary and phenomena of code-switching and code-mixing

Firstly there are some malapropisms: *cultura di tabacco* (instead of Standard Italian *coltura di tabacco* “tobacco crop”), *fine alla* (*fino alla* “until the”), *primo che* (*prima che* “before”). The form *polse* (“on a attrapé des puces abbiamo... abbiamo avuto anche delle polse/sulla testa” “we also had nits... we also had nits/in our hair”) would appear to be a cross between the French form *puces* “pulci” (“fleas”) and the Italian form, even

though in reality A. M. M. means *pidocchi* (*poux* in French; “nits”), as it is possible to infer from the context.

Secondly there are some calques from French: *guardare la lingua* “mantenere la lingua” “maintain the language” (fr. *garder la langue*), *ha fatto un esaurimento nervoso* “she had a nervous breakdown” (fr. *faire un épuisement nerveux* “avere un esaurimento nervoso”), *i cortili erano grande aperte* “the courtyards were wide open” (fr. *les cours étaient grand ouvertes*), *malonestà* “dishonesty”, *manco* “mancanza” “lack” (fr. *manque*), *mina* “miniera” “mine” (fr. *mine*), *un piccolo chilometro* (fr. *un petit kilomètre* “un chilometro scarso” “not even a kilometre”).

The use of *stare* instead of *essere* in the following cases is a regional trait, typical of regional varieties of Italian in Southern Italy:

(48)

ci stavano dei lettini molto sporchi

[there were very dirty small beds]

(49)

erano tutti emigrati ci stavano polacchi ci stavano

[they were all immigrants there were Poles there were]

(50)

quando stai in casa tua//bisogna parlare italiano

[when you are in your own house//you must speak Italian]

(51)

quando si sta a tavola si parla italiano

[when you are at the dinner table you must speak Italian]

As for the rest, there is not much more to report apart from the frequent switching from one code to another through which a typical process of the language dynamics of second- (and third-) generation Italians manifests itself: language interference. The switches from one code to other are both evident at code-switching level:

(52)

papà ha fatto vent'anni di mina/ha finito nel settantuno//e... je ne sais pas
je dois continuer?

[father worked twenty years in the mines/he stopped in 1971//and... I
don't know shall I continue?]

(53)

due giorni là dove ci stavano dei lettini molto sporchi/on a attrapé des puces abbiamo... abbiamo avuto anche delle polse

[two days there in those filthy beds/and we also got nits... we also got nits]

(54)

non ho avuto quello... quel manco no le manque je ne l'ai pas/non ce l'ho assolutamente

[I did not have... that feeling of missing something I don't have it/absolutely not]

(55)

è stato subito un contatto con i Belgi molto bello anche a scuola tutto è andato bene no no/un très grand accueil/moi je # pour pour nous en tout cas on a # non abbiamo avuto problèmes/no on a ét' # siamo stato molto inte' integra'... molto presto

[it was a very nice experience with the Belgians right from the start even at school everything went very well no no/we received a very warm welcome # we did not have any problems/not one # we were integrated very soon]

(56)

lei diceva tu deve fare delle/des efforts: tu dois faire attends je n'ai que six ans attends et tu dois faire des eff^o deve fare dei sforzi

[she would say you must make/an effort: you must take wait I'm only six you must make an effort]

(57)

questo me lo ricordo bene parlavano italiano/e la capivano eh/la capivano e c'est # tout tournait... tout tournait avec sympathie:... non non ça ils n'ont pas eu de problèmes non non/non parce que/ils étaient comme ça e... imponevano la lora lingua ils imposaient un peu leur...//? fin je sais pas ma petite Lara/non lo so come va?

[I remember this well they spoke Italian/and they understood her/it was fun... it was fun... for this I never had problems... no no/no because/they were so and... they would impose their language a little...//well I don't know little Laura/I dont know how is it going]

(58)

certi mezzi che parevano preistorici//e ma: avec le recul

[they had prehistoric methods//in hindsight]

(59)

lei portava da mangiare/al mio nonno [...] mamma li preparava... un genre de... de tupperware mais c'était pas des tupperware c'était//en aluminium

[she would bring him food/to my grandfather [...] mother prepared it in... a sort of... Tupperware but it was not Tupperware it was//in aluminium]

(60)

c'è un bel negozio italiano che... che c'ha ancor prodotti italiani genre magasin primeur là ici

[there is a beautiful Italian shop which... which still stocks Italian products, a sort of fruit & veg shop there]

(61)

c'è un'armonia c'è no no sinon il reste plus rien hein non resta più niente allora no no

[there's harmony no no otherwise there's nothing left nothing then no no]

(62)

a nostra lingua il nostro paese te non lo capisce c'est un po' dommage quand même hein

[you cannot understand our language our country and it's a pity isn't it];

(63)

con i nipotini suoi cioè la quarta generazione gli parlano ogni tanto italiano//qu'est-ce que t'as dit nonno qu'est-ce que t'as dit nonno

[every so often they (=the grandparents) speak Italian with their grandchildren that is with the fourth generation//what did you say grandpa what did you say grandpa].

And at code mixing level (French words underlined).¹⁴

(64)

sono rimasta indipendente nel mio mestiere di alta couture/per quarant'anni

¹⁴ On the difference between code-switching and code-mixing see Berruto (2003, 215 ff.).

[I was a freelance worker in my haute couture job/for forty years]

(65)

tante volte sentivamo parlare abbastanza forte mais lui ha detto: allora troviamo la... troviamo un po' un terrain d'entente

[often we would hear them talk very loud but he then said: well let's find... some middle ground]

(66)

la comandavano a fare quella a fare quella andare nei negozi/repérer certi negozi e tutto quello

[(mother and father) used to order her about do this and do that go to the shops/find certain shops and all that]

(67)

nella mia enfance e anche l'adolescenzə e e l'età adulta non mi sono sentita tanto emigrata no

[in my childhood and in my teens and also in my adulthood I have never felt much like an immigrant no]

(68)

mais mia sorella lei era più più grande quando è venuta

[but my sister she was older when she came]

(69)

be' quando siamo arrivatə dans les baraquements hein/erano tutti emigrati

[well when we arrived at the barracks/they were all immigrants]

(70)

ci stavano polacchi ci stavano: tante tante... des ukrainiens... espagnols

[there were Poles there were: lots lots of... Ukrainians... Spaniards]

(71)

dopo tre anni/che sei stato nelle baraquements

[after three years/you have been in the barracks]

(72)

elle traversait la strada per venire a prendermi

[she crossed the road to come and get me]

(73)

io c'ho un bel ricordo de... mon enfance non non pas de... non dei sguardi méprisants no dei sguardi cattivi

[I have nice memories of... my childhood never... never contemptuous looks no nasty looks]

(74)

papà e mamma sono stati i più vecchi italiani//de de la cité de Cheratte

[my mother and father were the oldest Italians//in the city of Cheratte]

(75)

ils... imposaient la lora lingua italiana e: il napoletano/mais le... la gente erano contente

[they... imposed their Italian language and: Neapolitan/but... people were happy]

(76)

des commercants ambulants che venivano/pa' # mamma gli parlava italiano

[with the street vendors who came round//fath' mother spoke Italian]

(77)

adesso [...] tu devi bussare per entrare [...] parlophone c'è tutto eh non fanno rientrare mica come prima eh

[now [...] you need to knock to enter [...] speakerphone there is everything and they do not let you come back in like before]

(78)

la crisa la crisa anche lì anche//entre parenthèses/un po'... meno genorosi

[crisis there is crisis there too//by the way/a little... less generous]

(79)

c'è tutto/c'è... c'è... c'è boucherie c'è panetteria c'è...

[there is everything/there is... there is... there is a butchery there is a bakery there is...]

(80)

una città millénaire//romaine

[a thousand year old city//a Roman city]

(81)

il tabacco era dopo nei anni # à partir des anni sessanta

[tobacco came later # starting from the 1960s]

(82)

il barbiere del paese il était un grande signore

[the town barber he was a real gentleman]

(83)

ha vissuto con la nourriture italiana

[I lived on Italian food]

(84)

mi piace anche la nourriture francese

[I also like French food]

(85)

mais ça quello è dommage vraiment

[but that's a real shame]

3. Conclusions

This brief paper allows us firstly to observe an aspect already found in other research work (for example Haller 1996): the Italian of emigrants is a variety characterised by a general tendency to simplify its structures, thus showing in this many points of contact with the *italiano popolare* of the Italians in Italy (see Berruto 1983). As we can see in the language used by A. M. M., simplification is mainly at the morphological level with the complexity of the inflectional paradigms of nouns, adjectives and articles being reduced.

Another aspect, also peculiar to the Italian of emigrants, which we found in A. M. M.'s spoken language, is the presence of language interference, specifically between Italian and French, at the lexical and phraseological levels (whilst at the syntactic level the structural proximity between Italian and French makes it difficult to pinpoint possible interferences which are generally the more evident the further apart the

two languages are¹⁵). A. M. M. switches frequently from one code to the other. Slipping into French seems at times to occur unconsciously and in fact immediately afterwards A. M. M. hastens to repeat in Italian what she has just said (perhaps the fact that the interviewer is bilingual Italian-French makes A. M. M. more inclined to resort to code-switching). Nonetheless, switching from one language to the other seems to have a pragmatic value, as it becomes a specific interactional strategy used to stress a certain piece of information and to “reinforce” a concept.

Syntax and textuality are those typical of spontaneous (or quasi-spontaneous) discourse: fragmentation into small blocks of information, usually joined together by coordinative links; a restricted variety of connectors; repetitions, self-corrections, constant formulation adjustments; etc. The discourse markers, as is their nature, make up for the precariousness of the syntactic-textual architecture, functioning as useful tools for the structuring of the discourse. The substantial Francophony of A. M. M. is also evident in this area with her limited usage variation of Italian particles (*ecco*, *allora* and very little else) and her resorting to some words borrowed from French (*voilà*, *hein*, *enfin*).

At the phonetic and prosodic levels, the Italian spoken by A. M. M. shows little regional marking. The reasons for this are not immediately clear, especially considering that, aside from her Francophony, she learned Italian at home with her parents (who spoke both Italian and dialect), and that she is in regular contact with her relatives in Italy. It could be that the exposure to standard pronunciation, or at least to pronunciation not locally marked, through television, which A. M. M. says she watches quite often, played a role in this.

The absence, with the exception of the final vowel [ə] and some other traits, of dialectal or regional elements may surprise us, particularly if we take into account that along with Italian, the Neapolitan dialect has been for A. M. M. the primary language of socialization, learnt and used at home with her parents. Given the lack of specific evaluation elements, we can reasonably suppose on one side that there has been an erosion process of the dialect over time due to an ever-decreasing exposure to it, and on the other side that the speaker has a clear perception of the boundaries between Italian and dialect and is therefore able to keep the two forms separate.

¹⁵ As it is the case, to keep within the Belgian context, with the interferences between Italian and Flemish observed in Marzo (2005, 1555-1556).

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CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE OF A MINORITY WITHIN A MINORITY: THE POSITION OF ITALIANS IN A CONTINENTAL CROATIAN RURAL SETTING

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1. Introduction

Croatia is not widely known as an immigrant country and the majority of its population is made up of ethnic Croats. However, despite its perceived linguistic and cultural homogeneity, it officially recognizes twenty-two national minorities, which is one of the highest numbers of minorities protected by national laws in Europe (Council of Europe 2012, 18).

According to the last census, the Italians in Croatia make up merely 0.42% (N=17.807) of the total population, but their distribution is very unbalanced and over 90% of them live in the Istrian County and Rijeka region, while the remaining 10% are dispersed in several other counties (DZS RH 2011). In some of them they form quite dense, albeit small, communities. Because of their visibility and the level of formal recognition in the northern Adriatic region, they are considered as one of the best protected minorities in the country. There are, however, big differences in the legal status and social perception among different Italian minority groups. The Italians along the Adriatic coast are generally considered as autochthonous or “old” minorities because of the long period that the region was under Venetian rule, and are treated accordingly despite the fact that their numbers may vary quite a bit. On the other hand,

those who inhabit other parts of Croatia, especially its continental regions, remain on the margins of minority protection. The chapter discusses one of the smallest and least visible Italian minority groups in Croatia, namely the Italians of Ciglenica, which is a small village in the continental part of Croatia, in the Sisak-Moslavina country. Not only are they geographically rather isolated from other Italian minority groups in Croatia, especially the ones on the coast and in the capital of Zagreb, but they are also marginalized on the basis of their migrational history, which has further negative effects on their linguistic and cultural maintenance.

The aim of the chapter is to give an insight into the way in which the Italian minority, as one of the apparently best protected minorities, has nonetheless remained invisible and unprotected for various reasons, both objective as well as subjective, in continental Croatia and in particular in its rural parts, such as Ciglenica. Besides, the chapter deals with the effect of this paradoxical position on the linguistic sustainability of such communities. In order to do that, linguistic repertoires of Ciglenica Italians are described on the basis of research conducted by means of the qualitative ethnographic method as it allows a description and exploration of the multidimensionality of cultural and social phenomena such as language identity and ethnic belonging from diverse perspectives. Part of the fieldwork consisted of conducting interviews and focus groups with a total of twelve community members who belong to different generations and vary in their language proficiency, but all feel like Italians to a certain extent. Some of them have dual citizenship, and the majority claimed that the local variety of Italian was their mother tongue. The interviews and focus groups were accompanied by participant observation¹ as well as the observation of the linguistic practices of community members.

The first part of the chapter deals with the elaboration of some basic theoretical concepts aimed at defining multilingualism and plurilingualism in the context of the construction and negotiation of ethnolinguistic identity. It is followed by the explication of specific historical and socio-political factors that define the so-called external sustainability potential of the Italian Ciglenica. The characteristics of the Italian as spoken in Ciglenica along with the linguistic practices of the community members who identify as Italian are dealt with in the next section, after which the role of the speakers' plurilingual linguistic repertoires in language maintenance is examined.

¹ The paper is based on the fieldwork data collected in Ciglenica in summer 2011. Participating in the celebration of the 120th anniversary of Ciglenica was particularly insightful in this context, but will not be reported on here.

2. Theoretical framework

Linguistic and cultural maintenance in minority contexts is determined by a multitude of factors, both external and internal (for more see e.g. Clyne 2003, Tsunoda 2006). Whereas the former are sometimes referred to as objective since they consist of numerical and factual data that depict an actual state of vitality in a specific minority context, the latter tend to be perceived as subjective since they are based on the recognition of the importance of the relative prominence of different objective factors by members of a community (Giles and Johnson 1987; Kindell and Lewis 2000, Bourhis and Barrette 2006). There were numerous attempts to list and classify a variety of potentially relevant factors into categories that could not only describe, but also predict the likelihood of the ethnolinguistic survival potential of such groups in different contexts (Ehala 2010, Ehala and Zabrodskaja 2014). This highly structured approach to linguistic and cultural maintenance and sustainability in different ethnolinguistic groups is characteristic of the tradition of the social psychology of language. Even when the subjective dimension is taken into consideration, such an approach proved inadequate in dealing with hybrid identities, porous boundaries, and unexpected language-identity links found in the field, even in small and relatively isolated communities such as the one treated in this chapter.

The recognition of linguistic repertoires as a continuum between languages that are regularly used by community members allowed for a more constructivist view of identity (Tabouret-Keller 1997, Myers-Scotton 2000). Speakers actively align with a desired identity by making specific language choices in a particular situation. It is important to recognize, however, that choice-making may be determined by a variety of factors and can rarely be reduced to and explained in terms of a simple mathematical equation. One of the reasons for this is the fact that power relations that stem from a broader socio-historical, political and economic context may be as insightful in understanding the processes of linguistic and cultural maintenance and/or shift. This can be manifested in what Pierre Bourdieu termed *meconnaissance* (misrecognition) that afflicts small language speakers, not just by more powerful social stakeholders, but by community members themselves who often devalue their own language by taking on dominant language ideologies (Bourdieu 1990). Another problem lies in the fact that linguistic repertoires are usually much more complex than what most studies on code-switching tend to overtly deal with. It then becomes very difficult to draw a line between plurilingualism as described above and any other kind of polylectalism as

a characteristic of any speaker's repertoire (see Lüdi & Py 2009, 156). This feature becomes even more prominent among minority speakers who have at their disposal a whole array of linguistic features that belong to what structural linguistics would describe as different linguistic systems of unofficial, non-standardized, often archaic and locally (marked), varieties.

The sociolinguistic context I am going to tackle in this chapter renders its speakers, the Italians from Ciglenica, truly plurilingual. In spite of the fact that it is common to refer to communities as multilingual, plurilingualism is more suited as a term to depict an intricate set of linguistic and cultural competences, usually of varying degrees, necessary for their adequate functioning as members of different communities. According to the Council of Europe

[p]lurilingual and pluricultural competence refers to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experiences of several cultures. (Council of Europe 2011, 168)

The concept of plurilingualism thus implies several aspects that differentiate it from the way in which multilingualism used to be conceived. While multilingualism tends to consider language repertoires as the simple results of the multiplication of monolingual competences, plurilingualism conceives of them in a more dynamic perspective whereby the competence in different languages is not necessarily balanced, but rather partial, and sometimes complementary, rather than coordinate, as the result of their use in different domains and for different purposes. This also means that language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) may be developed differently for different language codes within a linguistic repertoire of a plurilingual speaker. Although plurilingualism and pluriculturalism are interconnected, they may not always completely overlap. This feature of plurilingualism may be especially visible in small, and often minority, communities whose heritage language is undergoing a process of language decay. It is well-known that members of minority communities often remain bicultural long after their heritage language ceases to be used on a day-to-day basis, and their specific ethnic identification may remain strong even after the language falls into oblivion (Dorian 1998; Thornton Wyman 2012). Compared to plurilingualism, which is considered to be a feature of an individual speaker and which implies in actual discourse, not only familiarity with, but also active and conscious mobilization of “an indefinite and open set of grammatical and syntactic (...) microsystems” (Lüdi and Py 2009, 157), multilingualism,

on the other hand, is a trait characteristic of society be it a national, regional, local or micro-level community of speakers.

Although plurilingual repertoires are typical of most speakers, in many cases even of linguistic majorities completely emerged in their own culture, and often treated as belonging to homogeneous monolingual speech communities, it is generally true that the more complex the collective identification, the more diverse the plurilingual linguistic repertoires of its speakers may become. This means that minority members' linguistic repertoires are likely to consist of a (linguistic) majority's and their respective minority's set of language varieties. Depending on the socio-political and geographic context, their repertoires may contain more or less archaic and/or regional features, more or less standardized forms, and/or elements from possibly neighbouring minorities' languages. The situation may be even more complex in types of communities I refer to as "a minority within a minority".

"A minority within a minority" is a relatively recent term and a field of research, which developed out of the recognition of diversity present in different types of minorities such as sexual, national, religious, ethnic and linguistic ones. The superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) found within such ascriptive minorities may be the consequence of different social, historical, economic and other factors (Eisenberg and Spinner-Halev 2004). It may lead to the fragmentation of these presumably homogeneous communities by creating diversity within them, but also by producing power differences in different parts of such minority communities. It may cause some members or groups to be perceived as more prototypical and hence more entitled to rights than other groups within the same "roof" minority. Because of the multitude of factors that determine the position of a minority within a minority, dealing with such groups posed a particular challenge for political theorists, including those working in the framework of multiculturalism theories, and for the same reasons remained somewhat marginal in sociolinguistic research (Peled 2011).

In a few studies concerning linguistic minorities within minorities (Patten 2004, Rautz 2007), the lack of a unified definition of a minority within a minority is evident. Patten terms such groups of speakers "internal linguistic minorities" (ILMs) and defines them as groups that are "part of the state-wide majority, but form a local minority or a minority-within-a-minority" (Patten 2004, 136). Examples of ILMs include English-speakers in Quebec or Spanish-speakers in Catalonia (*ibidem*). Rautz's definition of a linguistic minority within a minority is somewhat closer to how such communities are defined in the context of this particular study. It is true, though, that the minority within a minority he addressed, namely

Ladins in South Tyrol, is treated better and is more vital compared to the rest of the same minority's groups, i.e. Ladins living in other Italian provinces (Rautz 2007). I argue, however, that a linguistic minority within a minority is not necessarily in a better or worse position with respect to the rest of their co-terminous minority, but simply in a different position, which calls for the activation of other systems of survival in the majority setting.

3. The Italian Ciglenica: historical and geographic background

Ciglenica is a village in Sisak-Moslavina County located in eastern central Croatia and southwestern Slavonia. Popovača and Kutina are the nearest towns and Sisak is the administrative centre of the region. It is one of the largest counties in Croatia, which used to be well-known for its high industrial profile until the 1990s. The Homeland War, however, brought about an economic breakdown accompanied by depopulation, which particularly affected the small towns and villages. Today, the population size in the region (N=172.439 residents) is close to the lowest levels recorded since data have been available (mid-1800s) and has decreased by around 30% only in the last 20 years. The population of Sisak-Moslavina County is characterized by a higher than average mean age (43 yrs compared to 41.7 for Croatia) and by a twice as low average population density (38.59 inhabitants per km²) compared to the rest of Croatia (75.80 for Croatia). Ethnic Croats make up the majority (82.4%) of the population, followed by Serbs (12.2%). According to the last Census 165 people of both Croatian and Italian nationality inhabit Ciglenica.²

Ciglenica was founded by the secondary wave of economic migration which occurred at the end of the 1890s by Italian-speaking settlers who moved there from more eastern parts of Croatia. The first migrational wave from the mountainous and rural parts of the northern Veneto and western Friuli-Venezia-Giulia regions was caused by political isolation and economic deprivation after the annexation of these regions into the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 and worsened later after the earthquake which left most of its already impoverished population homeless. Although the ensuing wave of emigration was mostly directed overseas (primarily to the USA and Brazil), about eighty extended families were eager to emigrate eastwards once they were offered the possibility to buy chunks of arable land at an affordable price from wealthy seigneurs in the continental parts

² All data are based on 2011 Census data (DZS RH, 2011).

of Croatia (Slavonia). Although some of the migrants originated from other Italian regions, notably Friuli, the majority of migrants came from the province of Belluno, namely from the upper Piave river flow and the surroundings of Pordenone. Having settled in western Slavonia, they formed several settlements which they named after their places of origin, such as San Giovanni, Longarone, Lorenzago, etc. A decade after the first migrational wave, about a dozen settlements with a majority of Italian population was registered in western Slavonia. During the Austro-Hungarian rule, the place-names were translated into Croatian and the settlements were thus renamed Ploštine, Banovac, Kapetanovo Polje, etc. As the population of Ploštine grew and the resources became insufficient, some families decided in 1910 to move about thirty kilometres westwards into completely virgin territory, which these Italian settlers turned into arable and habitable land. The new settlers soon became agriculturalists and later on started the production of coal and fired bricks. It is estimated that 42 families or around 200 Italians lived in Ciglenica between the First and Second World Wars.

Ever since it was founded Ciglenica was perceived as an Italian settlement surrounded by various ethnic and national groups, primarily Croatian Catholics and Orthodox Serbs who lived in the neighbouring villages, which contributed to the multiethnic and multicultural character of the region. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Ciglenica was populated in an organized way by Croats, mostly by Kajkavian speakers from Zagorje, a north-western region in Croatia. The numbers of Italians and Croats were more or less equal after the Second World War and the ratio remains such even today. In the first several decades after the foundation of Ciglenica, Italians lived there as a relatively isolated endogamous community. The first Italian-Croatian marriage was registered in 1935 and facilitated by a common religious affiliation the number of interethnic marriages has grown since then.³ It was only after WWII that the exploitation of oil and coal began and many inhabitants were employed in the production or administration of newly founded industrial establishments. The economic growth, however, brought about a cultural and social transformation which caused the gradual assimilation of the Italian population.

Temporary economic prosperity was felt differently by different facets of the population in the region. In Ciglenica the situation was such that Italians suddenly found themselves in a situation where they could not

³ Italian-Serbian marriages were registered later, only in the 1970s, and remain less common even nowadays (Pasanec et al. 2012).

function any longer as a largely monolingual community because the obligatory schooling and expanded social networks required fluent bilingualism at least. Since there was no elementary school in Ciglenica, the children attended the nearest Serbian school. Being exposed to yet another language and a different (Cyrillic) alphabet with hardly any help from their still mostly monolingual Italian-speaking parents who usually had no formal education often implied the frequent dropping out of school and the rare completion of a secondary education. Other reasons for the overall low educational level of the local population were their geographic isolation and the lack of connections with places that had schools, which made formal education even more unattainable, in addition to the fact that due to poverty many children had to start working early in life.

After the dissolution of ex-Yugoslavia, the Italian minority was gradually being given more voice and visibility. The 1990s were the time of a true ethnic revival in Ciglenica: the Italian cultural association *Noštra cultura* (Our culture) was founded and the ties with Belluno were re-established through different projects, mutual visits and Italian language courses, albeit briefly. The Homeland War, together with an economic decline, caused not only mass emigration to other bigger towns in Croatia, mostly to Sisak and Zagreb, but also a wave of remigration to Italy. Partly assimilated into the Croatian society for several generations already, most of these remigrants, however, soon became returnees to Croatia as soon as the war was over.

Today Ciglenica is a small village inhabited mostly by the elderly and apart from the land which is largely abandoned it does not offer much of a prospect for demographic or economic revival. It is still, nonetheless, strongly marked by its “Italianness”, which not only lives in the collective memory, but remains a distinctive feature of the Ciglenica area. It is so despite the complete absence of any formal status of Italian in Moslavina and western Slavonia due to the small and insufficient numbers in the system which is very protective of the minorities *de iure*, but *de facto* grants the rights to these minorities only if certain formal criteria are met (e.g. an *a priori* defined percentage of the total population in a certain administrative unit).

Despite the presence of Italians in the region since the 19th century and despite their relative numerosity until the mid-20th century, the Italian language of Ciglenica was never present in the public space such as in schools, in the linguistic landscape, and has never been recognized as a legitimate language by either in-groups or out-groups. Although there is a possibility in Croatia for a local or regional unit to grant their minorities some kind of formal support regardless of the numbers, as the case of

Istria shows, neither the Italians in Ciglenica nor those elsewhere in the continental parts of Croatia were given this type of recognition. Our interlocutors do remember, though, that there were initiatives to teach Italian as an elective course in a local school, but the number of pupils interested in learning standard Italian was insignificant. The result is that most of them accepted the idea that it is impossible, on objective grounds, to demand the teaching of Italian. On the other hand, the underlying motives for this lack of interest might lie elsewhere, in the language attitudes and perception of both their own language and how it relates to the standard variety of Italian taught in Italian schools in Croatia.

4. The language of Ciglenica Italians

The variety of Italian spoken in Ciglenica today is the result of a range of socio-cultural and linguistic influences. Although all languages can be considered polylectal *per se* as discussed above, the linguistic repertoires of Ciglenica Italians have been additionally exposed to a variety of influences that shaped it in the course of almost a century and a half. It is the outcome of specific local conditions both prior to migration and afterwards, and is in part the result of the migrational process itself. The language brought and spoken by the first settlers was of the Veneto typical of Belluno and Longarone, the regions from which the majority of settlers came. A smaller group of settlers came from Sacile (close to Pordenone) that administratively belongs to the Friuli-Venezia-Giulia region. The Veneto language (*Léngua vènetà*) as spoken in the second half of the 1800s forms the basis of the linguistic repertoire of Ciglenica Italians.⁴

⁴ Although officially Veneto is still considered a dialect, many inhabitants of the Veneto region (not the participants in our study, though) proudly claim that UNESCO defined it as a language by enlisting it in the *Atlas of the world's languages in danger* (UNESCO 2009). Moreover, the Veneto region proclaimed Veneto “without a trace of doubt” a language, and not a dialect by Law no. 8 from 13 April 2007 (*Tutela, valorizzazione e promozione del patrimonio linguistico e culturale veneto*). This recognition was bolstered by the enthusiasm of a number of linguists from the Veneto region who worked on its standardization. This, however, still remains a somewhat illusive task taking into consideration the internal variability of Veneto. The most common division of Veneto is into four dialects based on their geographic spread: central northern Veneto in the provinces of Treviso and Belluno; the eastern Veneto or Venetian dialect from Chioggia fino a Caorle; the central southern dialect in the provinces of Padua and Vicenza, and the western Veneto or the dialect of Verona. It is important in the context of this paper that the speech of the province of Belluno is considered as a separate dialect by all classifications. The Veneto dialects outside of the Veneto region are usually

The migration of these Veneto speakers to continental Croatia meant that they were cut off from their original territory without much chance of maintaining long-distance contacts, but it also implied coming into contact with other varieties of Veneto, the local varieties of Croatian and, once Ciglenica was founded, with Serbian as spoken in the neighbouring village of Mikleuška. The linguistic repertoires of Ciglenica Italians today are therefore marked by a high degree of plurilingualism. Due to the specific socio-economic situation in which they lived and in particular the absence of schooling in Italian, the Italian part of their repertoires has been minimally exposed to its standard variety and is still marked by lexical archaisms and archaic dialectal features many of which have long disappeared from modern Veneto varieties.

The speakers are well aware, not only of the fact that they speak the dialect, but also of a number of differences between their speech and that of their compatriots in Belluno nowadays. Asked about the language they speak, many stress that what they speak is not really a language, but a dialect as spoken by their ancestors. Moreover, stating that “[i]t’s Veneto”, that “[i]t’s a dialect” and that “[i]t has never been the right thing”, most of our interlocutors implicitly revealed their own perception of the status, but also the value, of their speech. Although all of them are intuitively aware of the differences along several axes of linguistic variability—diatopic, diachronic and normative-prescriptive—between their speech and what they perceive as their language “roof”, variability and confusion in the naming of their language were visible in a number of encounters. In some cases it has been referred to simply as Italian, and sometimes more specifically as “veneto” (*È el dialet di veneto*) or even “bellunese”—the dialect of Belluno (*dialet di Belluno*). This may be assigned to the nested (linguistic) identification in which the differentiation from the immediate sociolinguistic context occurs at the level of national (linguistic) identities and is denominated as Italian, the term which functions in opposition to Croatian in the discourse of Ciglenica Italians themselves. As such it is applicable to all Italian minorities speaking sometimes very different varieties, and is the consequence of the appropriation of the standard language ideology that brought about the erasure of local varieties in discourses on language (Gal 2005, Bilić Meštrić and Šimičić, in press). In the process of constructing their Italian identity, however, the speakers tend to position their regional identity in contrast to the national Italian and

classified as separate dialects and they include, amongst others, the eastern (coastal) Veneto (*il veneto da mar*) that encompasses the varieties of Veneto in Trentino, Friuli, along the coast of Venezia Giulia, in Istria and Dalmatia (where they are also termed as Istroveneto or Dalmatoveneto).

other regional identities perceived as Italian, which is marked by referring to their specific *dialet*. This happens, however, only when they are explicitly asked about their own speech;⁵ otherwise the term Italian serves as the primary marker of their (linguistic) identity and is used in this sense in the chapter as well.

5. Multilingualism of Ciglenica and plurilingual repertoires of its speakers

The relatively sudden change in socio-economic circumstances occurring in Ciglenica after the Second World War as a consequence of the industrialization of the whole region and the ensuing migration from the North West parts of Croatia had a profound effect on the linguistic repertoires of Ciglenica Italians. It strengthened the identification of Ciglenica as an Italian settlement, but more intense contacts and the gradual mixing of Italians and new migrants from Zagorje accelerated the loss of some of their specific cultural traits, linguistic features and language practices. More frequent communication with Croats in what were previously almost exclusively Italian-speaking surroundings gradually pushed Italian into private spheres of life. Important factors in this process were the attitudes of Italians towards their language. Although the relationship between different ethnic groups was generally very positive according to our interlocutors' accounts, some mentioned that speaking a different language made them feel uncomfortable in the presence of non-Italian speakers. None of the interlocutors could actually remember any form of outright stigmatization, but the fear of negative reactions made many of them avoid speaking their mother-tongue even in private domains. This type of leaking of a stable diglossia became particularly visible once interethnic marriages became common. This was the case of one Italian speaker who, after having married a Croat, completely stopped speaking Italian:

(1)

Udala sam se za njega, za Hrvata, i s kim ćeš razgovarat [talijanski]?!

[I married him, a Croat, and who can you speak [Italian] with?!]

⁵ In such cases, some refer to their language as « *friulano* » because some families originate from Friuli, but the fact is that they also speak a variety of Veneto which extends beyond the eastern borders of the region of Veneto.

In this traditional rural setting, it was much more common that wives learned the language of their husbands than *vice versa*. Due to this trend, a specific category of new speakers emerged (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2011; Sallabank 2013, O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo 2015). It included mostly women of Croatian origin who married Italians and became adult learners, even if not always fluent speakers, of Italian. Although it is only exceptionally that they transmitted language to their children and later to grandchildren, they managed to successfully communicate with older family members and in that sense played a key role in maintaining language within families:

(2)

Zagorke koje su se tu udavale su dosta brzo naučile talijanski. Ne prenose ga djeci, ali mogu kontaktirati sa svojim u kući. Morale su naučiti jer su ostali u kući pričali stalno samo talijanski, nisu imali obzira prema njima

[Zagorje women who got married here used to learn Italian rather quickly. They don't transmit it to their children, but they can communicate with their folks at home. They had to learn it because only Italian was spoken, they had no consideration for them]

The conditions of this late language acquisition or the language attitudes involved in the process were not always clear from different narrative accounts. The quote above and some other accounts reveal that it is likely that the acquisition of Italian in such cases was necessary to avoid misunderstandings and exclusion in Italian homes, but there are other examples of Croatian wives who acquired only passive competence in Italian, but never used it actively. Nowadays Croatian serves as an equally acceptable code of communication even in private domains. Moreover, the sense of what makes a private domain private is quite restricted in the view of the speakers themselves. It is defined both by interlocutors and location so that speaking Italian even with family members is often limited exclusively to private physical space:

(3)

Ma, čujte, govorimo mi, ako odemo u auto, govorimo mi talijanski...

[you see, we speak, only if we are in the car, we speak Italian...]

Italian remained a primary code of communication in some other spheres of private social life. It is nonetheless necessarily limited to an already reduced number of peers, mostly in the oldest generation, and generally to those where both spouses are fluent in the language. The contacts with

other Italian-speaking communities in Moslavina and western Slavonia used to be centered on specific cultural manifestations, traditional events and games or social encounters, but they are also becoming less popular.

Regardless of the role that local Italian plays in the identification of its speakers and the perception of Ciglenica in general, it is clear that the Italian language has been undergoing a gradual shift since the 1970s. Our oldest speakers were the last monolingual speakers of Italian up to school age, when they started learning Croatian. Due to a variety of factors mentioned above, many did not complete education beyond the elementary level, and for many Croatian remained only a code of secondary importance in everyday communication. Middle-aged generations attended high school in Kutina, and university-level education is quite common only among the younger generations, but in that case very few return to Ciglenica. The length of schooling depends on the (perceived) level of geographic and social isolation, which was certainly more pronounced in the past, and seems to have influenced negatively the perception and competence in the mother-tongue. An opposite trend can be observed as well in that the level of education is often accompanied by a renewed interest in learning Italian, which becomes perceived as economic capital by more mobile individuals. This change of perspective towards their own mother tongue, which is strikingly different from that of their (grand)parents, is visible in most speakers who pursued any kind of formal language learning. Such a change in attitudes, however, may accelerate the language shift since it often brings about negative attitudes towards the local variety of Italian, the one that Ciglenica people identify with as it constitutes the basis of their linguistic repertoires. The same trend is also visible in those community members who moved to Italy. This was confirmed by several accounts, such as the following one:

(4)

Još ovaj srednji donekle oće govori ovaj naš dijalet, al ovaj stariji ne govori, a ovaj što nam živi u Italiji...uopće neće čut talijanski kad dođe. Kaže da mi dobro ne govorimo, a on je tam već naučen, on tamo već 14 godina živi

[This middle one wants to speak our dialect to some degree, the older one doesn't speak it, and the one who lives in Italy...doesn't even want to hear Italian when he comes. He says we can't speak well; he's already good at it, he's been living there for 14 years]

The oldest generation therefore remains the last one that is fluent in the local variety of Italian and that still uses it actively. Although there are some middle-aged members of the community who learned Italian first,

and Croatian only later in the course of socialization, most of them tend not to use it in everyday conversation and not even in private domains. Most of our interlocutors readily stress that Italian is their mother tongue, but are much more careful in asserting their linguistic competence in it. Although bilingual, many express what one speaker succinctly pointed out by saying that he speaks “*neither one, nor the other; neither Italian nor Croatian*” or another one who said that what he speaks is “*half Croatian*”. What these assertions reveal is a high level of linguistic insecurity that stems from the misrecognition of those varieties—both Italian and Croatian—that do not comply with the standard. The late acquisition of Croatian and the use of Italian as a primary code of communication, especially among older community members, caused interference thus provoking linguistic insecurity in their use of Croatian, which many older-generation speakers themselves perceive as incomplete and incorrect. While still in primary school most of them faced language-based stereotyping and lower school success, which often implied an earlier dropping out of school in some cases. Younger generations have fewer such problems as they were exposed to formal schooling at an earlier age and for a longer period of time and, more or less consciously, avoided Italian as the main communicative code in private domains. The fact that most parents quietly accepted such a choice points to an overlap of different language attitudes with regard to local Italian, which will be discussed in the next section.

Linguistic insecurity in Italian developed along with an awareness of the dialectal character of their speech brought about and enhanced by mobility and more frequent encounters with their Italian compatriots both from Italy and from other minority communities in Croatia. All our interlocutors are aware that their speech is different from the contemporary standard Italian or even the local varieties of Veneto today. This underlying linguistic insecurity is additionally bolstered by the present state of Italian in Ciglenica and continental Croatia in general. It is a reflection of the diminishing number of communicative situations, speakers competent in the regional variety as well as domains of use in which Italian can be practised and freely spoken mostly due to mass emigration from Ciglenica to regional urban centres for work:

(5)

Izlapi ti to ih glave

[It evaporates from your head]

(6)

Da ima moje generacije bliže tu da se razgovara, ja bi stalno razgovarao talijanski

[If (people from) my generation were closer here, I would speak Italian all the time]

The frequency of language use and its allocation to different functional domains may have a direct impact on language structure (Sasse 1992). In the Italian of Ciglenica elements of language shift are prominent even among those speakers who use it actively, but whose Italian part of the repertoire abounds in lexical gaps, morpho-syntactic errors, and a general reduction of fluency. Different types of code-mixing are partly due to forgetting, the need to adapt to particular communicative situations (interlocutors, topics, etc.), or the overt prestige that other codes have in the community. In many cases though, instances of what may seem to be linguistic interference are in fact due to imperfect language acquisition. Besides, one interlocutor described the Italian of Ciglenica as “garbled” because it is Croatized at the level of pronunciation, lexicon and sentence structure. The same processes are visible in Croatian, albeit to a lesser degree (particularly in older speakers); the Italian substrate is present at all levels of linguistic analysis when Ciglenica Italians speak Croatian. Linguistic transfer at the morpho-syntactic level in Croatian consists mostly in direct transfers in gender and case marking. Lexical borrowings in both Italian and Croatian are particularly frequent in cultural vocabulary, sometimes accompanied by semantic specialization (e.g. *palenta* vs. *žganci*; *salama* vs. *salamić*). The fact that any type of interference is more likely to be perceived in Croatian by speakers themselves is a direct influence of the higher metalinguistic awareness that they have developed in Croatian and the instilling of linguistic correctness ideologies through formal schooling.

6. Language attitudes and identity as factors of ethnolinguistic maintenance

Language attitudes are highly related to patterns and frequency of language use. It is not always clear, though, if they precede the reduction of domains in which a minority language is used, or if negative attitudes are promoted by the increased interference that occurs as a consequence of intense language contact and the leaking diglossia discussed above (Sasse 1992). It has to be kept in mind, though, that negative language attitudes are not formed in a social vacuum; they do not develop because of any

inherent properties of a language or a language variety or because speakers decide to devalue their own language. They are rather the sum product of certain language ideologies developed in the course of formal education and further strengthened by public discourses on linguistic correctness and the value of standard varieties, on the supposed normality of monolingualism and potential problems incurred by multilingualism. As such, negative language attitudes are the reflection of power relations incurred partly at least by the structures of the nation-states, which may be notable in minority settings, and particularly in what I refer to as minority-within-minority contexts, characterized precisely by power differentials between different subgroups within a single minority.

The relationship between language attitudes and use is not always predictable since attitudes appear at different levels of consciousness thus reflecting either overt or more covert language ideologies at work (Kristiansen and Jørgensen 2005, Kristiansen 2010, Sujoldžić and Šimičić 2013). Accordingly, language attitudes of Ciglenica Italians towards their language seem to be complex and multidimensional. Most of them are proud of their language which they perceive as the main distinctive trait that sets them apart from the rest of the population. Identification with their *dialet* is characteristic even for those who do not use it actively and even among those who cannot speak it. Nonetheless, although they all claim to speak Italian whenever the circumstances allow, many do not consider it “correct”, “good”, or “original”:

(7)

Mislim da Talijani točnije govore nego mi jer mi imamo taj naš dijalekt ili; ili
To vam nije onaj original nikad bio; nikad to nije bilo ono parvo

[I think that Italians speak more correctly than we do because we have our dialect]

(8)

Kad su djeca bila mala išli smo u Italiju svake godine...onda smo čuli prave talijanske riječi...

[When the children were little, we used to go to Italy every year...then we heard true Italian words]

(9)

...nikad to nije bilo ono parvo

[...it was never the right thing]

Some of the reasons for this covert negative evaluation of the language they speak lie in its perceived uselessness both in Italy and in Croatia. In Ciglenica non-Italians do not understand it, and the same is true of Belluno, the place of their origin, which many of them visit once in a while. In the broader context only the standard variety of Italian is perceived as having cultural and economic capital and the speakers are well aware of that. Their language bears only covert prestige to some extent as it is still used to strengthen social solidarity and promote local identity, but even in many local contexts its symbolic value is sometimes unstable and questionable. The effects of this attitudinal conflict are manifested in family language management, especially in terms of intergenerational language transmission, which has been broken down and remains alive to some extent only along the grandparents-grandchildren axis. On the one hand, most parents who did not insist on language transmission openly regret it in the interviews. On the other, though, their own negative attitudes at a more subconscious level might have been an important trigger for the situation in which the local Veneto is only exceptionally transmitted to the youngest generations.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter the Italian community of Ciglenica is discussed in terms of a minority-within-a-minority situation. Its members are Italian nationals, many of them citizens as well, but their status is significantly different with respect to some other groups of the same minority in Croatia. While Italians in the northern Adriatic region managed to obtain a rather high level of protection thanks to their perceived autochthonous status, better self-organization and their closeness to Italy, the Italians in the continental parts of Croatia were never granted any kind of formal support. Although this is partly due to their small numbers, the lack of political self-organization, but also their economic migrant status which renders their minority status seemingly less legitimate in legal and political terms. Besides, they inhabit small settlements in the region marked by emigration and depopulation, which further contributes to their feeling of isolation. However, their presence in the region adds to its multilingual and multicultural character. Moreover, the “Italianness” has become a hallmark of Ciglenica as it extends beyond the boundaries of the Italian community itself to include all of its inhabitants who readily accept and identify with this Italian character of the place (Peternel 2012), whereby language figures as a prominent marker of identity for all of its inhabitants. Being cut off from their regions of origin well before

maintaining regular ties with them was viable, and the decades of close contacts with neighbouring Croatian and Serbian villages, aided by migrations of NW Croatians, had a profound impact on the development of their language at the same time rendering their linguistic repertoires truly plurilingual. Today it is this plurilingualism, characterized by what some would define as imperfect competences and frequent code mixing, yet dynamic and unexpected, which has the the true potential for linguistic and cultural maintenance for the Italian Ciglenica. Finally, despite certain drawbacks that being a minority within a minority may imply as outlined in this chapter, one can rightly question whether such a status could still be seen as an opportunity rather than a problem. Although marginalized as a minority and additionally as a minority's minority, perhaps as such this Italian community is under less pressure to conform to broader national discourses thus helping them to preserve their specific Veneto language and identity in the long run.

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SECTION THREE:
NEW PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONTEMPORARY LINGUISTIC SCENARIOS IN THE GLOBAL WORLD: THE ITALIAN CASE

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1. Introduction

1.1. The role of “italofonia.” Among the 4 million people of Italian origin living abroad are diversified skills and contact with Italy: a base of elderly people (dialect speakers), a base of adults with expertise in several Italian varieties (regional, popular, standard, etc.), a group of adults who grew up and were trained in Italy before leaving, and second-third-fourth generations of young people and adults for which Italian is a foreign language, but indicated (sometimes incorrectly) as the language of the community of origin. Increasingly different forms of italofoonia coexist and need to be highlighted, in terms of Italian language teaching, the dissemination of media and their content, and the relationship with the economic, cultural, and social settlement (the presence of Italianisms, the use of Italian language for specific purposes, the role of policies aimed at bilingualism, the monitoring of Italian descendants, and the relationship with other immigrant communities). It shows the need to continue to study the groups for which the Italian language is a requirement of the appropriation/reappropriation/reconstruction of a link with a more or less distant past, even deconstructing stereotypes and clichés, and, on the other hand, the need to study the change in Italians who emigrated more recently.

1.2. The forms in which the Italian language is visible (the emergence/rooting of Italianisms and their function, forms of language contact and the acceleration of linguistic superdiversity). The Italianisms found in urban linguistic landscapes represent a phenomenon witnessed in

the presence of Italian communities or Italic communities (Bassetti 2015) or a choice of Italian to convey positive values. In this way, the Italian language has become the second language after English as a presence in the contexts of public communication, overcoming every boundary.

Data regarding texts produced in public spaces—in cities and towns, and, within them, streets, squares, and so on—were gathered and analysed. The predominant text types in such contexts were mostly commercial signs and advertising posters, billboards, announcements, personal messages, graffiti, restaurant menus, and the like.

1.3. The position of the Italian language in the world. On this topic we will look at the paradigms illustrated in Vedovelli (2011a) in *Storia linguistica dell'emigrazione italiana nel mondo* to verify different scenarios.

The chapter aims therefore to analyse, on the basis of researches conducted at the Centre of Excellence of the University for Foreigners of Siena, focused on the role of the Italian language abroad, linguistic scenarios involving the Italian language, in the “borders” of the contemporary world.

2. Italian in the global linguistic space

In an increasingly rich and extensive bibliography, to which we can add the European documents produced by the European Commission and the Council of Europe, terms such as *language management*, *language policy* (in the schools, in the workplaces, etc.), *managing public linguistic space*, *multilingualism*, *maintaining minority languages and, more generally, sociolinguistics and language education/of globalization*, seem to indicate the paradigms of analysis, interpretation and contemporary analysis of language contact and the conditions for its management (Blommaert 2010, Hornberger, Lee McKay 2010, Pauwels, Winter, Lo Bianco 2007, Spolsky 2009).

The Italian language, understood here as a language that moves (inside and outside national borders) in a “global language market/order” (Calvet 2002, Maurais and Morris 2003), and therefore subject to fluctuations which cause extra-linguistic factors, is analysed in this chapter as a consequence of Italian emigration in the world, on the one hand, and in relation to contemporary Italian linguistic space in the internal context which sees in it this contact of immigrant languages with Italian. We take this opportunity also from the analysis made in the book *Linguistic history of Italian emigration in the world*—SLEIM (Vedovelli 2011a, 22).

Today, if we want to come to a comprehensive view of what has occurred in the linguistic identity of the community of Italian immigrants of Italian origin, and if we ask to what extent these processes have roots in or glue-nections with the dynamic that covered the Italian linguistic face in 150 years of history of the unitary state, we need to apply new models of reading and interpretation of the material. If the Migrationslinguistik (Krefeld 2004) seems an appropriate scientific framework to examine consistency and theoretical and methodological adequacy as a general matter, then, thinking of the Italian situation, we believe that we can still apply the model of linguistic space also to the events of our emigration in the world, but in contrast to the dynamics, needs, pressures and specific characteristics of the global world (Vedovelli 2011b, 139).

The model of the global Italian linguistic space proposed by Vedovelli (2011b, 142-144) thus represents a usable model, in its structuring in a first axis (the pole of the dialect, Italian, the mother tongue) and a second axis (the poly ethnic language, identity), to understand the dynamics involving the Italian language at the global level.

The presence of immigrant languages in Italy (such as Albanian, Arabic, the Chinese language, etc.), dictated by the growing number of people of foreign origin, from the mass of students born in Italy who have entered the Italian education system, still calls for more comparisons between the condition language of the younger generation of descendants of Italians in the world and that of the younger generations of foreign origin in Italy. The relationship with Italian (for those referred to as the native language even if it is not always so, for other contact languages, the language of the country where you live, etc.) is in both cases determined by imagery, choices and conditions, the analysis of which is the subject of the first discussion.

The global linguistic space is not necessarily in opposition to local space, notes Pennycook (2010), and the global Italian, in particular, is therefore characterized by an intersection of languages and language use, which contributes to increasing the so-called linguistic superdiversity (Vertovec 2006, 2007; Blommaert 2010; for Italy: Barni, Vedovelli 2009).

3. The second and third generations of Italian/foreign immigrants emigrated

The assumptions from which we start are the following: the younger generation of Italian immigrants and immigrants in Italy have a relationship with the Italian language that moves within the Italian pole as a foreign language, the language of a heritage to (re)gain for the first and

contact language, the language of socialization among peers, but also in connection with immigrant languages, the languages of origin, for the latter. In both cases it is a language which can be an investment for the future and instrumental in the future (not only linguistic) of these younger generations. We will therefore analyse the data from the FIRB project *Loss, maintenance and recovery of the linguistic and cultural space in the II and III generations of Italian emigrants in the world: language, languages, identities* (FIRB 2009-2012—Research Unit: Università per Stranieri di Siena (coordinator), Università di Salerno, di Udine, della Calabria, della Toscana, Elea).

From the data available on a restricted questionnaire's core (170), the predominant source of the youth of Italian origin concerns countries such as Argentina, Australia, Brazil, the United States and Germany, that is, those countries that have led the way for the presence of Italians in the world. Argentina and Germany are in the 1st and 2nd places for the number of Italians living abroad and Argentina, in particular, together with Brazil, is the country which most registers the acquisition of Italian citizenship for reasons related to Italian origins. These are also the two countries where there has been a growing presence of Italian in recent decades, in the education system, both at the primary school level and in higher and university courses.

As for other traits: two-thirds of members of the first group of informants are women, with 60% aged between 19 and 35 years old. Only 40% say they have been to Italy many times, while another 40% have visited only once, mainly for touristic motivations. Italy is the country of origin of their families and relatives, but only in second place, it is primarily a tourist destination. This aspect is not secondary also from a linguistic point of view, indicating a relationship with Italy and the Italian language as an "occasional condition" or "random": Italian came in various forms within its competence after English, Spanish or Portuguese. As a testimony of this, there is the perception that Italian informants manifest: the presence of the Italian language in their life (as a language learned from family or at school) is underlined with adjectives that define the Italian-no status as the official Italian, Italian alternating with regional varieties such as Italian/Piedmontese, Italian (South), Italian/Neapolitan and dialects also appear. 30% of the sample signals the ability to move in a linguistic space-based Italian (Italian and dialects), but these traits are placed in the third position and after the mastery of other languages.

Italian has in fact the condition of being a language learned through the family (parents and grandparents in part), at school, or in a university course or an association. This raises three potentially different views: the

Italian heritage as transmitted in its different forms and varieties; English learned as a curricular subject (and incidentally also of the origins); and Italian as a choice in their studies. In the second and third cases, the reflection on Italian as well as the origins of language may be simply incidental.

As for the case of Italian learned from family members, there is awareness of an Italian replaced by/mixed with/accompanied by dialectal forms: to the question “do you know a dialect?” 50% answered yes (learned from parents and grandparents), denoting contact with the linguistic repertoire of previous generations and also noting the role of the gene-half ration (parents) in representing the true bridge with their origins and the Italian language, as highlighted in the Italian 2000 (De Mauro et al. 2002).

For those who chose to study Italian (half of the informants), the motivations to study are varied, from “my family is of Italian origin” in addition to “for fun”, “for sentimental reasons”, and “to study”. The fact that the informants could provide more answers allowed the building of a stratification pyramid of motives.

Whereas all the informants must be of Italian origin, the motivation to “study Italian because my family is of Italian origin” may be in its percentage of data deriving precisely the type of players involved. What then is to be noted are the other reasons: study for personal pleasure that undoubtedly highlights not one relationship with the Italian language to an audience of any generic Italian. If you delete the motivation linked to the past (the Italian origin), in a growing period, the “Italy” brand with its different meanings captured and motivates students in learning Italian.

Table 1. Reasons to study the Italian Language

Reasons	Posizione/Ranking
Italian heritage	1
Personal pleasure	2
Personal reasons	3
Study	4
Cultural reasons: arts, literature, sport, etc.	5

Italian movies	6
To send emails in Italian	7
Italian songs	8
To read Italian books in Italian	9
Tourism	10
Work	11
To watch Italian TV	12
Internet	13
Italian opera	14
Other	15

A confirmation of this is the answer concerning its usefulness: a long list of options (Tab. 2) prevail “to communicate with Italians”, “go Italian”, “talk to relatives in Italy”, and “communicating in everyday situations in Italy”, elements that only partially match the rediscovery of their roots.

Table 2. To know the Italian language will be especially useful ...

Italian language...	Ranking
to communicate with Italians	1
to visit Italy	2
to communicate with Italian relatives	3
to communicate in Italian real life	4
to write emails in Italian	5
Italian songs	6

to watch Italian movies	7
to watch Italian TV	8
to work with Italians	9
to read newspapers in Italian	10
to read books in Italian	11
Internet	12
Italian opera	13
Other	14

Talking, communicating, and discovering contemporary Italy: here are the wishes of the second and third generations that are in a guide to the process of learning Italian: 60% say they know how to speak well in Italian, 20% “a bit”, and the remainder “bad” or unresponsive. Italian, as shown by Italian in 2000, is never the first foreign language studied and half of the informants are aware they know other foreign languages better than Italian.

This analysis of some of the questions put to the second and third generations does not even permit the development of a clear linguistic profile: we are still in the process of creating an identikit. Not adequately addressed in the past, according to a schedule that would take account of the Italian emigration status in the world, the issue of the Italian language for those involved in a migratory path is that the descendants today suffer the consequences of this lack of a “policy” for a clear relationship with the first generations (and their linguistic condition of dialectophones, scarcely literate) in the ways of the development of their Italian “identity” and for this reason they have become a major subject of analysis.

4. Italian brand names

We are used to open and varied scenery in linguistic landscape studies (Gorter 2006; Shohamy, Gorter 2008), and on a positive note, we can expect it to become increasingly so. However, when we come to look at brand names, the horizons seem to narrow. Regarding brand names, with

the exception of Edelman (2008) and a handful of other studies with a sociolinguistic slant or an interest in the etymology of the proper names often chosen for brands (Salih & El-Yasin 1994), attention to these signs currently appears limited, despite their quantitatively significant presence within the urban linguistic landscape. One explanation for this might perhaps lie in the fact that brand names are often based on proper names, an “object” that, at least from Wittgenstein onwards, has created various difficulties for those studying languages, their meanings and their relationship with the world (Scollon & Scollon 2003, Voltolini 2003). Furthermore, rather than being treated as signs, semiotic traces of a linguistic landscape, brand names are seen solely as the tools of a globalised market which produces, publicizes and sells goods without considering their meaning, perhaps unaware of the deep ties between the destiny of economies and that of languages (Baker and Eversley 2000; De Mauro 2003, Danesi 2006).

With this in mind, as in Bagna and Barni’s research (2007), our research is based on a theoretical model that interprets the presence of Italian around the world or its contact with other languages within the *global linguistic market* (Calvet 2002, De Mauro et al. 2002) and within the *new global linguistic order* (Crystal 1997, Maurais, Morris 2003). This model is part of a more generally semiotic vision in which, in order to explain the presence of Italian for foreigners, we need to consider the sense values ascribed to our language and culture. As we shall see, Italianisms and pseudo-Italianisms within brand names bear witness to the prevalence of positive traits, linked to the perception of aspects of Italianness such as quality of life, well-being, dynamism and creativity. This last trait in particular appears to open doors to new meanings for foreigners who absorb our language into their own communicative structures. We are even more deeply struck, however, by the creative relationship that foreigners have with Italian, which they see as a language that can be re-elaborated, adapted to suit their needs, and taken as a source of models for the formation of meaning. Thus, contact between Italian and other languages becomes another area of intensification of creative processes—one of the fundamental semiotic traits of language: the presence of Italian becomes the sign of a semiotic effort to recreate meaning, an attempt to regain possession of meanings that would otherwise be lost or remain unformed. In the course of this chapter, we will see that these names and words have a quantitatively significant presence in the lexical repertoires of beginner learners of L2 Italian, and in their linguistic imagination. Our hypothesis is that there may be a direct link between the visibility of brand names containing Italianisms and

pseudo-Italianisms and the activation, increase and support of motivation for foreigners to learn Italian. Naturally, in this chapter we will barely touch upon this hypothesis, but it has already been verified in a number of contexts, and we feel confident that it could contribute to expanding and enriching the Linguistic Landscape scenario in an interdisciplinary outlook.

Data were collected between 2002 and 2015 using instruments and methodologies already in use within the Centre for Research Excellence of the University for Foreigners of Siena (Barni, Bagna 2008), and belong to a wider corpus of Italianisms collected for research into the presence of Italian in social public communication in the Linguistic Landscapes of various cities worldwide.

We found Italianisms, i.e., Italian expressions, phrases and sentences inserted into a Linguistic Landscape outside Italy, and pseudo-Italianisms, terms produced using Italian word-formation models, with a creative outcome. For example, the use of different suffixes (including *-issimo* and *-ino*) is an example of a continuous re-creation based on models (or pseudo-models) of Italian (or contact Italian), often constantly mingling with the languages of non-Italian linguistic spaces. For this aspect, see Vedovelli (2005), who analyses the word *freddoccino*, an exemplary pseudo-Italianism created by a foreign company as the name of a new drink (a cold cappuccino, as yet not marketed in Italy, but widespread abroad). This creation is the fruit of a deliberate choice: instead of using a contamination between a term taken from the local language (in this case, German) and an element recognised as being Italian, but generally felt and understood to be an internationalism (*cappuccino*), it opts for an invented word to convey “the morphological and lexical traits in the new name that must render the exotic language of origin as clearly as possible” (Vedovelli 2005, 591). In these cases, Italian is no longer just the language of the Italians, but it is re-created to form new words, often with a contribution from local languages, and always with the aim of evoking traits of Italianness on a cultural level.

In the analysis performed, the visibility of Italian brands appears to be closely related to their capacity to attract sense-building mechanisms associated with positive values. These mechanisms prove to be crucial for creation and use in the same contexts as other brands containing one or more Italianisms and/or pseudo-Italianisms, in a mechanism that has to do with language and the vast universe of communication, rather than with marketing (Danesi 2006). In our corpus this would appear to be the case for a series of brands from the clothing sector (*Ecco*, *Vero Moda*, *Scandalò by Fellini*, *Senso*, *San Marina*) and, above all, for brands from the catering

trade, where the presence of Italian, perhaps more than in other contexts, has an evocative force and represents an impulse towards creative, and even inter-linguistic, solutions (*DelArte, Bellissimo, Don Donna, Cappuccino animale, Biancaffè*). But there is certainly no lack of cases where the presence of Italian brand names would lead us to hypothesise what we might call a system of activation of the Italian language and Italianisms, including many in contexts of use other than fashion and catering. This confirms the hypothesis, already verified elsewhere (Vedovelli and Machetti 2006, 191), that the Italian language and its words not only indicate *realia* that cannot be expressed otherwise, but also convey meanings relevant to the dynamics of communication, conveying semantic traits in a form not present in the language of the country, and communicating images of values more generally associated with the Italian language and culture, which are no longer limited to the contexts of fashion and food.

From another point of view, the power of these sense-building mechanisms seems so great as to lead us to consider Italian brands not only as potential creators of economic value (which implies the necessity for a reading of the brands parallel to that offered by that most traditionalist of interdisciplinaries, marketing), but also as potential activators of Italian learning. The Italian of brands is to all intents and purposes an identifying language in which the non-Italian can

determine their own identity dialectically in a recreation of values, starting from the evocations that linguistic signs are capable of eliciting. (Vedovelli 2005, 603, our translation)

Thus the Italian of brands activates linguistic competence. Research carried out by the Siena Centre for Excellence has demonstrated that the visibility of Italian brands in these cities is obvious and, above all, able to influence at least people's motivations for learning Italian, if not their progress in learning.

5. Conclusion

From an analysis of the two groups of young second and third generations emerge qualitative elements, linguistic attitudes, self-assessments, projections, and trends in the construction of a global Italian linguistic space. This necessitates some comments: the history of Italian emigration should help address the issue of youth generations of foreigners in Italy, so as to help develop better language skills for the entire Italian society, but especially for those groups still involved in training.

If, for young people of Italian origin in the world, Italian can represent a “challenge” towards additional language skills, for those who live in Italy the balance between Italian, languages taught at school and the source language represents a challenge also for Italy to manage internal linguistic balances, in order to better recognize the languages and outcomes of language contact from the perspective of language management and language policy evoked at the beginning (by creative forms due to the learning process and to the linguistic landscape forms in the urban context). To this is added, finally, although it is still not entirely clear from the analysis, the role played in these young generations by new technologies able to trigger the use of languages or facilitate their survival, in the case of the languages of migrants.

The interpretation of the linguistic samples collected via the Linguistic Landscape approach is based on the idea that the connection between these samples and Italian is neither arbitrary nor linked to the logic of “one nation, one language”, a reasoning that would suggest a monolithic situation that is closed to contributions from other languages (a reasoning still embraced by marketing). Instead, we see it as a connection based on the following considerations:

- the position and therefore visibility of Italian in global social and public communication, in which Italian is second only to English. This makes it not only a language of identity but also a contact language, a starting point for evoking the symbolic values linked to food and drink, fashion, culture, and Italian-made products generally;

- Italian’s potential as a language that, as much as others if not more, activates linguistic creation mechanisms in contact situations, evoking an Italianness that can condition how the individual views things within a logic of collective perception;

- the connection with language learning. The Italian visible in urban Linguistic Landscapes potentially activates learning. As already underlined, many foreigners’ first Italian vocabulary—for all that it might contain errors and/or new pseudo-Italian creations—is found in brands.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

MIGRATORY CAREER: A NEW FRAMEWORK IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

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In the studies on language contact and interference, it is well known that “interference is conditioned in the first instance by social factors, not linguistic ones” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 35), but the kind of influence of the first on the second is still controversial. This is also true in the sociolinguistic study of Italian migration as Bettoni and Rubino have recently argued (Bettoni and Rubino 2010). And in addition, the role of individual variation is still being discussed.

More generally I believe we can safely say that the traditional, academic separation between the fields of study is at the root of the lack of communication amongst specialists. Françoise Gadet (2004, 90), among others, wrote:

Les (socio)linguistes ne sont pas parvenus à intégrer dans le comportement social une approche à partir de l’homme parlant. Pour la plupart des gens, même cultivés, le savoir sur l’homme social continue à se partager entre le psychique, le social et/ou le culturel, et l’économique, ce qui donne tout naturellement place à une organisation disciplinaire en psychologie, sociologie et/ou ethnologie, sciences économiques. D’ailleurs, les linguistes acceptent en général comme allant de soi un tel découpage, en se contentant d’y ajouter un secteur pour le langage.

Personally, I believe that encouraging specialists in various fields of study to communicate with one another is not only a good way to refine analysis, but also an incentive to consider methods and theories critically.

This chapter deals with a relatively new theoretical framework in which the individual characteristics of migrants and their networks are

considered together in order to explain the role of individual variation in the sociolinguistic study of migration. It focuses on the role of individual variation starting from the concept of a “migratory career”, recently applied to the sociology of migration by Martiniello & Rea (2011, 2014) who suggested applying a multiple perspective to the analysis of migration. This multiple perspective should take into consideration simultaneously (and not separately) “the agency of the migrant, the internalization of socio-economic structural constraints directing migrants without their consent, or the impact of political decisions” as well as chance, which also influences migration at various stages (Martiniello & Rea 2011, 1). The two Belgian sociologists thus attempted to define a renewed analytical overview¹ by applying to the field of studies on migration the concept of “career”, originally conceived in the field of sociology to analyse the phenomenon of “deviance” (Becker [1963] 1985). Obviously, Martiniello and Rea’s intention is not to equate migration to a deviant practice; on the contrary they believe that:

the analysis of deviant careers, as proposed by Becker, can be useful particularly for analysing how some forms of mobility are considered as deviant behaviour (i.e. irregular migration) whereas others are considered as normal (people from wealthy countries taking their vacations or retiring to poor countries). (Martiniello & Rea 2014, 1083-1084)

The concept of “career” they invoke does not coincide with the classic definition of a professional career, that is, the progression in one’s lifework through changing jobs, but focuses on the progressive learning process an individual goes through in order to acquire a specific practice (be it in a profession or for example in delinquency as in the original studies carried out by Becker). To do this one must also build “a representation of this activity which permits the person to preserve an acceptable self-image. It consists of a simultaneous learning process of a practice and of a change in social identity” (Martiniello & Rea 2011, 3).

After an investigation which has lasted several years carried out within the interuniversity project “L’identità italiana tra particolarismi e globalizzazione,”² to which I have contributed by supplying the research group with materials taken from the region in which I live and work (the

¹ For a brief critical overview of the most recent literature on migration cf. Martiniello & Rea (2014, 1080-1081). For an overview of Italian emigration: Rapporto Caritas Migrantes “Italiani nel Mondo” (2015), Corti and Sanfilippo (2009, 2012).

² Di Salvo, Moreno, Sornicola (2014).

Liège province in Belgium³), it seems to me that the methodological difficulty in combining macro-, meso- and micro-sociological approaches with the migration phenomenon which the Belgian sociologists rightly reported and which they resolved in the way mentioned earlier, also meets the needs of those who, like me, are interested in linguistic phenomena. In fact, it is clear by now that the traditional migration categories of gender and age which are generally used to analyse the linguistic phenomena of migration are no longer sufficient to explain the behavioural differences between people⁴ or communities⁵. In fact, it is still difficult to combine the individual approach (idiolect analysis and personal experience) with a necessarily more generalized approach which takes into account more far-reaching sociolinguistic or sociological variables (analysis of the spoken language of a community, regional groups, and individuals from different migration waves). In sociolinguistics, therefore, there is a growing need, if not to renew, at least to refine, the analytical overview. Such refinement can be achieved by taking into account both the rational and voluntary actions of the migrant in building a new linguistic identity along with the external structural factors, which although independent from the migrant's consent do contribute to the forging of this new identity. The central role of the learning process in the concept of a "migratory career" is what drove me to evaluate the pertinence of this concept to the individual linguistic analyses as well as its adaptability to further contexts not considered by Martiniello & Rea. The aim of this paper is to highlight how the concept of a migratory career works at a sociolinguistic level and to show how a migrant's speech illustrates the construction mode of individual careers and their representation, and finally to indicate which aspects of the concept are more useful in explaining some variation phenomena which cannot be easily filed under the "traditional" sociolinguistic categories.

The constitutive dimensions of a migratory career as identified by Martiniello & Rea are of various types. I will use those categories already described in sociology which were found to be more pertinent to sociolinguistic studies, showing their application through examples taken from interviews carried out with migrants of Campanian origin in Liège.⁶ Here I will explore the speakers' representation (or self-representation):⁷

³ For an outline of the history of Italian migrants in Belgium, cf., among others, Morelli (2004).

⁴ Di Salvo & Moreno (2012).

⁵ Di Salvo (2012, 2015).

⁶ The interviews carried out over the years by myself and some of my students deal with first generation Italian migrants from Campania (that is people born in Italy

1. **Objectivity and subjectivity.** Career dynamics are changeable; they can be objective and subjective, since the motivations which bring people to pursue (or to continue) a migratory career change with time. Objectively they are linked to economic, political and legal contexts; subjectively to the comparison of the initial expectations with the reality encountered through the migratory experience. Many of the interviewees listed among the objective reasons which persuaded them to remain in the country of immigration despite financial difficulties and hardship: financial security—also assessed by a comparison with the precarious conditions in which some of their relatives in Italy live; the quality of medical care (one of the main concerns particularly for those who emigrated in the 1950s and 1960s and are now elderly); and, of course, family ties such as children and grandchildren born and raised in Belgium. However, subjective perception can also strongly influence the decision to move to an unknown country, to remain there, or to go back to Italy. In some cases, in fact, migrating is perceived as a very subjective personal challenge and one which is not necessarily dictated by financial reasons:

(1)

A. R.:⁸ No perché lì/lì in quel paese non c'era molto da dire/il mio sogno/in realtà/era sempre di andare via/da lì/però non so cosa mi tratteneva che/praticamente so' rimasta più di sette anni pure sposatə colle bambine a casa di miei/e:/poi un giorno mi so' detto/"basta qui/non ne posso più"/perché vedevo veramente mai realizzare: niente/o forse dalla mia infanzia che # perché altri # molti ci so' riusciti/ma praticamente io era come chiusa in ... in un uovo non so/per me/era andare via da lì/per riuscire a qualcosa

[No because there/in that town there wasn't much to say/my dream/in reality/had always been to go away/from there/but I don't know what held me back/basically I stayed for over seven years at my parents' house even though I was married and with my girls/and:/then one day I said to myself/"enough here/I can't take it anymore"/because I could really see that I was never going to achieve anything: nothing/or perhaps because since my childhood # because others # many others managed to/but

who emigrated to Belgium at different stages of their lives). They are qualitative interviews carried out in Italian and French and based on the narration of their own migratory experience.

⁷ Some useful considerations on the actual linguistic behaviours can be found in this volume in chapters by Margherita Di Salvo, Alessandro Aresti and Rubino.

⁸ A. R., 44 years old, female, born in Naples. Emigrated to Liège in 2005, she now lives with her husband and her children in Jemeppe. She works as a cleaner. She returns to Naples at least once a year to visit her family.

basically I felt I was trapped as if I was in... in a shell I don't know/for me/leaving there/meant to be able to do something]

(2)

G. C.:⁹ io sono arrivato in Belgio/all'età di ventuno anni//dunque: dopo il fatto gli studi a Napoli/e: quindi: so' # mi sono qualificato come portiere d'albergo//... a Vico Equensə dunque vicino Sorrento/e poi per una se' # poi dopo sono andato a fare il servizio di leva//e poi giusto dopo aver finito il servizio di leva/sono venuto in Belgia quando dico "giusto dopo" cioè il giorno dopo/in quanto: quando sono partito: per il militare [...] e quindi avevo una scelta da fare/o restare in Italia e continuare... quello per cui io avevo studiato/oppure cambiare vita cambiare mondo

[I came to Belgium/when I was twenty-one//so: after completing my studies in Naples/and: so: I # I qualified as a Hotel Concierge//... in Vico Equense near Sorrento/and then I went to do National Service//and then straight after finishing National Service/I came to Belgium and when I say "straight after" I mean the day after/since: when I left: for military service [...] and so I had to make a choice/either stay in Italy and carry on with... what I studied for... or change my life change country]

These examples show the relevance of the change in meaning the migrants give to their plans over time and how much the perception of oneself can vary according to factors which are neither objective nor linked to the professional sphere. They are indicative of how much the constant balancing between initial (or subsequent) expectations and reality also determines linguistic choices (whether to embrace or reject the foreign language, with effects also on the language education of their children and grandchildren). A theory which confused the concept of career with that of trajectory or migrant itinerary where only the objective dimension of the problem was taken into consideration is not suitable to explain the variation within the same category of migrants (for example: first generation, female, etc.), which, on the contrary, linguistic analysis clearly highlights (Di Salvo and Moreno 2012).

2. **Success.** In observing the development of a migratory career it is important to evaluate the strategies adopted by the migrants for their plans (which, as mentioned earlier, can change over time). Behind a career, be it migratory or not, there must be a motivating force which Martiniello & Rea (in the light of Becker 1985 and Hughes 1973) define as "success".

⁹ G. C., 61 years old, male, born in Boscotrecase. Emigrated to Liège in 1974, he now lives with his wife in Jupille and works in a factory. He returns to Naples at least once a year to visit his family.

This is not just determined by the will or the perception of the individual. In fact, a migrant's objectives can be undefined, especially at the beginning; the situations experienced can be perceived as independent from a consciously planned strategy; finally, success can be defined not only individually but also collectively.¹⁰ To understand a career in terms of success or failure means therefore on the one hand to assess the meaning which each person gives to their own experience by analysing their account of it,¹¹ and on the other compare these individual representations with the recognition given to them by their reference community. By adopting this position, it is possible to get a glimpse (through various routes and trajectories, at times very winding and never really linear) of similar characteristics recurring in the migrant/speaker's representations which are also dictated by the expectations of the reference community. In this way we can avoid the two extremes of structural determinism on one side (a migrant is unsuccessful when they have not achieved a certain legal, economic and professional status, as defined in absolute terms, that is, without taking into consideration their perception), and psychological reductionism (where only the individual perception is taken into account) on the other. A few factors which emerge from the migrants' stories seem to establish the distinction between success and failure. Amongst them are: security, freedom and independence, but also the mastering of the local language. Migrants, in fact, often express their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their achievements in relation to these goals, and change their perception of linguistic identity according to various social reference groups.

10 F. S., 47 years old, female, born in Cercola. Emigrated to Liège in 1989, she now lives with her husband and her children in Jemeppe. She works as a cleaner in an agency. She returns to Italy at least once a year. "Mamma è venuta tre volte ma dopo tanti anni//dopo ventunø anni che sto in Belgio/mi ha:/data una soddisfazione dicendomi"/"se sapevo quando ... ventuno anni fa hai preso i bagagli e sei partita/lo avrei # l'avrei fatto anche io"/quindi mi ha dato 'na bella soddisfazione e ho capito che avevo fatto bene perché abbi # dice "stai bene non vi manca niente/cioè vi fate le vostre vacanze/i ragazzi c'hanno il lavoro"/"Tutto questo a Napoli non c'è".

¹¹ It goes without saying that the constitutive dimensions of a career are built discursively; it follows that the analysis of the stories of the migrants allows us to reconstruct them (this is, after all, one of the new directions of research).

(3)

E. R.:¹² sì/mi sento strana perché qua parlare ventiquattro su ventiquattro francese con i miei amici e tutto/e tornare là e sentire un'altra volta il dialetto napoletano fa proprio a sta' # fa na cosa strana/però bella/molto bella

Inter.: e # si va bene/e//quindi secondo te dove si vive meglio/qua o là?

E. R.: se mettiamo vivere meglio//questione di soldi/lavoro/e: integrazione per la famiglia qui/però per stare bene mentalmente/pure fisicamente/dico laggìù/perché ci sta proprio tutte la # le persone che tu amano/che/come ho detto/i soldi non fanno tutto

[E. R.: yes/I feel strange because here I speak French with friends and all 24/7/and there hearing once again the Neapolitan dialect feels like you are doing something strange/but nice/very nice

Inter.: and # yes fine/and//so where do you think it's better to live/here or there?

E. R.: if by living better we mean//money/work/and: integration for all the family here/but for mental and physical well-being/I say there/because there are all the people you love/and/as I said/money is not everything]

(4)

A.R.:¹³ sì il francese... magari perché non faccio molta pratica/leggo poco... so che sbaglio: molto nei verbi/ma comunque a trentacinque anni/arrivare in un altro paese/abituata: alla propria lingua/al dialetto.../credo che non sia facile per nessuno/in cinque anni

[A.R.: Yes, French... perhaps because I don't practise it much/I read a little... I know I make mistakes: many mistakes with verbs/but in any case at thirty-five/arriving in a new country/being used to: to your own language/to dialect.../I think it is not easy for anyone/in five years]

(5)

Inter.: Même ici tu parles français, avec tes enfants et ton mari? C'est rare que tu parles italien?

Ad.:¹⁴ Non non, français. Mais même Michel, bon, quand il y a mes tantes tout ça qui viennent c'est l'italien mais dès que qu'il y a quelqu'un qui me

¹² E. R., 23 years old, female, born in Naples. Emigrated to Liège in 2005, studied accountancy. She returns to Naples at least once a year to visit her family.

¹³ A. R., 47 years old, female, born in Naples. Emigrated to Liège in 2005. She is E. R.'s mother and lives with her husband and children in Jemeppe. She works as a cleaner. She returns to Naples at least once a year to visit her family.

¹⁴ Ad., 59 years old, female, born in Genoa to parents from Apulia. Emigrated to Liège in 1964, she lived in Belgium for 25 years and then returned to Italy, to Terlizzi (Abruzzo), with her husband and children. Even after returning to Italy Ad. has been speaking French with her husband and children, finding in French a

répond en français, c'est français, fini. Mais j'ai même plus facile, je suis plus à mon aise. Parce que je l'ai étudié, je l'ai appris, à part que j'oublie d'écrire, maintenant écrire c'est un peu difficile mais j'ai quand même étudié le français, ici l'italien moi je l'ai jamais étudié, moi je parle en copiant. [...]

Inter.: Et tu parlais quelle langue ? Avec tes parents et tes frères ?

Ad.: Français. Mais avec mes parents... dialecte. Dialecte barese. Nous, c'était français. Ici chez moi, c'est français. Je parle italien parce que j'ai ma belle-fille qui comprend pas bien tellement l'italien, le français. Si je suis obligée, je parle italien. Mais dès que je peux, moi j'ai des copines belges, je parle français. Direct. Chez maman on parlait dialecte... Mais comme j'ai appris le français, le français venait... D'ailleurs moi l'italien je savais pas le parler. Je l'ai appris ici. Nous l'italien on l'a jamais parlé

[Inter.: Even here you speak French with your children and your husband? Is it rare you speak Italian?]

AD.: No, not French. But Michel too, well, when my aunts come it's Italian but as soon as somebody answers me in French then it's French, and that's it. It comes easier to me, I feel more comfortable. Because I studied it, I learned it, except now I have forgotten how to write, now writing is a bit difficult but in any case I studied French, here I never studied Italian, I just copy what I hear. [...]

Inter.: And which language did you speak? With your parents and your brothers?

Ad.: French. But with my parents... dialect. The dialect from Bari. We used French. Here in my house it's French. I speak Italian because my

sort of linguistic refuge against the hostility of the inhabitants of Terlizzi who do not acknowledge her as a speaker of the Abruzzo dialect: «Ben tu sais, c'est pas facile de s'adapter hein Paola. Tu sais/J'avais déjà deux enfants # Viens ici habiter # C'est un petit village/Mais maintenant, avant il y avait plus de gens que maintenant. Il y avait de petits magasins, c'était plus gros # Vingt ans d'ici c'était beaucoup plus # Toutes les rues étaient # C'était plus vivant quoi/Il y avait plus de gens plus de vie/Donc après vingt ans c'est normal/Mais la peur elle y est toujours, c'est normal//C'est un pas immense hein/Mon mari pas, moins parce que lui il connaît ici/il connaît les origines/Mais moi les origines je les ai pas # Lui, c'est retourner chez lui. Mais moi/Moi je me suis considérée une ... une autre .../autre ... Une Belge qui retourne en Italie//Même pas : une étrangère» [You see, Paola, it is not easy to adapt. You know/I had already two children # come to live here # it's a small country/but now, before there were lots more people than now. There were nice little shops, it was bigger # twenty years ago even more # all the streets were # it was more lively/there were more people more life/So after twenty years it is normal/but the fear is always there, it's normal//it is a huge step/not so much for my husband no, less for him because he knows/knows his roots/but I have no roots # for him it is going back home. But for me/I feel like another person... another/different... a Belgian who goes back to Italy//not even: a foreigner].

daughter-in-law does not understand Italian, French. If I have to I speak Italian. But as soon as I can, I have some Belgian friends, I speak French. Immediately. At mum's we spoke dialect... but since I learned French, French came ... In any case I did not know Italian. I learned it here. We never spoke Italian]

The reference groups, in return, acknowledge (or do not acknowledge) the success of a migratory experience to a point where they influence it deeply, regardless of what the individual wants:

(6)

Inter.: Alors, comment et pourquoi as-tu quitté la Belgique ?

Ad.: Alors, c'était la crise de la FN¹⁵. Il y a commencé à avoir des crises ... Puis, ça a été aussi le départ de la sœur de, de ... de mon mari. Et le frère. Les deux derniers. Ça ... Ça a joué beaucoup ! Ça a joué beaucoup parce que quand on est parti en Italie en vacances au mois de juillet ... Et alors il commençait à dire qu'est-ce que t'en penses si on va en Italie ? Si on doit y aller c'est maintenant parce que les enfants sont encore petits, ils n'auront pas de grandes difficultés [...]. C'est un pas immense hein ! Mon mari pas, moins parce que lui il connaît ici, il connaît les origines. Mais moi les origines, je les ai pas. Lui, c'est retourner chez lui. Mais moi ... Moi je me suis considérée ... Une ... Une autre ... Autre ... Une Belge qui retourne en Italie. Même pas ! Une étrangère !

Inter.: Toi tu te considères comme une Belge ou comme une Italienne ?

Ad.: Mais franchement je ne sais même plus. Franchement des fois je me le demande. Des fois je vais à Terlizzi tout le monde m'appelle la *Belgesa*, ici je suis de l'Afrique alors ... En Belgique je suis Italienne ... Alors à la fin je sais même plus qui j'suis

[Inter.: So, how come you left Belgium?

Ad.: Well, the FN was going badly. It started to go into crisis... Then, my husband's sister left. And his brother too. The last two. This... this made the difference! It made the difference because when we left in July to go on holiday in Italy... he started to say "What would you say if we moved to Italy? If we decide to come then it is better now because the children are still young, they won't have much difficulty [...]". It is a huge step, eh! For my husband no, less so for him because he knows, he knows his roots. But I don't have any roots. For him this is going back home. But for me... I feel like another person... a... another... different... a Belgian who goes back to Italy. Not even! A foreigner!

Inter.: Do you consider yourself Belgian or Italian?

Ad.: Well to tell you the truth I don't know anymore. Honestly sometimes I ask myself. Sometimes I go to Terlizzi and they all call me the *Belgesa*

¹⁵ A weapon factory, well known in the Liège region.

[Belgian], here I'm like an African... In Belgium I'm Italian... so in the end I myself don't even know anymore who I am]

Success is therefore defined as a tension between: the country of origin and the host country; the initial plans of the migrant and the actual experience; the individual perception and acknowledgement by the community. It also includes a strong transgenerational component which regularly appears in the migrants' stories, placing the notion in a dimension heavily affected by time (be it time limited to an individual life experience or extended to the next generations).

3. **Professionalisation.** The idea that a career is a construction and a process suggests the hypothesis that it is possible to identify competences and abilities which qualify the individual migrant as more or less capable of, or more or less inclined to, success in their migratory experience (hence Martiniello & Rea's idea (2014, 1086) to call this process the "professionalisation of migration"). These competences may depend on the personal qualities of the speaker, or on relational, political or identity factors. The idea that ability can influence a migratory career seems to me very useful to explain, for example, the considerable disparity in the linguistic behaviour of brothers belonging to the same family who, given the same conditions and migratory age, show different dispositions towards language. It is therefore beneficial to reason in terms of interpersonal skills, at times linked to the role the speaker has in the family¹⁶ (first born vs. second/third born; family links with the outside world, etc.), which appear to condition the speaker's behaviour in the same way, if not more, that can be explained using more traditional categories like gender, age or migration seniority. For example, on the basis of a comparative analysis between groups of migrants resident in Liège (Belgium) and Bedford (UK), homogeneous by generation (first generation) and by migration wave (post-war years), it was possible to notice how the settlement conditions of the community of Campanian origin influenced greatly the levels of standardisation of Italian. These levels are much more advanced in the group of migrants in Liège who were more spread-out in the region, than those present in the English group where the concentration of Campanians in one single neighbourhood seems to have contributed to maintaining the Campanian dialect to the detriment of Italian (Di Salvo and Moreno 2015, Di Salvo 2012). In other words, the contact of the Campanians in Liège with other larger regional groups (such as Sicilians or Calabrians) or with

¹⁶ Cf. Rubino (2014b).

francophone neighbours, made it necessary for them to gain much greater language competences than those available within the immediate family on both the Italian and the French side:

(7)

Inter.: e come ha imparato la lingua allora?

A. G.:¹⁷ l'ho imparato perché mi ho comprato subito una radio//e allora ho ascoltato la radio/e poi ho avuto un'amica/proprio un'amica amica/che: l'ho conosciuto:... due anni dopo che so' venuto qua/è sempre la mia amica/e allora lei mi imparava

Inter.: quindi è sempre ascoltando e parlando con altre persone?

A. G.: sì/poi andavə dalla mia amica o la mia amica passava perché c'abita # abita... poco lontanə/e allora elle passava e domandava''vuoi sapere qualcosa?''/perché lei capivə italiano/come sta # stava vicino una famiglia italiana/alors moi ce lo dice' ce lo dicevo in italiano e lei me lo dis # me lo diceva in francese/e m'ha/m'ha imparato come dovevo dirlo/e: tutto

[Inter.: So how did you learn the language?

A.G.: I learned it because I immediately bought myself a radio//and so I listened to the radio/and then I made a friend/a true friend/whom: I met: ... two years after I came here/she is still my friend/and she would teach me

Inter.: so it was always by listening and speaking to other people?

A.G.: yes/then I used to go to my friend's or she would come to mine because she lives # lives... nearby/and so she would drop by and ask "is there anything you want to know?"/because she understood Italian/since she was # was living near an Italian family/so I would say things to her in Italian and she would say them in French to me/and she/she taught me how to say/and: everything]

(8)

F.P.:¹⁸ be... ognuno parla la sua lingua ma ci capiamo/perché/ognuno ha imparato un po' d'italiano/ognuno come me/ognuno ha parl a# ha imparato un po' d'italianə/e allora uno si spiegə:/così/perché anche la Rai/sta la Rai nella televisione e ci ha imparato tant'italianə e/perché vediamo i cinəmə e: ... e: ri... rivistə e ve...ve...vediamə: e...e... Massimo Ranieri/Gigi d'Alessiə/e allorə: chə# sentiamo e ci fa tanto piacere a sentire queste cose che noi abbiamo lasciate laggiù

¹⁷ A. G., 74 years old, female, born in Boscoreale. Emigrated to Liège in 1964, lives in Herve with her husband. She is retired after working for many years as a cleaner.

¹⁸ F. P., 76 years old, female, born in Caivano. Emigrated to Liège in the 1970s, she lived for a long time as a recluse tending to her husband and children. After her husband's death she started to have a more active social life and decided as a dialect speaker, to learn both Italian and French. She used to visit Naples once a year; now, due to her old age, she goes back to Italy less often.

[F.P.: Well... everyone speaks their own language but we understand each other/because/everyone has learned some Italian/everyone like me/everyone speaks # learned some Italian/and so one can make themselves understood:/so/because even RAI/RAI Television has taught us a lot of Italian and/because we go to the cinema and:... and: magazines and we wa... wa... watch: and... and... Massimo Ranieri/Gigi d'Alessio/and so: we listen to all this and we like very much listening about things we left behind in Italy]

Given the same migration period, socio-biographical characteristics of the speakers and Italian teaching means (Church, Consulate, and Italian schools) alternative factors are key in explaining the variation between Bedford and Liège. Amongst them, we felt the different professional experiences of the migrants were particularly important. In the case of Liège, in fact, the Italians, although initially employed in the mines, progressively adapted by finding employment in other sectors (restaurants, construction, personal services, etc.), thus finding themselves in a multi-ethnic environment favourable to integration. In Bedford, on the other hand, the Italians remained rooted longer in their work environment, such as the brick industry dominated by Italian labour. Moreover, the long stay (much longer in Bedford than in Liège) in the industrial sector in a subordinate position did not help the professional growth of the migrants with consequences for both their integration and self-representation.

4. **Culture.** The “cultural” dimension is also at play in the migration experience as the result of a process which combines elements from the culture of origin, the traits of the culture of the host country, and personal experiences (Moreau & Schleyer-Lindenmann 1995, 24; Ciliberti 2007).¹⁹ Culture and learning are complementary in the construction of a migratory career. This aspect explains more pertinently the existence of different outcomes within substantially similar migration experiences. The notion of culture allows us, for example, to explain the phenomenon of regional variation not as a diatopic variety of the language but rather as an influencing factor in the attitude of the speaker towards the foreign language and mother tongue varieties.²⁰ Given the same migration generation, gender and age, some regional groups with greater language confidence (prestige of the dialect of origin) or being more numerous in the region, with a stronger gregarious disposition—Sicilians often have these characteristics (Bettoni and Rubino 1996)—adopt different linguistic

¹⁹ The importance of factors linked to the culture of origin was already demonstrated by Bettoni and Rubino (1996).

²⁰ Regional variation in Bedford is studied in detail by Di Salvo (2012).

behaviours and social interaction strategies from those of migrants belonging to other regional groups which are smaller in numbers or have a weaker culture, or at least one perceived as such. Within the cultural dimension I would also place the variational phenomena linked to the migration wave and the schooling level of the migrants. In the most recent studies on the new Italian migrants (Greco 2013, Rubino 2014, Di Salvo in this volume, Vedovelli 2015), generally individuals with a very high level of schooling, seem to indicate that the identities they create for themselves, mediating between the original wealth of knowledge and that acquired in the host country—which can vary over the years (different countries, different languages)—are a relevant sociolinguistic variable through which it is possible to analyse linguistic behaviours which cannot be brought down to idiolect usage but involve larger groups of speakers.

5. **Time.** The temporal dimension of a migratory career is defined by the realization that, precisely because it is a process subject to change and not a linear trajectory, a career can undergo stops and accelerations, causing the migrant to re-direct it and change strategies. In sociolinguistics this non-linear and personalized concept of time is particularly apt to explain different speakers' attitudes during various stages of their life:

(9)

F.S.:²¹ sì per tanti anni non ho imparato mai o francese come si deve proprio perché io volevo sempre ritornare//volevo sempre ritornare. [...] Però: come ti ha spiegato mio marito/lui ha stato poco bene di salute/ha avuto una grava malattia/che si muore con questa malattia che ha avuto//e:... e poi: aveva avuto una remissione di salutà/e stava bene//e poi è risca' # ricascato un'altra voltà/e quindi abbiamo dettā: "rimaniamō # rimaniamo in Belgio perché qua/sei beno curato"/e graziamō a: Dio oggi//è uscito ancora un'altra volta/e un'altra volta in remissione della malattia

[F.S.: yes for many years I did not want to learn French properly because I always wanted to go back//I always wanted to go back. [...] But: as my husband explained to you/he was unwell/he had a very serious illness/you can die of the illness he had//and: ... and then: he recovered//and he was well//and then he got # got worse again//and so we said: "let's remain # let's remain in Belgium because here/they take good care of you"/and thank God today//he has got better again/he has gone into remission]

²¹ Cf. *supra*, note 10.

(10)

F.P.:²² Poi quand'è mortə mio maritə/che dovevo andare a fare le cartə per il commune e di qua e di là/mi ho voluto mettere al francese veramente perché: #/me ne sono andata a scuolə ho cercato una scuolə e sono andata a scuolə di di francese/e così ho imparatə tante cose in francese/e: e... fa # e parlo # adesso parlo un po' più francese di prima//e: vaco a scuolə v... vadə a... e: con le amiche un un uno di en Abruzzə uno di d... d'o Nord dell'Italiə unə nord di Napoli un'altrə della Siciliə ma noi parliamo:... ontro noi con # ognuno con la sua lingua

[F.P.: Then when my husband died/and I had to run around to get all the papers for the Council/I decided that I really had to learn French because: #/so I went to school I looked for a school and I went to school to learn French/and so I learned a lot of things in French/and: and... # now I speak # a little more French than before//and: I go to school... I go to... with some friends one one one from Abruzzo and one from... Northern Italy one from Naples and another from Sicily but with each other we speak: ... each our # each our own language]

An evaluation which, in a more traditional approach, took into account only the years these two speakers spent in Belgium²³ would not allow us to realize, for example, the higher frequency with which contact phenomena with French occurred before the “turning point” recounted by the speakers, which caused not only a change of their language attitude but also an identity change.

In sociolinguistic studies (as in Martiniello and Rea's studies in sociology) we can consider that the concept of career is considered in terms of interaction between individual characteristics and personal history on the one side and structural constraints and opportunities on the other. If we do this it is possible to refine the analysis significantly without falling into psychologism or into migrant stereotyping on the one hand, and into modelling based on macroscopic evaluations, such as economic or demographic evaluations, on the other. This approach invites us therefore to focus less on the results of the migration process (which do not translate in terms of integration/assimilation or in terms of exclusion and the consequent departure from the country of emigration) and more on the way in which the migrants use their resources (in our case, language resources) at their disposal. These resources can come from various networks, that is, from social systems in constant evolution whose aim is to share resources (Lemieux 1999). These networks can be more or less

²² Cf. *supra*, note 17.

²³ Who share the migration wave, gender, and migration seniority.

local (see the differences between the Campanians in Bedford and those in Liège mentioned earlier) and are not necessarily limited to the host country or the country of origin (as in the case of the new Italian migrants); they can be enabling but also inhibiting if they exert too strong a pressure on their members. The relational dimension helps us overcome the theoretical obstacle mentioned above by defining an intermediate level between micro and macro analysis. But most of all it better suits the European migrants who are in a situation of constant mobility through the various cultural and language networks of reference (at times this is also indicated as a sign of distress) rather than in a situation of assimilation which is meant as the definitive relinquishment of the language and identity of origin. It will be therefore easier and more relevant to assess the linguistic profile of a speaker on the basis of their ability to keep active the various reference networks. In this way we will be able to explain more adequately the variations within the same family: those linked to gender, those attributable to more or less individual exposure to the working world, those related to the migration wave, and those connected to belonging to different regional groups; in short, to those configurations which I pointed out in this chapter whenever the examples permitted.

Once the theoretical framework is fixed, it is necessary to specify how this theory can be “implemented” in sociolinguistics. I do not presume here to suggest the perfect method; I will simply indicate how, thanks to field practice, we tried to resolve some critical issues, developing a *modus operandi* which we feel is compatible with the premises laid out thus far.

The first point relates to the generic character of the category of “Italians abroad”; the grouping and settlement types seem, in fact, extremely diversified so much so as to make the understanding of specific migration and integration dynamics a prerequisite. In the studies published so far (Di Salvo & Moreno 2012; Moreno & Di Salvo 2015, Moreno 2016) we have always begun with the accurate analysis of the conditions and timings of migration, and also of factors such as the type of settlement in the region and the intensity and modality of contact with the country of origin, all aspects which, as already mentioned, greatly influence the speakers’ behaviour. In our view, this choice has also confirmed the importance of a comparative perspective which so far has not been applied to the many Italian communities around the world. A previous bibliography²⁴—which our research tapped into and whose findings we do not question—has suggested analyses, often of a very high level and value,

²⁴ Bettoni (1991a, 1991b, 2008), Birken-Silverman (2001, 2004), Caruso (2010), Franceschini (2002), Franceschini, Müller and Schimdt (1984), Haller (1993), Krefeld (2008), Scaglione (2000).

which investigated only one context of immigration. The adoption of a research perspective which does not stop at the “community” level (a rather debated concept within recent sociolinguistics) brought to light the need to proceed through concentric circles from macroscopic and transnational contexts, to regional groups, to various migration waves, and all the way through to single individuals. Each of these circles can be observed through various cognitive processes and with a diversified methodology: ethnography, observation of moments of communal life, participation in the life of single families, interviews with perceptual questionnaires, and the recording of spontaneous speech in very different places, times and manners, in an attempt to also document intra-individual variability which we feel is a useful point of access to piece together the various identities and social roles which each speaker attributes to themselves in their relation with others.

A further step, yet to be made, will have to be the identification of relevant sociolinguistic variables, which should not replace traditional ones but should ideally be cross-referenced to them. I believe that all the contributions in this volume contribute, albeit in different ways and with different approaches, to define and investigate the feasibility of this route.

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