BILINGUAL SPEECH PHENOMENA
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GERMAN-ENGLISH BILINGUALS IN VICTORIA)

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Bilingualism occurs in various parts of the world. Though there may be universals of language contact[1], transference phenomena[2] will be determined by a number of factors – including languages in contact, time (number of generations) in Australia, and nature of settlement (individual or whole speech community). This paper aims at describing and classifying some of the phenomena of language contact between English and German in Victoria. Some of these phenomena may be peculiar to a German-English contact situation; others may appear also in other bilingual situations. Papua and New Guinea would be an ideal laboratory for testing this. We shall attempt to theorize on the phenomena, to assess the effect of extra-linguistic factors on them, and to consider them in terms of communicability.

1.   German-English Bilinguals in Victoria
1.1   Settlement

We can distinguish between those bilinguals who grew up in a German-speaking rural community in Australia and those who migrated to, or grew up in, an Australian city or country area where English is the normal medium of communication.[3] In the Victorian Western District (Tarrington, Tabor), near Geelong (Grovedale, Freshwater Creek) and in the Wimmera (Murtoa, Minyip) – as well as in South Australia – we have taped descendants of settlers who migrated in the 19th Century to found a community in which the language of school, (Lutheran) church and communal life was predominantly German. Although after 1918 English gradually replaced German as the language of the community and church, and immediately became the medium of instruction, the oldest generation still speak and understand the language. There are pockets of even greater retentiveness in the Barossa Valley (e.g. Kabminye, Truro)[4]. Only a handful of migrants have come to live in old German settlements in Victoria in this century. There has been no

"renewal" of the German language in the Western Districts and little in the Wimmera, due to multilingual migrants from Central and Eastern Europe.

Since the 1840's there has been considerable migration of individual families into a "melting pot" situation which favours rapid assimilation – particularly in 1938-39 and again after the Second World War. This has become the more significant migration. In this situation language maintenance is considered less important, but efforts have been and are being undertaken, e.g. Saturday morning classes for children in ten centres, two German-language newspapers, several German-medium churches, several German-speaking societies, two German reading circles, and, up to the end of 1968, one German radio programme. The cultural and educational value of German is usually given as an argument for language maintenance.[5]

While most speakers in the "melting pot" situation who still keep up their German (both pre- and post-war migrants) have maintained some contact with the German-speaking countries of Europe (through reading, travel or contact with later migrants, of whom there is a continuing influx into the community), the "settlers" generally read no German beyond the Luther-Bibel and perhaps their Gesangbuch .

1.2 Idiolectal and 'Dialectal Features

Running partly parallel with the sociological distinction between "melting pot" and "settlement" migration is the linguistic one of idiolectal and dialectal. Some of the settlements have, in the course of time, formed their own dialect, based on the German dialects the original settlers spoke on arrival, standard German, and "stabilized transference" from English, i.e. English elements that were transferred by the entire commun-ity. In addition, of course, each speaker has his idiolectal variations from the standard language, many of which are due to "interference" from English, and there are isolated momentary speech phenomena occurring only once in a particular speaker.[6] In the melting pot" situation a dialect does not emerge, owing to the absence of a German speech community. Nevertheless, there may be certain words which characterize the speech of all (or nearly all) informants (e.g. Beach) because the concept is linked with the Australian environment and therefore the English language. Some idiolectal features – especially "interference" phenomena – will overlap in the two types of bilingual situation (e.g. morphosemantic

transference, semantic transference, switching, "compromise forms") and may, in fact, be universals of language contact.[7]

1.3 Time (Number of Generations)

Haugen distinguishes between generation 1a and generation 1b among migrated bilinguals, the difference being that generation 1b migrated before their phonation habits had become fixed and generation 1a after. Different suggestions have been made as to where the limits should be drawn.[8] B·asing himself on King[9], Gilbert differentiates between the internalized grammars of native-born and migrated speakers in America[10], and Zabrocki claims that there are structural matrices which one acquired by a certain age.[11]

1.4 "Interference" and Transference

. Weinreich terms as interference "those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of language contact."[12] Haugen restricts the term to cover only the "overlapping" of two languages not including the use of "unassimilated loanwords" or of unrecognizable "established" loans.[13] In Transference and Triggering[14] I have avoided "interference" owing to the ambiguity and to a desire to describe the phenomena rather than their causes by adopting the general heading transference for all features adopted from the other language. Such transference may be due to "retroactive interference"[15] or to other factors (not having ever known a particular word in German, having forgotten it temporarily or permanently) irrespective of the speaker's knowledge of English.

2. The Phenomena

2.1 Transference and "Retroactive Interference"

Lexical transference due to "retroactive interference" may be conditioned by setting (e.g. words referring to daily work: clients, lunch-break, concrete, history, geography, spelling, polisher, shopping; Australian scenery: beach, gum tree, blackfellow, country; Australian way of living: shower, cool drink, mixen up) or by linguistic ones (number of decisions to be made, e.g. syntactic decisions, erinnern + refl. + an +acc. vs remembern + acc; semantic decisions, happy vs. froh - fröhlich; changen vs.

ümziehen, ändern, verändern, wechseln).   Except where the majority of speakers knew
no equivalent in their homeland (e.g. T.V. watchen), the transference among recent
migrants is idiolectal but may spread within a small group (e.g. family circle, circle of
friends).   Idiolectal transference also occurs in the speech of "settlers".   However, in
the "settlement" situation - where there was a German speech community - stabilized
transference has occurred, especially to express aspects of reality that were totally or
slightly new to their ancestors on arrival (e.g. fence, paddock in Tarrington, motor car,
words for "gum tree", but also plenty, for instance).   These become part of the dialect
and such transfers and the type and degree of integration may vary from one Australian
German dialect to another (e.g. Gumbaum /gʋmbaʋm/ in Tarrington, Gummibaum in
the Barossa Valley, Gum /gʌm/ in the Wimmera).

Phonological transference is a practically unknown phenomenon among generation
1a in the "melting pot" situation.   Some generation 1b and 2 bilinguals transfer a few
vowel phonemes and the /ɹ/. In the settlements, however, phonological transference is
stabilized.   In many cases it involves only a reinforcement and generalisation of a charact-
eristic which already existed in dialects spoken by some of the settlers, e.g. /oʋ/ for /oː/,
/s/ for /ts/ in the Western District and the Wimmera.   In the Victorian German settle-
ment dialects there is facultative variation in the vowel system between phonemes correspond-
ing to Standard German, Cultivated Australian, and General Australian.[16]

Syntactic Transference begins to occur in the speech of many first generation
"melting pot" bilinguals soon after arrival (in one case after 18 months) and becomes in-
creasingly prevalent in later generations.   The two main types of syntactic transference
among our informants are those that promote proximity of immediate constituents (e.g.
Jedes Jahr die Schafe werden geschert; sie war geboren in Hamilton; ...und mit Papa und
Mama gesprochen Deutsch) - 38.7% of syntactic transfers - those making possible a
NP + VP (NP) word order (e.g. Natürlich die Landstraßen sind besser; ... was wir haben
jetzt) - 38.2%, and those promoting both 4.6%.   However, proximity-conditioned
syntactic transfers predominate among first generation "melting pot" bilinguals (50% of
pre-war, 74% of post-war syntactic transfers), and there is a tendency in Contemporary
German to bring discontinuous constituents closer together.[17]   In the speech of both the
second generation of post and pre-war migrants (51% of syntactic transfers) and the

"settlers" (45%) it is NP-VP-(NP)-order-conditioned syntactic transference that is more prevalent. This provides support of Gilbert's and/or Zabrocki's hypothesis. More work will have to be done to ascertain the age at which structural matrices usually become fixed.[18]

2.2 Switching

Switching from one language to the other can also be conditioned by extra-linguistic factors (interlocutor, setting, environment, topic[10]) or by internal ones - i.e. by a trigger word common to both codes (in this case English and German). Potential trigger words are loanwords, morphosemantic transfers (lexemes transferred in form and meaning), proper nouns, and lexemes that are identical in the two codes.[20] Switching will occur in anticipation or in consequence of the trigger word, e.g. ... und so arbeitet sie at Monsanto (Anticipational). Es handelt von einem alten secondhand-dealer and his son (Consequential) Sie war in New Guinea when the Japanese came there and dann haben's mußten sie 'raus von New Guinea at the time of the war (Consequential: New Guinea is trigger word twice). This phenomenon is an idiolectal one which does not depend on generation or bilingual situation. However, there are some settlements in which triggering has not been found to occur (Barossa Valley, South Australia) and others where it is very prevalent (e.g. Tarrington). In his investigations of English-Dutch-German tri-lingualism, one of our students, Stephen Voorwinde has observed triggering mechanisms involving three codes.[21]

2.3 Semantic Transference and Integration

Some first generation speakers attempt to "Germanize" English lexical transfers by forming compromise forms - the most common type being semantic transfers, where sememe is transferred to:

(a) a semantically partially corresponding one, e.g. sehen (for: treffen), denken (glauben) gehen (fahren);

(b) a morphemically partially corresponding one, e.g. Likör (Alkohol), der (dort), Gummibaum (Eukalypturbaum);

(c) a morphosemantically partially corresponding one, e.g. be (von), wenn (als), treiben (drive).

This and another means of integration the $\{ə\}$ suffix, are also evident in stabilised transfers in some settlements e.g. Platz (Ort), meinen (bedeuten), Hochschule ("high school"), [ɹoʊdə] "road", [kɹɪkə] "creek". The latter device is still employed by "settlers" to integrate idiolectal transfers, e.g. [kapə] "cup", [bændə] "band". Semantic transference can be regarded as the product of a desire to avoid morphosemantic transference and of a lack of contact with Contemporary Standard German. In Tarrington and, to a lesser extent, in the Wimmera there is a stabilized "feminine tendency" in the assignment of English transfers to German genders, as opposed to fluctuating allocations based on the gender of German words corresponding in form or meaning in "melting pot" German.[22]

2.4 Archaisms

The speech of many first generation migrants of the 1930s is already characterized by the semantic extension of words expressing meanings now obsolete – e.g. Backfisch (flapper) to cover "teenager", Wasserleitung (water-pipe) for "tap". In addition, there are some neologisms with which they are unfamiliar and some English loanwords in German of whose existence they are unaware. The incidence of archaisms increases with every generation in Australia and some are stabilised in the settlements. The stabilized use of Luftschiff for all "flying machines" in several "settlements" indicates that contact with Germany ceased at the time of the airship. Wahrlich, Sommerzeit, and some other archaisms are derived from the Bible and German hymns, the last source of the German language in the "settlements".

2.5 Bilingual Compromises

Sometimes a speaker tries to replace the English word he has thought of with a German one. Apart from semantic transfers and the integrated forms described under 2.3, morphological and phonic compromises result. Under morphological compromises we can class:

2.511 integrated forms comprising morphemes from both English and German, e.g. probäblich, mostens, and

2.512 "bilingual compounds", e.g. Frontgarten, Eukalyptustree. These occur in the speech of all generations and both bilingual situations.

2.52 Phonic Compromises are:

2.521 words using English and German syllables, e.g.

[haɪ'drant] (English and German, with German stress);

['pɔpʊˌlɛːə] (English and German, English stress);[qɛnəˈʋatsɪoʊn]

German and English, English stress);['kɔntɪˌnɛnt] (English

and German, English stress):

These are characteristic of both bilingual situations but are more

common among first generation "melting pot" bilinguals;

2.522 Words using English and German phonemes, e.g.[ʃʊəs]

(English short, German kurz), [ʃɫæʊ] (Wimmera-German

[ʃɫiːgən], English[pɫæʊ],[ʃaː](English[ʃjuː] ,

German [paː],[dɔxtə] [23] (English [doːtə], German

[tɔxtə]).

We have found these exclusively among second and later generat-

ions in the "settlements". Each example occurs once, and they

appear to be a manifestation of speech confusion as well as

"interference". Phonic comprises are restricted to instances which

do not violate German phonotactics.

2.6   Confusion

Decreased contact with German over a long period (language alienation) is
just as likely to cause manifestations of confusion in the speech of a bilingual as is an im-
proved knowledge of English (language assimilation).   Among the effects of the former
confusion are neologisms (neolexemes, neosememes) and monolingual contaminations.

2.61   Neolexemes

This phenomenon penetrates the speech of first and later generation

bilinguals in both "melting pot" and "settlement" situations, although

some actual lexemes or morphological devices become stabilized in

"settlements".   Among pre-war migrants we have recorded Fernbild

(for Fernsehfilm), Kuchen (Konditorei), schwerlich (schwerfällig),

Neolexemes are rare among generation Ia post-war migrants but common

in the speech of their children. Idiolectal neolexemes in the Wimmera and

in Tarrington include

Treidevieh, wunderschrecklich (intensifier of schrecklich, cf. wunder-schön, aparter (abgelegen); vorschricklich (completely?: ob das vorschricklich recht ist), eingereife (tired?: wenn ich das/the/zu weit/ bin ich sehr/eingereife), weißlich (cf. bräunlich, grünlich, heimaten, (wohnen). Some informants refuse to accept the interviewer's advice on the choice of a word asking for it, e.g. the insistence of one inform-ant on her neolexeme manierlich in preference to höflich for "polite". Neolexemes should be attributed to the forgetting process resulting from lack of contact with the German language over a long period rather than to interference. In Victorian (as well as South Australian) "settlements" nouns ending in ei and verbs with ieren formed from a nomen agentis are "stabilized", especially Farmerei and farmerieren, but also schneider-ieren and Dichterei (not employed in a derogatory sense).

2.62 Monolingual Contaminations

These arise when a speaker is thinking of, or preparing to utter, two lexemes at the same time. They are also quite common in the speech of monolinguals. Among bilinguals this may be a result of uncertainty due to geographical and historical isolation from the German-speaking areas of Europe, e.g. Fuhrwagen (Fuhrwerk + Wagen) (3rd generation "settler"), meistmal (meistens + manchmal) (2nd generation "settler").

2.7 "Excrescent -t"

It has been observed that bilinguals all Victorian "settlements" (all over 55 years of age) frequently articulate a $[t]$ following certain dentals especially $[n]$ and also $[s]$, e.g. mit diesent Leute, aligemeint, Australient, kannt, neint, tatent, warent, wast. This phenomenon even extends to English transfers employed in German, both stabilized and idiolectal ones, e.g. sont, Electricity Commissiont. This is not hypercorrection as final /n/ and /s/ are rarely deleted by the same speaker. The "excrescent -t" is well-known in the history of the German language and accounts for the development since the 13th century of lexemes such as allenthalben, eigentlich, gelegentlich, ordentlich, wesentlich, Dutzend, jemand, Obst, Axt, einst.[24] A possible physiological explanation

is that speakers have difficulty in releasing the alveolar /n/ or /s/, or release it very slowly and articulate a plosive in the process. This phenomenon to support Sapir's and Prokosch's notion of phonetic drift – viz. a tendency inherent in a language will continue (cf. Germanic sound shift and High German sound shift)[25]. In this case some Sprachinseln would be continuing a tendency that appears to have stopped in the German speaking area of Europe.

2.8 Paralinguistic Phenomena

A relationship between transference and paralinguistic features such as fast talk and whispering, both of which are connected with respiration, e.g. Jetz kann man ganz bis zu die/ (D) main road sehen, die nach Hamilton geht. (D denotes drop in pitch and loudness. / denotes hesitation – pause) . The speaker, evidently having concentrated during the pause on finding a synonym for the stabilized transfer main road , runs out of breath.[26] Oh, Frucht, peaches und/ oh, und (A) Birnen/(F) hope that means pears . At point (F) there is an increase in rate of utterance and a decrease in volume. This phenomenon is also characteristic of first and second generation "melting pot" bilinguals who switch because of embarrassment when they cannot remember the German word.

2.9 Syntactic "Simplification"

Uncertainty as to syntactic construction rather than lexical choice may be deemed responsible for isolated phenomena observed in the speech of two "settlers":
(Question: Gab es viele Bäume hier, als Ihr Vater herkam?)
Oh ja, 'n ganz bißchen/da war/oh, zuhause da. (A) Mein Mann, der hatte auch fertig (s)/ Pferde(s)/prisons (?)(s)/Mittagessen(s)/der hatte die Bäume ausgegraben.
(s) denotes staccato succession of single lexemes without any syntactic connection. An instance of syntactic "simplification" without accompanying paralinguistic phenomena is: die/die/die komm/ die kommt/ die sind gekommen zu Australia fünf (i.e. als sie fünf Jahre alt waren). Such phenomena are not found among first generation "melting pot" bilinguals, some of whom transfer structure words from one language to the other. In the second generation ("melting pot" bilinguals), prepositions – but not content words – are not infrequently deleted completely.[27]

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3. Possible Effects of Above Phenomena on Communication

In his paper, read to the International Seminar on Description and Measurement of Bilingualism, Hasselmo recommends that investigations be conducted into the communicability of language contact phenomena.[28]

As we have not carried out any detailed experimental study, the following statements are hypotheses. Let us take the following model as a starting point:

ENCODING   DECODING

| THOUGHT | → | PLANNING (in Language) | → | ARTICULATION | → | PERCEPTION | → | THOUGHT |

We note that at both the articulation and perception stages, there may be items of ambiguous affiliation or transferred from the other language. This is where difficulties and mistakes in decoding will occur when the hearer is not ready for such items. To a monolingual the entire utterance may become quite meaningless or (in the case of a semantic transfer, e.g. seinen Fuß 'runtersetzen (to put your foot down), jemanden einen Ring geben [to give someone a ring, i.e. to ring up]) adopt a completely different meaning. Nijenhuis has collected examples of this kind from Migrant Dutch in Australia.[29] German-English bi-linguals in Australia rarely have the opportunity to talk to German speaking monolinguals, and transfers frequently occur in German irrespective of interlocutor.[30] Increased comprehensibility of transfers can be expected where they are stabilized in a Sprachinsel, such as Tarrington or Minyip. A higher degree of integration will not necessarily lead to improved comprehension. A semantic transfer, for instance, requires two stages of decoding – (i) recognition that it is a transfer, (ii) identifying it. Nevertheless, some hearers will decode a German word or idiom used in the "normal" sense as a transfer. One highly educated bilingual, for example, interpreted "Er hat für diese Zeitschrift geschrieben" to mean "he wrote (to ask) for it", not "he wrote (articles) for it." He was evidently expecting the speaker to employ semantic transfers.[31] Neologisms – if not stabilized – are likely to vary in comprehensibility according to how close they are to existing words with a similar meaning and how close they are based on the morphological devices of the language.

If decoding of transfers presents problems, such difficulties will mount if the stretch of speech surrounding a transfer is indistinct (unusually fast or spoken in a whisper). In some cases it is so indistinct that the transfer cannot even be identified as such.

Proximity-conditioned syntactic transference should aid comprehension, for discontinuous constituents are taxing on the temporary memory of the decoder as well as of the encoder. The recognition model proposed by Fodor, Garrett and Bever[32] implies that NP + VP(NP) - order-conditioned syntactic transference would help rather than hinder comprehension. Syntactic "simplification" of the type mentioned above does not provide the decoder with sufficient content words to deduce the desired meaning.

4. <u>General Concluding Remarks</u>

From the above descriptions and observations we can conclude:

4.1 Differences between the bilingualism of an individual and that of a whole community, manifested in idiolectal as opposed to idiolectal and dialectal features (e.g. triggering individual transfers and integration <u>vs</u>. stabilized transfers and integration.)

4.2 differences between "interference" on the one hand and "forgetting" and "confusion" on the other (the latter is responsible for some neolexemes, neosememes (monolingual) contaminations, and phonic compromises);

4.3 differences between the internalized grammars of generations 1a and generation II (-plus) speakers (the borders need to be defined by experiments);

4.4 that transference and triggering can both be internally or externally (extra-linguistically) conditioned;

4.5 that phonological transference is normally a product of time, though it will be promoted by an overlap between a dialect phoneme and an Australian English one in a "settlement" in which a "compromise dialect" is originating;

4.6 a possibility of "phonetic drift" suggested by the "excrescent -t";

4.7 a continuum of communicability of different bilingual speech phenomena, based on various variables, which could be determined and investigated by experiment.

It would be in the interests of general linguistic and communication research to test the universality of these conclusions against contact situations involving differently structured languages and societies.*

REFERENCES

1. Cf. U. Weinreich, Languages in Contact, The Hague, 1967, V.

2. Transference = the adoption of elements from another language;
   Transfer = any such element

3. The distinction between individual and group migration is already introduced by Weinreich, op.cit., p.3

4. See M.G. Clyne, "Decay, Preservation and Renewal: Notes on some Southern Australian German Settlements" AUMLA 29, 1968; 33 - 43

5. See M.G. Clyne, "Some Aspects of the Bilingualism and Language Maintenance of Australian-born Children of German-speaking Parents", to appear in Present-Day Studies in Language Contact, (ed.) M. van Overbeke

6. Cf. Weinreich, op.cit., pp. 11 - 12

7. M.G. Clyne, Transference and Triggering, The Hague, pp. 53–4

8. E. Haugen, The Norwegian Language in America Philadelphia, 1953, p.334
   Clyne, op.cit., p.26. Heather Stock is at present investigating this problem among German speaking migrants in South Australia for an M.A. (Monash) thesis.

9. R.A. King, Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar, Englewood Cliffs, 1969 p. 85

10. G.G. Gilbert, "The Linguistic Geography of the Colonial and Immigrant Languages in the U.S." Paper delivered to the Linguistic Society of America, December 1969.

11. L. Zabrocki, "Kodematische Grundlagen der Theorie des Fremdsprachenunterrichts", Glottodidactica 1, 1966; 31 - 42 p. 19

12. Weinreich, op.cit., p. 1

13. E. Haugen, Bilingualism in the Americas, Alabama, 1956. p.40

14, M.G. Clyne (1967) op.cit.

15. Cf. Weinreich's definition; also I.M.C. Hunter, <u>Memory</u> Hammondsworth, Middlesex, 1957. pp. 69 ff.

16. M.G. Clyne, "Deutscher Idiolekt und deutscher Dialekt in einer zweisprachigen Siedlung in Australien". Wirkendes Wort 18, 1968; 84 - 95. pp. 90-2

17. H. Moser, "Wohin Steuert das heutige Deutsch?" In : (ed.) H. Moser, <u>Satz und Wort im heutigen Deutsch,</u> Dusseldorf, 1967; 15-35. p.25

18. Zabrocki suggests 15. (<u>op.cit.</u> p. 19)

19. Cf. A. Taylor, "A note on the Study of Sociolinguistics, with particular reference to Papua-New Guinea " <u>KIVUNG</u> 1, 1968; 43 - 52. esp. pp.47 -8

20. M.G. Clyne, "Switching between language systems" Actes du Xe Congrès International des Linguistes, Bucharest, 1969; 343-9

21. S. Voorwinde, <u>A Study in Trilingualism,</u> M.A. thesis, Monahs University, 1969

22. Clyne, see footnote 16; p. 89

23. Speaker is not of "Low German" descent

24. J. Wright, <u>German Historical Grammar,</u> Oxford, reprint, 1948 p.137

25. E. Sapir, <u>Language.</u> New York, rev. ed., 1949. chap. VII
    E. Prokosch, <u>A Comparative Germanic Grammar,</u> Philadelphia, 1939. p.36

26. For the relation between respiration and thinking, see:
    R. Schelling, "Uber 'inneres' sprechen". <u>Zeitschrift fur Psychologie III,</u> 1929;204-55
    F. Goldman-Eisler, "Speech-Breathing Activity", <u>the British Journal of Psychology,</u> 46, 1955; 53 - 63

27. Clyne (1967), op.cit., p. 64

28. N. Hasselmo, "How can we measure the effects which one language may have on the other, in the speech of bilinguals?" <u>Preprints of the International Seminar on the Description and Measurement of Bilingualism.</u> 1969, 121 - 41; p. 141

29. J. Nijenhuis, <u>Het Nederlands in Australie</u> Sydney, 1967

30. A recall experiment testing rapid visual perception of sentences in which a switch has occurred is at present being conducted by K.I. Forster and myself.

31. Cf. the "layers" of irony detailed in : D.C. Muecke, <u>The Compass of Irony.</u> London 1969

32. J.A. Fodor, M. Garrett, T. G. Bever, "Some syntactic determinants of sentential complexity, II: Verb Structure" <u>Perception and Psychophysics 3 (b),</u> 1968: 453-61 pp453-4