

**LEXICAL TRANSFERENCE IN THE SPEECH OF MACEDONIAN ENGLISH  
BILINGUAL SPEAKERS IN THE ILLAWARRA REGION OF NSW**

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## SUMMARY

This study focusses on the speech of Macedonian English bilingual speakers in the Illawarra region of New South Wales, where there is a large Macedonian community. The study analyses the lexical transference which occurs in the Macedonian language because of the contact with English.

Speech was collected in two series of interviews. The first were structured interviews involving the completion of a questionnaire by sixteen informants, half of whom were adult bilinguals and the other half were child bilinguals (who were also divided equally between male and female).

The lexical transference which occurred in the sample, with a very small number of exceptions, related to tangible objects connected with the new circumstances encountered by the migrants on arrival.

The phonological integration of transfers was analysed with reference to the treatment of consonantal clusters in the final position in the English model and the manner in which the wide range of Australian English vowels were allocated to the five pure Macedonian vowels, including in particular, the manner in which the indeterminate vowel is treated.

Morphological integration of transfers is indicated in the determination of the gender

and number of the noun transfers and the conjugation of the verb transfers. Adjectives and adverbs were found to occur as morphologically unintegrated transfers.

A glossary of lexical transfers which occurred was compiled, listed in alphabetical order, according to the English model and divided into word classes.

In the comparison between the adult and child bilinguals, there was a difference in the amount and type of transference. The child bilinguals used a greater number of transfers and, generally speaking, the transfers were less integrated (on all levels) than those used by the adult bilinguals. There were a greater number of transfers relating to abstract concepts used by child bilinguals, even though the overall number of such transfers was low. There was semantic transference in the speech of the child bilinguals but none in that of the adult bilinguals.

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**CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY**

I, Elizabeth Stewart (neé Kolupačev) do hereby certify that this thesis does not incorporate, without acknowledgment, any material previously submitted for a degree in any university, College of Advanced Education, or any other educational institution, and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Elizabeth Stewart', written in a cursive style.

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on lexical transference in the the speech of a community of Macedonian English bilinguals in the Illawarra region on the south coast of NSW ("Illawarra"). Lexical transference is one aspect of the consequences of their Macedonian speech being in contact with English. The forms recorded in this study have been encountered in the spoken form only; they are spoken forms which can be recorded in writing but which are not written by the speakers who use them.

During the 1960s and 1970s large numbers of Macedonian migrants began to travel to the Illawarra continuing the age old Macedonian tradition of temporary migration for work but now making the migration permanent, making Australia their home. This movement brought Macedonian speakers into a setting where English was the language of government, education and communication. Few, if any, knew English on their arrival and few had the opportunity to study English after their arrival.

For these Macedonian speakers, the Illawarra was very different in terms of the physical environment, the work arrangements and the way society was organised when compared to the villages from which they came. Not only did they not know English but the Macedonian language spoken by them on arrival did not adequately equip them to speak about this new environment amongst themselves.

They did however and do manage to communicate in Macedonian about the new environment because, as of necessity, they became bilingual. This has led to certain changes in their Macedonian speech under the influence of English.



This study aims to identify, describe and analyse the lexical transfers from English in the Macedonian speech of these Macedonian Australian bilinguals; to determine the extent to which the lexical transfers are integrated into Macedonian and the factors which affect the process of integration; to compare the speech of first generation and second generation Macedonian English bilinguals and to identify the factors which play a role in the differing results arising. It includes a glossary of the transfers encountered.

The examination of the consequences of language contact in the speech of bilinguals provides information about the contrast in structure of the two languages (Clyne1972:2) as well as "essentials of linguistic change and of general speech mechanisms" (Ibid).

## **1.1 Review of Literature**

### **1.1.1 Preliminary**

The aim of the present study is to examine lexical transference resulting from the language contact between Macedonian and English in the Illawarra. The two languages are in contact because there is a community of Macedonian English bilingual speakers. In this case, the Macedonian language spoken by the Macedonian migrants has been brought into the Illawarra, an environment where English is the language of the commerce, work, government and public domains.

The majority of the migrants emigrated for the purposes of finding work and were able to start work before acquiring much knowledge of English as the employment they found was generally in the steel industry. The labourer positions did not require English language skills. More importantly, it appears employers did not consider it important to provide or suggest English classes, especially not during work time.

However, the need to learn some English was pressing because it was necessary, for example, to arrange accommodation, to carry out banking, to arrange for postage of letters to family still overseas, to use transport, medical services and eventually, to deal with the schooling of children. During the sixties and the early seventies, there were no

interpreter services available to migrants, apart from the 'interpreter' friends they could personally arrange.

In the new country, apart from learning English, the migrants' language had to be adapted to speak about the new circumstances in which they found themselves. New words and expressions were required to describe and talk about the work place and features of their employment and about the place where they were now living. The speakers acquired the ability to produce meaningful utterances in English as well as their mother language, Macedonian, and became bilingual. As a result Macedonian came into contact with English. Two languages are said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same person who is the locus of the contact (Weinreich 1953:1) in the community of bilingual speakers.

Bilingual speakers are generally unable to keep their two languages separate. This study focuses on how the English language impacts on the Macedonian speech on the lexical level, and the consequences of that impact for the Macedonian speech of the bilinguals.

#### **1.2.0 Articles on Macedonian English contact**

The Macedonian language is spoken in the Balkans, a region where a number of cultures intersect. Accordingly, Macedonian has been in contact with a variety of different languages since ancient times: for example, Roman Latin (Koneski 1986: 216-217);

Greek (Koneski 1986: 214-216); Turkish (Koneski 1986: 218-220); Aroumanian (Koneski 1986: 216-217) and Albanian (Koneski 1986: 217-218). As a result of language contact, the Balkan linguistic alliance (Balkan Sprachbund) of these languages developed and caused their linguistic convergence.

The position of Macedonian in contact with these other languages on the Balkan has interested scholars of the Macedonian language for a long time. However, it is in this century, and principally in the period following the second world war ("WWII") with the large emigrations of Macedonians that have occurred, that the Macedonian language has come into contact with English on a large scale. This has resulted from the fact that Macedonians emigrated in large numbers for economic reasons and travelled to the United States of America, Canada and, after the quota system was introduced in the United States of America in the early 1920s, to Australia.

Standard Macedonian, like many other languages, has changed under the influence of English, especially in the areas of technology, and because of the globalisation of media.

English contact with Macedonian is quite recent and therefore, the number of studies and the depth of those studies that consider this contact situation are few. However, in Macedonian, as in other languages, the influence of English is evident in the standard Macedonian language and some examples of this have been considered by Cvetkovski (Cvetkovski 1983).

This study is not concerned with the influence, if any, of the Macedonian language on English. It would be interesting to consider the influence of Macedonian on the English speech of Macedonian English bilinguals. No studies considering an influence by Macedonian on English have been located. The observations made in this study relate to the influence by English on Macedonian.

1.2.1 In "Amerikanizacija na makedonskiot govor vo SAD vo procesot na akulturizacijata na makedonskite doselenici" [The Americanisation of Macedonian speech in the United States of America ("USA") in the process of acculturation of the Macedonian migrants] (Cvetkovski 1977), the author considers the transfer items in the Macedonian speech of American Macedonian bilinguals in the United States of America.

Cvetkovski does not indicate the number of informants who were interviewed for his study and it is not clear the manner in which the information was actually collected.

Cvetkovski found that transfer of lexical items from American English to Macedonian resulted, in part, from contacts with a new material world leading to new words being required for the bilingual speaker to communicate (Cvetkovski 1977:197).

The process of English lexical items being integrated into Macedonian is a process which is complementary to the acculturation process that the migrant undergoes. Accordingly, the acculturation experience of the second generation migrant is different as they are

assimilated into American society to a far greater extent than their parents and the transfers used by the second generation are different from the transfers of first generation bilinguals (Cvetkovski 1977:198).

Most importantly, the influence of English is greater and more noticeable because the transfer in the speech of second generation bilinguals is less phonologically and morphologically integrated than the transfer items in the speech of the first generation bilinguals.

Words relating to Macedonian traditions were only encountered in small numbers in the speech of the second generation because the American holidays and traditions replaced the Macedonian holidays and traditions (Cvetkovski 1977:198). The second generation do not learn about the holidays at home but rather from the American environment in which they live and they then try to adapt their Macedonian language to that knowledge (Cvetkovski 1977:198).

It was noted that the informants interviewed have adopted anglicised versions of their names, for example, Živka to Gina; Slave to Steve etc (Cvetkovski 1977:197).

The lexical items are listed by grammatical category, and nouns are also divided by domain: home, food and car (Cvetkovski 1977:198). Unfortunately, the degree and type of integration is not described.

A number of the transfer items noted by Cvetkovski were also recorded in the speech of the Illawarra informants: laki [lucky], bizi [busy], rong [wrong], flor [floor], karpēt [carpet], tost [toast], džus [juice], lanč [lunch], kar [car], geridž [garage], sajna [sign], pentam kuka [I am painting a house], hajvey [highway] (and toľvej [tollway]); parking [parking]; vokam [I walk]; draĵvam [I drive]; bed [bed]; blanket [blanket]; kap [cup]; spun [spoon]; puding [pudding]; oil [oil]; pronansam [I pronounce]; bilongam [I belong]; bed kold [bad cold]; se tekeruvam [I take care (of myself)].

In this study, certain of the transfers encountered by Cvetkovski were also encountered but differed in that the final consonant in the transfers in this study were unvoiced and in Cvetkovski's study are recorded as being voiced:

<u>In Cvetkovski's study</u>	<u>In this study</u>
rong	ronk
geridž	gerič

A number of transfers noted by Cvetkovski however, were not recorded in the speech of the Illawarra informants and their use by the American informants can be explained by reference to the different sociocultural setting in which the respective communities live. This highlights the importance of extralinguistic factors in understanding variety in linguistic behaviour.

For example, kolam (to make a call; Illawarra informants used ringam, and the

American version seems odd as it has a separate meaning in Macedonian of "cut [someone or something's] throat); *šur* [sure]; *butar* (cf *mas*, the Macedonian word for butter is used in the Illawarra), *kornflejks* [cornflakes]; *frnez* [furnace] (cf *hita* [heater] but also note *Blasfrnes* [Blast Furnace]).

The gender assigned to transfer items was found to be based on Macedonian rules so that nouns ending in a consonant were generally assigned the masculine gender.

The second generation speakers are child bilinguals and, says Cvetkovski, because English is the language of schooling for them and Macedonian is learned only as a spoken language, these speakers are subjecting Macedonian to a process of creolization, (*kreolizacija*) (Cvetkovski 1977:200). Their phonemic systems are English and the number of Macedonian words used by these speakers is limited. As a result of this creolization many languages of the world have been lost, according to Cvetkovski (Cvetkovski 1977:201).

While Cvetkovski's concerns are valid in relation to the Macedonian speech of the Macedonian immigrant community that he is interviewing, the process he describes is not creolisation because the Macedonian language is not affected; effects are limited to the speech of certain speakers only. A creole results from two languages being in contact but a creole is the stable new language and there are native speakers of a creole (Lehiste 1988:76).



The language spoken by the second generation bilinguals observed by Cvetkovski remains Macedonian and Cvetkovski does not suggest that a new stable variety of Americanised Macedonian has come into existence. Accordingly, the use of the term 'creolization' is not intended in its technical sense.

### **1.2.2 Macedonian and American-English Analysis of Interference (Cvetanovska 1981)**

is a study of the speech of Macedonian English bilinguals in New Jersey in the USA making a contrastive analysis of English and Macedonian. For the study, Cvetanovska interviewed about 100 bilinguals, 20 were tape recorded and another 80 were observed in unstructured interviews but not recorded (Cvetanovska 1981: 68).

The bilingual community was comprised of speakers from the Bitola, Struga, Prilep and Titov Veles regions of Macedonia and the bilinguals spoke the regional varieties of Macedonian on their arrival to the USA, with "only a few" speaking standard Macedonian (Cvetanovska 1981: 69). The occupations of the speakers were varied, factory workers, door men, businessmen, nurses, priests and students. Most of the women were factory workers (Cvetanovska 1981: 69).

Cvetanovska conducted a contrastive analysis of the Macedonian speech of the bilinguals and proceeded on the basis that structures which are similar are easy to learn and transfer and may function satisfactorily in a foreign language, whereas other structures will not do so (Cvetanovska 1981: 23).

Following the interviews, the author conducted a detailed phonological comparative analysis and then considered lexical transference and the manner in which the transfers were adapted and incorporated into the Macedonian grammatical categories.

The author found that the largest number of transfers were nouns. In Macedonian, the nouns take a gender and number (Cvetanovska 1981: 23). The basis for determination of gender was similar to that found by Mitkovska (Mitkovska 1990: 110), with the largest number of nouns being allocated the masculine gender and the neuter forming the smallest number. However, the author noted the creation of a significant number of neuter nouns with the imposition of a "-če" suffix to create the diminutive form of the transferred noun.

The determination of number is in accordance with Macedonian rules but Cvetanovska, like Mitkovska (Mitkovska 1990: 110) also observes that the English item does not always lose the plural "-s" suffix before the Macedonian plural suffix is added (Cvetanovska 1981: 26).

The definite article is then allocated according to Macedonian grammatical rules after allocation of the gender and number (Cvetanovska 1981: 29).

The adjectives are rarely integrated into Macedonian as the nouns are, often remaining in the same form as the English model (Cvetanovska 1981: 31). The author speculates

that this is because the adjective in Macedonian takes the definite article, gender and number rather than the noun and, in accordance with this premise, she concludes that it is because Macedonian adjectives function in this different manner that they are not transferred and integrated as readily as are the nouns (Cvetanovska 1981: 33).

The transferred adjective can, however, take a form which is comparative or superlative by the addition of a prefix and such integration is in fact observed in the sample (Cvetanovska 1981:37). Unlike the case with Macedonian adjectives, however, the transferred adjective is not observed to take the definite form.

The author highlights the different manner in which the negative is formed in English as opposed to Macedonian but considers the effect that this distinction has on the English produced by the bilinguals rather than the effect it has on their Macedonian speech (Cvetanovska 1981:36).

There are a number of verbs observed in the sample which are integrated into the various Macedonian verb groups and verbs form the second largest group of transfers after nouns (Cvetanovska 1981:42). The author observes that the verb forms are simplified in that only the past, present and future tenses are observed and Macedonian verbal suffixes are added to the transferred American English verb (Cvetanovska 1981:42). Only the imperative form is observed in an unintegrated form, for example, **shadap** [shut up]; **stop it** [stop it]; **kamon** [come on] (Cvetanovska 1981:45). Also, there is a greater

incidence of the passive voice observed in the speech of the American English bilinguals than occurs in Macedonian, for example, **pismoto e istajpano** [the letter is typed] (Cvetanovska 1981:45).

The last part of the study conducts a comparative study between the American English speech of the Macedonian bilinguals and Black American English on a morphosyntactic level which is an interesting commentary but not directly relevant to the study at hand. A significant part of the study considers the manner in which Macedonian affects the English speech of the bilinguals.

In the study, the author gives detailed examples of the propositions she makes but does not quantify the observations. Rather, transfers are observed as a small number or large number and no information is given about what percentage the transfers form of the speech of the informants. The comments on the comparison between the speech of the first generation as compared with that of the second generation are brief and confined to the conclusions section of the study. This is understandable as it is not the main focus of the study.

**1.2.3** The article "Za izveduvanjeto pridavki vo makedonskiot jazik od angliski osnovi", [The derivation of adjectives in the Macedonian language from English stems] Cvetkovski (1983) examines the influence that English, as the new 'lingua franca', has had on the standard literary Macedonian language. The process by which the transfer items have

entered the standard literary language is identified by Cvetkovski as being by way of the media (press, radio and television) contact between Macedonian and English.

The samples which Cvetkovski uses for his comments are from the Macedonian newspaper "Nova Makedonija". Cvetkovski seeks to briefly identify the manner in which the various transfer items are morphologically and phonologically integrated into Macedonian (Cvetkovski 1983:109).

The observations are interesting because the mechanisms in the Macedonian language for integration may be comparable whether a transfer is found in the speech of a single bilingual or in the standard language. The transfers observed by Cvetkovski will not be considered here for the reason that most of the transfer items set out are proper nouns and therefore provide little information of use in the present study.

**1.2.4** In the article, "Jazikot na makedonskite emigranti vo Avstralija" [The speech of the Macedonian immigrants in Australia] (Kuševska 1983) there are comments on the speech of Macedonian English bilinguals in Australia. The aim of the article is not, however, to provide observations on the speech but rather to comment on the reason for the transference and to suggest how it can be avoided.

After giving the background to migration by Macedonians to Australia, Kuševska notes that the level of influence is greater in the speech of the second generation as opposed

to that of the first generation (Kuševska 1983:629). This is consistent with all other studies which consider a similar situation.

In addition to the transfer items which Kuševska observes, she also observes semantic transfers in the use of expressions which occur in Australian English but which have been translated into Macedonian literally, such as 'do your homework' is equivalent to 'pravi domašna'; also the word order in Macedonian is affected by the word order in English; and the use of prepositions is influenced by English prepositions translated into Macedonian in a literal manner (Kuševska 1983:630).

Kuševska points the way to avoid these 'problems' in the future and that is the establishment of links between Macedonian and Australia and specifically, the import to Australia of effective teachers of Macedonian (Kuševska 1983:631).

1.2.5 In "Anglicismite od avstralisko jazično podračje vo dela od sovremenata makedonska kniževnost" [Anglicisms from the Australian linguistic region in the works of modern Macedonian literature] (Cvetkovski 1984), Cvetkovski examines the written Macedonian language in texts which, for the most part, are set in Australia. Accordingly, one would expect the samples to include transfer items which occur in the speech of Macedonian English bilinguals, if in fact the writing was based on observed speech. The novels used for this article are Vest Aust, Kengurski Skok and Nema Smrt Dodeka Dzvoni.

The relevance of these transfers to this study is limited because there is no information about the speakers in whose speech the transfers are supposed to have occurred and it does not appear that the intention of the novelist was to make scientific observations on the speech. The transfers identified are most unlikely examples and would appear to have been created by the novelists on the basis of the spelling of the English words rather than on any observations on bilingual speech. Cvetkovski does not comment on this but merely sets out the transfer items used by the novelists.

Obviously, the novelists did not take a scientific approach but it is interesting to consider the transfer items and the manner in which the novelists, in each case, native speakers of Macedonian, thought the English items would be integrated into Macedonian.

For example, in Vest Aust the author indicates as speech 'Macedonian čurč' [church], whereas, it is observed in the bilingual speech of the Illawarra that the pronunciation is more like "čṛč". This influence of spelling is evident in the presence of the 'r' sound in words such as "mister" [mister], "of kurs" [off course] and "baster" [bastard], whereas the pronunciation would more likely be "mista", "off kos" and "bastet", because the Australian English is the variety of English which influences Macedonian in Australia, does not have a rolled / r /.

1.2.6 "Kreolizacija na govorot na makedonskite doselenici vo Kanada" [The creolisation of the speech of the Macedonian migrants in Canada] (Nikolovski-Katin 1986) examines

the speech of Macedonian English bilinguals in Toronto, Canada. This is a different sociocultural context to the Illawarra. Also, the speakers who migrated to Canada speak dialects of Macedonian from the villages of Lerin, Kostur, Voden, Solun in Aegean Macedonia and Bitola, Prespa, Ohrid and Struga, which are from the central and southern western dialect groups, the migration being as a result of the Greek Civil War. The migrants worked as labourers and were involved in the restaurant industry.

Nikolovski-Katin observes that the newer immigrants learn English from those immigrants who had arrived earlier. He describes the processes following the languages coming into contact as 'creolisation' but it does not appear that the speakers interviewed by him speak a language other than Macedonian, even if it does include transfer items from English. Accordingly, he does not appear to suggest that there is in fact a new creole, in the scientific sense of that word. The word is incorrectly used in the same way as Cvetkovski (Cvetkovski 1977:200).

The article is of limited interest because it does not provide a phonetic spelling of the transfer items observed and accordingly, gives no indication of the integration of the transfer items into Macedonian. For example, examples of transfer items are given in the English form such as, 'kitchen', 'breakfast', 'traffic light' and 'boyfriend'.

The article identifies a number of different domains in which the transfer items appear, namely transport, work, food, names, sport and social.



**1.2.7** In the article, "Beleški kon leksičkiot fond na vtorata generacija Makedonci vo Avstralija" [Notes on the lexical fund of the second generation of Macedonian migrants in Australia] (Mitkovska 1990) the author aims to identify how lexical transfer items have been adapted into the speech of Macedonians in Sydney with a particular focus on the second generation of primary school age in a Rockdale primary school in 1986 and 1987 (Mitkovska 1990: 109).

There is no indication of the manner in which the speech was collected for the study, however, the detailed examples given clearly illustrate the transfers observed and how these are integrated into Macedonian. The Macedonian speakers were principally from the central western Macedonian dialect groups and had migrated to Australia in the 1970s (Mitkovska 1990:109).

Mitkovska proposes an explanation for the presence of the lexical transfers which she calls 'zaemki' or borrowings, in terms of two basic types. Firstly, there are 'cultural borrowings' which relate to items culturally new to the speaker, such as place names, sport, new fruits and vegetables and manufactured products (Mitkovska 1990:109).

There are transfer items which do have Macedonian equivalents but the Macedonian word is not used and this is either because it is not exactly the same in meaning as the English word or because the bilinguals are from a rural background and may not know the Macedonian word (Mitkovska 1990:109). Of those who may be aware of the Macedonian

word but choose to use the English transfer, the author proposes as a possible motivation, a keenness on the part of the speaker to show knowledge of English.

In her analysis of the observed lexical transfers, Mitkovska finds that nouns are the largest category of transfer items, followed by verbs and then followed, far behind numerically, by adjectives (Mitkovska 1990:110).

In the speech of the first generation, the transfer items are fully phonologically and morphologically adapted or integrated. The second generation shows many more English transfers in their Macedonian speech on all levels. The transferred items showed a greater degree and variety of manner of integration (Mitkovska 1990:110).

In the speech of the second generation, the transferred items are less phonologically integrated into Macedonian than is the case with the speech of the first generation. Where there are phonologically integrated items, the author speculates that this is because they have learned the integrated transfer from their parents rather than because the transferred item has undergone an integration process directly into the speech of the second generation speaker (Mitkovska 1990: 113).

By contrast with the speech of the first generation, in that of the second generation instances of semantic transfers occur. The author gives the example of the English verb "stay" and the manner in which all of the meanings that that verb carries in English are

incorrectly attributed to "stoi" [stay] in Macedonian, such as (at 114), "Jas i majka mi... stoevme doma", "im rekoa da stoele site natre", "Vo crkvata stoevme za eden saat".

Other examples are given for the pairs "play"/"igra", "look"/"gleda and izgleda", "start"/"počnuva". Mitkovska speculates that many of these result from a literal translation of English phrases, as in "Jas sum 13" for "imam 13 godini".

Mitkovska considers the manner in which the transfer items are integrated into Macedonian. For the most part, noun transfers are allocated a grammatical gender in accordance with the Macedonian rules, so that, for example, a noun ending in a consonant is allocated the masculine gender. Where the transfer noun ends in "-a", the feminine gender is allocated. For transfer nouns ending in a vowel other than "-a", the neuter gender is allocated. This pattern alters if the sex of the person being described is not the same as the grammatical gender, then the sex of the person determines the grammatical gender of the transfer (Mitkovska 1990:111).

Number is also determined in accordance with Macedonian grammatical rules. However, there are some exceptions which Mitkovska points out, such as "buci" which retains the English plural suffix before taking the Macedonian plural suffix as well (Mitkovska 1990:111).

The definite article follows Macedonian grammatical rules and is determined after

allocation of the gender and number (Mitkovska 1990:111).

In respect of verbs, the most common are those ending in "-a", including "-uva" and "-ira", with the first being the most common. The author identifies that some transfer items can take more than one ending, even in the speech of a single bilingual (Mitkovska 1990:111).

Mitkovska finds that the adjective is transferred with little, if any, integration. Rather, the adjective is more likely to appear in the same form as the English model (Mitkovska 1990:112).

Mitkovska also observes that in the speech of the second generation speakers, there is code switching (in the present study referred to as multiple transference) so that parts of a sentence will be rendered in Macedonian and other parts in English.

Mitkovska speculates that one possible reason for the influence of English is that the speech of the second generation speakers is poor in terms of vocabulary. However, she notes that this does not explain all instances of transfers in the Macedonian speech. The second generation may use the English word or phrase and the Macedonian equivalent in the same sentence. The reason for this is that the "ekspresivnata vrednost" ("expressive value") is not the same in English and in Macedonian for the speaker and the use of Macedonian or English words does not depend merely on knowledge of the

tolerated or accepted by the bilingual community (Mitkovska 1990:116).

Mitkovska concludes the article by observing that English is replacing Macedonian as the language for communication of the second generation bilingual and even more so in the case of the third generation bilingual who display no more than a passive knowledge of Macedonian. It is necessary to study further what effect the formal study of Macedonian would have on the maintenance of Macedonian for the second and subsequent generations and the level of transference (Mitkovska 1990:116).

**1.2.8** In the brief article, "English Loans in Toronto Macedonian Idiolect", (Kay 1988) the author reported on the findings of his interviews with one Macedonian Canadian (English speaking) bilingual. The informant was apparently dominant in English and was from the Lerin region of Macedonia, where the dialect used is somewhat different from the standard literary language. It is relevant that in addition to the Macedonian and English, Kay's informant also knew Greek and Russian.

Using this single informant, Kay seeks to "explore techniques for gathering material for a study of bilingual interaction between Macedonian and English" (at 176) by considering the 42 transfer items, which Kay refers to as "loans" (ibid), collected from the informant in the interview. The findings in the article are intended as only preliminary. No subsequent article has been found.

subsequent article has been found.

The interview consisted of three parts. In the first part the informant was asked to give the Macedonian equivalent of list of English words; in the second part the informant was asked to interpret a situation from English to Macedonian; and thirdly, the informant was asked to describe some pictures.

Kay's informant's lack of formal education in Macedonian and the limited domains in respect of which the informant used Macedonian caused the informant's Macedonian speech to be limited in scope to pragmatic matters. Kay observed that the transfer items retained class membership on transfer so that, for example, nouns are transferred as nouns.

In relation to the assignment of gender, Kay does not rely on the nominal articular suffixes alone to indicate gender, but rather requires the presence of contextual concord features to indicate gender. The lexical items recorded as transferred into the Macedonian speech of the informant from Canadian English were recorded in a basically phonemic form.

The following items were recorded by Kay: **garbič; kičen - kičin; karo; lajber - lajbri; lajt; marketo; muvame; tren; redioto - radioto; rufo; rum; bičo; floro** [respectively, garbage; kitchen; the car; labourer; light; the market; we move; train; the radio; the

roof; the beach; the floor].

The article lists a number of transfer items which did not appear in the speech of the informants interviewed for this study. The differences can be attributed to the different sociocultural setting in which the two sets of speakers live (for example, the following transfers have not been encountered in the course of this study: "kolidžit" and "stritkarite tiketi". The words "collegiate" and "streetcar ticket" are not commonly used in Australian English speech in the Illawarra.

This study confirms that there are as many varieties of migrant languages as there are speakers, in this case, Macedonian English (Saunders 1991:117) because there are a number of lexical items which appear in both studies, but there is some variation in the manner in which the items are integrated and there is a difference between transfers recorded by Kay and those that are encountered in the speech of the Macedonian English community in the Illawarra.

1.2.9 The Language Question. The Maintenance of Languages other than English 1986, is the report of results from a study commissioned by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and completed by Kalantzis, Cope and Slade. The study focussed on the German and Macedonian communities of the Illawarra, specifically the Shellharbour and Wollongong local government areas. The aim of the study was to identify attitudes to maintenance of the mother tongue and to obtain data on how those attitudes were linked

in English and the mother tongue and the relationship between the two.

The findings of the study are striking. While 96.7% of the German adults and 95.9% of the Macedonian adults studied reported that they spoke German and Macedonian respectively as their mother tongue, at the second generation level, only 68.4% of the German children reported German as their mother tongue but 99% of the Macedonian children stated Macedonian was their mother tongue (Kalantzis et al 1986: 164).

In terms of attitudes to language maintenance, 81.6% of the Macedonian adults and 70% of the Macedonian children expressed a desire to continue learning Macedonian, compared to 50% of German adults and 52.6% of German children, in relation to German language learning (Kalantzis et al 1986: 172).

The results for proficiency indicated more children of Macedonian background (all of whom were born in Australia) had a working knowledge of their mother tongue than did the German children (Kalantzis et al 1986: 179). It is interesting to note that for both groups, proficiency in English was less than for the control (monlingual) group of children.

The children had limited vocabulary in Macedonian and their range was limited to the home sphere (Kalantzis et al 1986: 186). When the discussion moved to school or sport, the children had difficulty finding a Macedonian word to express themselves (Kalantzis



home sphere (Kalantzis et al 1986: 186). When the discussion moved to school or sport, the children had difficulty finding a Macedonian word to express themselves (Kalantzis et al 1986: 188). Macedonian was the norm with parents and English was used with siblings (Kalantzis et al 1986: 186). In conclusion it was found that interest in learning and maintaining Macedonian depends on "the value placed on the language in family situations, whether the students have friends who mainly speak Macedonian and whether or not the student is interested in, or attends, Macedonian community functions" (Kalantzis et al 1986: 189).

### 1.3.0 Selected studies of contact between English and other languages

Migrant languages in contact with English in sociocultural contexts similar to the one presently under consideration have attracted a great deal of interest. Starting with the important studies of Weinreich Languages in Contact (1953) and Haugen's Norwegian Language in America (1953), there have followed many studies of the effects of languages in contact, especially with English in the migrant countries of the USA, Canada and Australia.

A number of the studies have focussed on lexical transference and a selection of those that are relevant to the development of the methodology for this study and which have been important to the Australian context are be considered below .

1.3.1 In the study, **Lexical and Morphological Aspects of American Italian in San Francisco** (Correa-Zoli 1970) the author considered the lexical transference in the speech of Italian and American English bilinguals of San Francisco. The aim was to study the effects of language contact in American Italian speech, to analyse the impact of the English language on the lexicon of the first generation Italians and to establish a glossary of forms deviating from standard Italian as a result of transference. The deviating forms were then classified and the integration of these forms was considered.

For the study, 23 informants were recorded participating in non-elicited conversations for periods of up to 2 hours at a time, often with two informants participating at a time. Approximately half of the interviews took place in the home of an informant and the other half took place in the home of the interviewer. With some informants, more than one interview took place. The result was 26 hours of tape recorded speech. This sample of speech was supplemented by material from Correa-Zoli's own speech as she was a member of the community which was the subject of the study. In all cases, the language spoken by the bilinguals remains Italian and not a pidgin or a new lexical entity (Correa-Zoli 1970:101).

The informants remained anonymous and were allocated number codes to identify them based on data collected in the interviews about their age, work history, education history, knowledge of and competence in English, use of Italian and dialectal background. A table summarising the characteristics of the informants was prepared (Correa-Zoli 1970:30).

All of the informants interviewed were born in Italy and all had what Correa-Zoli described as a 'good' command of English. The speech of the second generation was observed but not recorded; it was observed only to give information about the sociocultural features of the bilingual community.

The purpose for obtaining such personal information about the speakers is that the degree of resistance to transference from English in their Italian speech is determined by nonstructural and extralinguistic factors (Correa-Zoli 1970:40). Some of the extralinguistic factors relevant to certain occurrences of transference (Correa-Zoli 1970:91), suggest that switches are caused by bilingualism, that fully integrated morphosemantic transfers result because of an intolerance for recognisable unintegrated transfers and that semantic transfers (or loanshift extensions) result from a degree of loyalty to the mother tongue.

The terminology used by Correa-Zoli to describe the transference is different to that used in this study and for consistency, the transference terminology will be used.

The transference in the speech of the informants is described and the information is used to compile a glossary.

The use of transfers is a highly individual choice and this is why some items which are theoretically possible, do not occur. This situation limits the chance of propagation

(Correa-Zoli 1970:80). The high number of interjections present in the corpus was caused by individual speech mannerisms (Correa-Zoli 1970:84).

Correa-Zoli found that the informants use of loanwords ('transfers') and loanshift extensions ('semantic transfers' where an Italian word takes on a new meaning under the influence of English) prevail and the reason that Correa-Zoli ascribes to this is the 'interlingual similarity' between English and Italian (Correa-Zoli 1970:88) and the strong force of the sound and meaning combination (Correa-Zoli 1970:70).

The causes for transference proposed by Correa-Zoli were that it occurred where the speaker was referring to things for which there is no Italian equivalent; where there was a need for synonyms in certain semantic fields (for example, because the Italian word did not adequately describe the new thing or the Italian word had a special meaning); and where the standard Italian word was forgotten (Correa-Zoli 1970:90).

The vulnerability of morpheme classes is directly related to their structural integration in the system and this explains why there is an absence of prepositions and articles and an abundance of "content words" such as nouns, verbs and adjectives (Correa-Zoli 1970: 88-9).

Nouns were found to outnumber all other classes (Correa-Zoli 1970:82). Grammatical integration followed standard Italian patterns (Correa-Zoli 1970:82).

In the determination of gender, the masculine was the most productive and the feminine gender was only allocated in certain limited circumstances, namely, where the sex of a living thing required it; where the phonological shape of English transfer indicated a different gender; where there was a homologous identification with an Italian word; where there is a semantic association with a native counterpart and where there is placement within a semantic class (Correa-Zoli 1970:93). Variation in the gender that was assigned was observed so that some transfers took different genders at different times in their speech and there was difference between various informants (Correa-Zoli 1970:95).

Further morphological integration of transfers was observed with integrated transfers taking diminutive and pejorative suffixes (Correa-Zoli 1970:82) and others taking standard Italian morphemes denoting trade.

Verbs generally did not occur in an unintegrated form and Correa-Zoli suggested that this was because the verb is unacceptable to the speaker without its indicators of tense, mood, person and number.

When considering unintegrated transfers, which Correa-Zoli calls 'switches', she was able to make the following generalisations: many of the forms do not recur and so, the unadapted transfers are a matter of individual choice (Correa-Zoli 1970:80); although unintegrated, the determiners used in the sentence indicate the gender of the transfer

(Correa-Zoli 1970:81); the intonation pattern of speech suggests a singling out of the unintegrated transfer (Correa-Zoli 1970:81); and some unintegrated transfers are flanked by an integrated counterpart if hesitation indicated again by intonation (Correa-Zoli 1970:81).

Correa-Zoli finds that the language spoken by the informants remains Italian but includes transfers from English (Correa-Zoli 1970:101)

1.3.2 The Clyne and Bettoni studies are considered in some detail in the following because the present study uses the terminology employed and the methods of collecting the speech developed in those studies.

1.3.2.1 In Clyne's Transference and Triggering (1967) and the subsequent Perspectives on Language Contact (1972) he looks at the general adjustment and language assimilation of one migrant group, German, as a first stage of a more extensive research programme into the problems of bilinguals. While the study is principally a linguistic one, Clyne notes the importance of taking a multidisciplinary approach to get a full picture of the general adjustment made by the migrants.

In the course of the study, Clyne looks at the contrasting structures of English and German and how those contrasting structures cause conflict in the bilingual. The investigation of bilingual speech gives an insight into some essentials of language change

and general speech mechanisms (Clyne 1967:2). Clyne notes that the observations made in the study are not generalisations because speech is an individual matter; rather they are comments on the linguistic phenomena observed and Clyne seeks to categorise those comments (Clyne 1967:2).

The speech which formed the basis of the research was obtained from informants who spoke German as their first language and had migrated to Australia following WWII. Clyne tape-recorded the speech of about 200 informants for a period of about 10 - 15 minutes each (Clyne 1967:22). The method used by Clyne to elicit the speech was threefold: first of all, he showed the informants a series of pictures, including a city scene and scenes that are typically Australian, namely of a beach, stockmen and the bush (Clyne 1967:23); then the informant was asked to describe their day at work or at school and a book that he or she had recently read.

Clyne recorded personal details about the informants including their birthplace, age, sex, marital status, home language and education.

After considering the terminology that was previously used to describe transference and in the interest of creating uniformity of approach in the manner in which the transference is described, Clyne established the terminology which has been used frequently in subsequent studies, including this study. A table comparing the terms used previously to the transference terminology established by Clyne is set out in the text of his work

(Clyne 1967:21).

After an analysis of the recorded speech, Clyne describes the transference which is encountered. The largest group of transfers were the morphosemantic or lexical transfers.

Nouns and verbs which occurred related to the Australian context, shopping, occupations, school subjects, homes and gardens and food and drink, and vocabulary relating to television (Clyne 1967:29-33). Following nouns, in terms of frequency, were verbs but Clyne points out that those verbs that were observed were used only once and generally did not recur with other informants (Clyne 1967:34). Of the small number of adjectives and adverbs that occurred, many occurred only once (Clyne 1967:36). There were very few instances of structure words such as articles and pronouns, and this indicates the intactness of language systems (Clyne 1967: 39). This is also the conclusion reached by Correa-Zoli (1970: 88)

There was a large number of interjections of the type which Clyne calls embarrassment or hesitation words, such as 'well', 'anyhow', 'you know', 'anyway' and similar, because the purpose they serve in speech is to "bridge gaps" caused by hesitation or embarrassment in speech (Clyne 1967:40).

The manner in which the noun transfers are integrated into the German speech by allocation of genders is considered (Clyne 1967: 42). Clyne finds that there is a variety



of ways in which the gender of a morphosemantic transfer is assigned (Clyne 1967:46) and that there does not seem to be a tendency to favour one gender or another. Some of the factors which Clyne considered relevant to the assignment of gender included the assignment of the gender of the equivalent German word; the form of the suffix of the transferred noun; the identification with a homophonous German word; individual fluctuation and in accordance with the natural sex of a living thing (Clyne 1967:42-46).

Plurals were allocated in one of two ways. Either the transferred nouns took the ending in German which was allocated to foreign words or, it was allocated a German plural suffix as though it were a native German word (Clyne 1967:47).

Transferred verbs were observed to be treated by the speakers as weak verbs in German (Clyne 1967:48). Adjectives are found to occur as transfers in a largely unintegrated form (Clyne 1967:50).

Semantic transference was observed in a number of areas: idiomatic expressions were transferred, either in meaning alone or partly in meaning and partly in form (where the expression was partly translated); the German word was treated as having expanded meaning so that it had all the meanings of the English word; and there was confusion concerning use of prepositions (Clyne 1967:62).

Clyne gives considerable attention to multiple transference, namely the transfer of more

than a single word (Clyne 1967:70) commonly referred to in other studies as 'code-switching' but called multiple transference by Clyne for consistency. Clyne identifies that there appears to be an 'overlapping area' in the mind of the bilingual where the bilingual is not clear on which language is being spoken. These overlapping areas act as triggers to the introduction of multiple transference. Clyne establishes the 'trigger' terminology and identifies four types of triggers which can precede or follow multiple transference (Clyne 1967:84), the most frequent of which is 'well' (Clyne 1967:92). The incidence of multiple transference and the triggering which occurs around it provide information about the manner in which the informant plans his or her thoughts and the expression of those thoughts.

The conclusions which Clyne can extract from his observation of multiple transference in the sample of speech he has collected is that, firstly, the informant is very conscious of his speech but his or her German speech no longer meets the necessary communication requirements and is fully aware that he or she will use English words. This is the situation with second generation bilinguals who are aware of their limitations in German.

Secondly, the context is linked with a particular language and the two languages are each associated with a particular context. Lastly, two linguistic systems exist side by side and any material introduced a change in that language (Clyne 1967:106).

In examining the causes of transference, Clyne points out that in producing speech, a

bilingual speaker has to have the capacity to articulate, the capacity to formulate ideas and express them and the capacity to combat uncertainty. That may result in the bilingual using an inappropriate word or a switch (Clyne 1967:82). The following matters are proposed to affect the incidence of transference in the speech of the bilingual speakers:

- \* that the transfer is a previously unknown word, as it relates to the Australian way of living, place names, work, a proper noun and similar (Clyne 1967:71);
- \* that the English caution and embarrassment words are richer than those in German and also that the migrants become culturally assimilated and adopt the "Anglo-Saxon" tendency to be cautious and non-committal. There is room for hesitation because the linguistic habits of the informant are not stabilised (Clyne 1967:75);
- \* that there are limitations on the speech capacity of the bilingual, whether articulatory (so that where the English word is shorter than the German word, it will be used) or semantic (where there is too much choice in German and uncertainty about which word the interlocutor will understand) or syntactic (where the speakers memory would be overtaxed to avoid the English transfer). For these reasons, the speaker will use the least cumbersome alternative or the alternative which puts the least strain on him or her (Clyne 1967:78).

1.3.2.2 In the subsequent work based on the research commenced for Transference and Triggering (1967), Perspectives on Language Contact, (1972) Clyne aimed to look at the result of the speech from additional perspectives and to draw some conclusions on language contact, implications for language teaching and language maintenance. The reason for this is that, Clyne points out, the history of most languages is associated with interlingual contact (Clyne 1972:72).

Further tape-recorded interviews were carried out and the informants now included persons who arrived in Australia prior to WWII and also the children of both pre-war and post-war German speaking migrants.

Clyne considers that it is important to consider the results of language contact studies for information about languages in general because many of the factors involved in language change as a result of contact with other languages have also been relevant to language change generally (Clyne 1972:72) and can inform about the whole communication process (Clyne 1972:98).

The further material providing speech from various types of sociocultural settings (for example comparing the speech of recent migrants to those in older settlements (Clyne 1972:11)) and various types of bilingual, enables Clyne to review his comments on the language contact phenomena that he observed in the previous work and confirms the choice of transference terminology.

The definition of "bilingual" is considered again and the point is made that where the definition referred to a person able to produce complete and meaningful utterances in two languages, the notion of "generate" should include both encoding and decoding (Clyne 1972:5). Also, Clyne considers that the term should be revised to be a speaker who is able to generate grammatical utterances in two languages, that is that the person does not merely repeat utterances that the person has heard others use (Clyne 1972:5).

The adult bilingual is the speaker who has acquired the second language at a point in time after the phonation habits have been fixed, which is said to occur at an age between nine and twelve years. The child bilingual acquires both languages before the phonation habits have been fixed (Clyne 1972:13).

As well as a review of the description of transference, the work considers the degree and type of integration. Information about the use of the transfer in the sample of speech and information about the stability of the transfer in the speech of the informants in the sample are important indicators of the degree of integration of the transfer in the language, as opposed to the degree of integration in the speech of an individual (Clyne 1972:18). It is noted that considerable vacillation occurs in the speech of adult bilinguals in the use of transfers (Clyne 1972:18).

The concept of integration of transfers should be seen as a matter of degree along a continuum with "unintegrated" at one end and "integrated" at the other. The measure of

integration requires a consideration of linguistic (such as the acceptability, identification as a transfer or translatability tests) as well as paralinguistic phenomena (use of pauses, hand or facial gestures or other indicators of consciousness of switches) (Clyne 1972:20).

Importantly, Clyne gives considerable attention to the phenomenon of switching which, in terms of degrees of integration, can be seen as the opposite of integrated transfers. Switching is caused by both linguistic and extra linguistic factors (Clyne 1972:24). Clyne concludes that switching is most likely to occur between two languages where there are certain types of correspondence (Clyne 1972:24) and in the language contact situation under review, Clyne finds that an important factor is that there is a similarity in the prepositions which leads to switching. Otherwise, switching is an individual phenomenon and can occur in a variety of bilingual situations, those he terms "melting pot", "first and subsequent generations" and "settlement" (Clyne 1972: 24).

The most common type of trigger words for switches are listed by Clyne (Clyne 1972: 25) as morphosemantic transfers; homophonous diamorphs; proper nouns; loan words; and compromise words. The most common points at which anticipational switching occurs in the sample which Clyne observes are:

- \* at the beginning of a prepositional phrase, such as "by phone..";
- \* at the beginning of a noun phrase, such as "... the missions";
- \* at the start of a clause, such as "...and then I started.." (Clyne 1972:27).

The point at which the switch occurs has implications for linguistic theory about the manner in which an utterance is planned by a speaker.

The location of switching on a level beyond the sentence level is usually :

- \* accompanying transferred discourse markers such as "well", "anyway" and "and";
- \* preceded by some hesitation phenomenon such as a pause or nasal interjection;  
and
- \* between the discourse topic and comment; and
- \* promoted by quotations (Clyne 1972:30).

The bilingual speaker, in exhibiting transference phenomena in his or her speech is also exhibiting the principle of least effort (Clyne 1972:72) resulting from interlingual identification. Accordingly, where a speaker can recall a word in one language, the speaker may use that word even though it is not the same language as he or she is currently speaking, to avoid going to the trouble of recalling the corresponding word or words in the other language. This "speech economy" is observed by Clyne on syntactic, semantic and articulatory-phonetic levels (Clyne 1972:72). However, Clyne notes that the role of simply forgetting also plays a role in transference phenomena (Clyne 1972:96).

Clyne concludes this extensive study by drawing some implications for bilingualism and

language teaching generally from the observations made on language contact.

1.3.2.3 Bettoni's Italian in North Queensland aimed to identify and describe examples of transference from English to Italian in the speech of individual bilinguals; to analyse the integration and to report on the incidence of the transference and lastly to determine whether there was in existence a new Australian Italian standard.

As previously noted, the terminology used by Bettoni is that introduced by Clyne.

It is necessary to look at the sociocultural factors relating to the bilingual speakers. The structural differences between languages at all levels determine the kind of transference that can take place. However, not all of the possible transference actually does take place and the transference does not occur in both languages. The linguistic factors remain constant but different types of transference occur with different speakers and, according to the context, the transference is usually from one language into the other. For that reason, the sociocultural factors must be considered because it is the sociocultural or extralinguistic factors which determine the transference patterns (Bettoni 1981:24).

The study focusses on two bilingual Italo-Australian communities, one a 'closed' community, being a rural settlement and one an 'open' community where the bilinguals live in a large town (Bettoni 1981:42). The speech of 47 informants was tape-recorded in unstructured interviews, with Bettoni attending the homes of the informants.



The recorded speech was then transcribed and the first 600 words of the speech analysed to determine the percentage that each form of transfer constituted of the whole speech sample. The analysis permitted Bettoni to compare the transference patterns of the informants and to consider the manner in which the various sociocultural factors played a role (Bettoni 1981:4).

In relation to the factors which played a role in the transference patterns in the informants' speech, Bettoni concluded that the important factor in transference patterns was language domination (Bettoni 1981:111) but that interest in language learning and attention to speech were also important (Bettoni 1981:109). The domination was determined by sociocultural factors (Bettoni 1981:109).

The low level of transference in the informants who were childhood bilinguals was attributed by Bettoni to high language awareness, high levels of exposure to standard Italian and a desire for maintenance of Italian, achieved by reading and also minimal use of transference in the speech of other family members (Bettoni 1981:96). These same informants used a high level of multiple transference and in fact, English dominance led to multiple transfers being favoured (Bettoni 1981:99).

Of those dominant in English, only 29 % of the noun transfers occurring in their speech were phonically integrated and Bettoni suggested that of the noun transfers which were so integrated, it was possible that they were learned in the integrated form from other

speakers.

A good knowledge of standard Italian reduced the level of transference in the speech of a bilingual (Bettoni 1981:94) while a moderate or better knowledge of English tended to favour lexical transference (Bettoni 1981:95).

The transference that occurred was comprised of 70% nouns, 4% verbs, 6% adjectives, 1.6% adverbs and 15% interjections.

1.3.4 In her article "The Morphological Integration of English Lexical Items in Russian Speech of Bilingual Migrants Living in Australia", Kouzmin aims to analyse the intergenerational and migration differences in the speech of Russian English bilinguals.

The speech is collected by a variety of means including participation, observation and interview of 46 'second wave' and 52 'third wave' migrants, being that wave of Russian migrants following world war two and following 1974, respectively.

In addition to speech, personal data about the informants was collected: age, professions, birthplace, length of residence, use of Russian, use of English, when and where each language was acquired and the attitude to maintenance of Russian.

The integration of nouns, verbs and adjectives is a characteristic of those informants who

were more proficient in Russian than English.

The structural roles of various classes play a part in the determination of the degree of integration (Kouzmin 1984:19). As a result, the nouns are integrated to the extent that they are allocated a gender, the verb determines the tense of the sentence and so is inflected and the adjective is not integrated because it can be avoided without affecting the meaning.

In respect of nouns, they are allocated a gender and the masculine gender prevails, principally because the transferred noun ends in a consonant and the form of the English noun is important. The tendency is disregarded where semantic features of the noun indicate otherwise. Accordingly, where the transferred noun refers to a living creature or where the gender of the noun equivalent in Russian is not masculine, then the masculine gender is not allocated, regardless of the form of the word (Kouzmin 1984:10). There is however, some vacillation in the gender assigned for some transferred nouns (Kouzmin 1984:14).

Once the noun has been integrated, it may also take augmentative, diminutive or endearing and perjorative endings for further integration (Kouzmin 1984:15).

Kouzmin finds that the verbs are highly integrated and this is attributed to the fact that inflection cannot be avoided as the tense of the sentence relies on the verb (Kouzmin

1984:17). In relation to the declension of certain foreign verbs, it is found that certain declensions and conjugations are preferred (Kouzmin 1984:19).

Adjectives are rarely integrated and Kouzmin considers that this is because the adjective can be transferred unintegrated without affecting the meaning (Kouzmin 1984:18).

## 2.0 Theoretical considerations

The variation in linguistic behaviour that occurs can only be adequately explained by considering both linguistic factors and extralinguistic factors which operate on a speaker (Fishman 1972:11 and Weinreich 1953:3).

This study is concerned with the language contact situation and the way in which the extralinguistic factors interrelate with the linguistic factors (Weinreich 1953:5) in the speech of Macedonian English bilinguals. Such an approach is a sociolinguistic approach (Fishman 1972). A group of bilingual speakers is the means by which language contact occurs (Weinreich 1953:1). The bilingual is a "link, a bridge perhaps...a channel of communication" between different linguistic groups (Haugen 1953:7). Contact occurs in the "language-using individuals" (Weinreich 1953:1).

It is important to note that the observations in this study are of the variations which occur in the **speech** of certain bilinguals and not in the Macedonian **language**. In the absence of widespread use of the particular variations in a stable manner, where the transfers "have become habitualised and established" (Weinreich 1953:11), it cannot be said that these variations are a part of the Macedonian language. Correa-Zoli notes that, in the contact situation, each speaker has their own repertoire with there being as many varieties of (in that study) Italian American as there were speakers (Correa Zoli 1970:101).

However, in the standard Macedonian language, there are elements of English which

appear as a result of the widespread use of English internationally and it would be an interesting topic for further investigation to determine the way in which such elements are transferred and the form in which they appear and compare that to the appearance of such elements in the speech of the bilinguals interviewed for this study.

Here, the sociolinguistic approach to the speech of the Macedonian English bilinguals in the Illawarra involves a study of the "characteristics of language varieties, the characteristics of their functions and the characteristics of their speakers as these factors constantly interact, change and change one another both within and between speech communities" (Fishman 1972:7).

The aim is to identify the factors that play a role in determining the linguistic behaviour of a particular bilingual speaker in a given context. For example, one possible characteristic of a speech act is the identity of the person addressed. Where, for example, a bilingual speaker is speaking to a monolingual speaker, the bilingual will obviously try to eliminate from his or her speech, all elements of the language which the monolingual does not know and this is a crucial factor to determine whether transference will occur in speech (Weinreich 1953:81).

In the language contact situation it has been observed that there is the potential for the *influence* by one language on the other which is manifested in the appearance of elements of one language in the other which is called '**transference**'.

Transference is important because, as noted in the Introduction to this study,

observations about the amount and type of transference in the speech of a particular individual can provide information about the contrast and structure of the two languages in contact (Clyne 1972: 2) as well as about the "essentials of linguistic change and of general speech mechanisms" (Ibid).

Australia's population growth has resulted principally from immigration. English does not need to be used at all times and is not used at all times. In the home, family, church and certain social contexts the immigrants' mother tongue may be used. In the work place, if other workers speak the same non-English community language, that language may be used.

It can also be said that, in Australia, there is some encouragement for the maintenance of the mother tongue and related culture in so far as government financial support is available for ethnic language schools, Saturday Schools of Community languages within the Department of School Education and cultural grants for a variety of matters with a multicultural benefit.

The Macedonian community in the Illawarra is a **bilingual speech community** in that it comprises members who use both English and Macedonian and the norms for the appropriate use of these two varieties (Fishman 1972:22). Diglossia is a characteristic of a bilingual community where there are two varieties used in a stable manner, with each variety having a particular function (Fishman 1972:92). While bilingualism is a matter of individual variation, diglossia is situation where the community allocates particular functions to a variety (Fishman 1972:102).

The situation in the Illawarra can be characterised as a bilingual speech community without diglossia. Such a situation is one of "rapid social change" (Fishman 1972:102) with a corresponding change in linguistic behaviour. In the Illawarra, as in Australia generally, the formal institutions of the society use English. The Macedonian language speakers, like the many community language speakers, in the language of the formal style tend, in successive generations, to become monolingual in English.

This situation is a transitional one: "[w]ithout separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is associated with the predominant shift of social forces replaces the other" (Fishman 1972:102). It is clear that unless Macedonian can remain the only language for certain functions, such as family matters, cultural contexts or church services, it will be replaced by English and the speech community will no longer be bilingual. Bilingualism disappears "when the core of monolinguals who made its existence necessary" disappears (Haugen 1953: 7).

Outside those areas where only English can be used, such as government, media, schooling and so on, it is a matter of individual variation to decide whether to speak English or Macedonian and this decision will depend on the situation, the interlocutor, the topic and other relevant factors.

At the present, Macedonian is used in the home with those parents or grandparents whose English is inadequate; it is used in the ethnic media, in certain social events and in community activities, including church. English is occasionally used in relation



to those contexts but always used in relation to functions connected with schooling, government, the general media, work and so on.

All of the child bilingual informants who participated in the questionnaire part of this study stated that they felt more comfortable with English in all contexts and that the number of occasions where only Macedonian could be used were quite limited.

The **domain** is a relevant factor to choice of language and can be defined as a cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules (Fishman 1972:54). For example, language connected with the home context, work, studies or church could each be domains of a language. There are no finite lists of domains in a language and the domains can be specified for the purpose at hand.

The definition of **bilingual** used in this study is that set out by Clyne as a speaker who is able to generate and understand grammatical utterances in more than one language (Clyne 1972:5). This definition of bilingualism acknowledges that bilinguals can have varying degrees of competence in the two languages they speak or understand (Weinreich 1953:3).

Considering bilingualism as a relative rather than absolute concept makes it possible to look at the various parameters which define the bilingual and to then use those parameters to analyse how they relate to the variety in that bilingual speaker's linguistic behaviour (Haugen as quoted in Bertoni 1982:19). The bilingualism of the informants will be considered here in terms of:

- \* which language is dominant for the informant. This is influenced by the manner in which each language is acquired, the order in which the languages are acquired and the age at which each language is acquired; and
- \* knowledge of each language; and
- \* the domains for which language is used.

These parameters are linked to other personal characteristics of the bilingual speaker which include age, level of education, sex, age at migration to Australia, length of stay in Australia, attitude to bilingualism and language maintenance. These factors can be linked to the type of transference which occurs and the amount of transference that occurs in the bilingual's speech.

The order in which a bilingual's two languages are acquired, as well as the manner in which the languages are acquired, is important because, as previously noted, it can shed light on which is the dominant language for the speaker. The first language that a bilingual uses is sometimes referred to as the "mother tongue". However, the mother tongue is not necessarily the dominant language for the bilingual speaker.

All of the child bilingual informants in this study may be said to have Macedonian as their mother tongue, in the sense that Macedonian is the language their parents speak and the language that is used in their home. However, it is a conclusion of this study that all of the child bilinguals were dominant in English, a language that they had all

studied in school and used in their education and at work and also at home.

Knowledge of Macedonian is limited for the child bilingual informants to the domain of the home and community activities. English is the language in which they feel most comfortable and competent for expressing ideas.

However, contact can occur between any two varieties. The term **variety** is used as a non-judgmental term for a kind of language (Fishman 1972:15) and can include an official language, a dialect, a regional variety of an official variety and so on.

Here the contact is between Macedonian and English and the consequences of contact can be observed because of differences between them. The differences are on the phonological, morphological and lexical levels. Analysis will show that elements observed in the speech of bilinguals can be attributed to one or other variety (Clyne 1972:6; Weinreich 1953:2) as it must be clear to which variety or language any given element belongs so that a transfer can be identified.

Language is not static but changes through being used and this raises questions of whether it is possible at any given point in time to unequivocally state that an element belongs to one system or another because of the overlap between the two systems that occurs in the contact situation (Bettoni 1982:21). So that, where a wide variety of speakers use the term **kar** to describe a car, it may not be clear that the word is still a transfer from English rather than a word belonging to the Macedonian variety spoken in the Illawarra by bilinguals.

In some instances it may be important to make a detailed contrastive analysis to indicate the points of difference between the two languages involved in the contact situation as a precondition for an analysis of transference to be undertaken (Weinreich 1953:2). Here, it is intended to proceed on the basis that Macedonian and English are distinct systems on phonic, lexical and morphological levels and the appearance of English elements in Macedonian speech can be identified as such for the purposes of transference observations.

The Macedonian language which the informants use is not the standard Macedonian language. Rather, the informants actually use Macedonian dialects from the Central Western regions of Macedonia on which the standard language is based. This is an important consideration. Standard Macedonian has changed considerably during the period since the migration of the bilinguals, and has also been influenced lexically by English. Those changes in the standard language are not necessarily a part of the Macedonian linguistic repertoire of the informants in the Illawarra.

An analysis of the transference phenomena which are identified must take this into account in determining whether an element of the bilingual speech is part of one variety or another and how the element comes to appear in the speech under consideration.

Of the sixteen questionnaire informants (discussed in detail in paragraph 3.4.4), two of the male adult bilinguals stated that they read Macedonian newspapers regularly, being those published in Australia. Only one of the female informants stated that she

did so. Others relied on the radio programmes broadcast by 2EA Special Broadcasting Service and the local FM band community radio programmes on 2 Vox FM for maintaining or improving their knowledge Macedonian.

None of the adult bilinguals had studied Macedonian since their arrival in Australia and so, could not be said to have taken steps to keep up to date with developments in standard Macedonian. The English language skills of the adult bilinguals were acquired after arrival in Australia so that it is most likely that the lexical items such as 'picnic' and 'pub' are elements of English which have entered their speech as a consequence of their bilingualism and not because of their knowledge of the entry of these transfers into standard Macedonian.

This problem of identifying to which system a particular element belongs is particularly difficult in light of the influence that English as a 'lingua franca' has had on many languages in many different lexical domains internationally.

Further, the variety of English with which Macedonian is in contact is Australian English as used in the Illawarra. The result of this is that those studies of American English or Canadian English in contact with Macedonian will have certain instances of transference which cannot occur in the Illawarra because of the differences in the source language. For example, as noted previously, in Kay's study, the informant uses *strikarite tiketite* (Kay 1988) which would not occur in the Illawarra because there are no 'street cars'.

**Transference** describes the phenomenon of the "adoption of any elements or features from another language" (Clyne 1972: 9). The following sets out the types of transference which can occur in speech. The language from which the transference comes is the **source language** and the language in which the transference appears is the **recipient language**(Clyne 1967: 19).

An example of transference is a **transfer** (Clyne 1967: 19).

**Lexical transference** or **morphosemantic transference** means the transfer of lexical items in form and meaning (Clyne 1967:19).

**Phonological transference** means the transfer of sounds (Clyne 1967: 19).

**Morphological transference** means the transfer of a word-form with a change in content as modelled on the morphological pattern of the other language (Clyne 1967: 19).

**Semantic transference** means the transfer of meaning without the word form (Clyne 1967: 19).

**Multiple transference** means the transfer of more than one unintegrated simple word from one language to the other (Bettoni 1981: 74), such as clauses or sentences. The terminology is synonymous for the commonly used term "code switching" but Clyne's terminology will be used here for

consistency. The multiple transference is usually preceded or followed by a word which can be said to "trigger" the multiple transference.

In relation to multiple transference, the point at which the speaker switches from one language to the other is referred to as **triggering**. The trigger can be either **clean** or **ragged**, that is, the trigger may be phonologically integrated (ragged) or unintegrated (clean). The word at which the switch occurs is the **trigger word**.

The incidence of multiple transference is a matter of individual variation (Correa-Zoli 1970:81 and Clyne 1967:70).

As with other transference, multiple transference is affected by the identity of the interlocutor, the topic, the setting and the domain (Saunders 1991:136).

However, multiple transference can also be caused by linguistic factors as certain words are found to trigger a switch from one language to another. The trigger can be a proper noun, a lexical transfer or a quoted word from the other language (Saunders 1991: 137).

Where lexical transference occurs, the resulting transfer may be **integrated** or not. **Integration** is the adaptation of a transfer to the rules of the recipient language and can be:

**phonological integration**, being full or partial substitution, loss, addition or

redistribution of phones, both at the phonic and phonemic levels to render the word plausibly part of the language into which it is transferred (Bettoni 1982: 59);

**prosodic integration**, being the allocation to the transfer of the stress or intonation of the recipient language. Bettoni speaks of prosodic transference (Bettoni 1982: 54) but it is a finding of this study that a majority of the transfers used by the speakers undergo changes to stress to conform with the prosodic rules in Macedonian;

**morphological integration** whether full or partial functional accomodation of transfers into the categories of the recipient language or formal accomodation of transfers by the addition of morphemes of the recipient language (Bettoni 1982: 64). In the case of Macedonian the similar grammatical categories and unconscious identification of the grammatical categories the functional integration is automatic. In relation to formal integration, the transferred noun is allocated a grammatical gender and is altered to indicate plural. It may also take a morpheme to indicate an augmentative, diminutive, endearing or perjorative form (Bettoni 1982: 64; Kouzmin 1984:15).

It is intended to examine transference encountered in the speech sample in two parts. The first part will look at examples of transference from the entire speech sample and the manner in which it is transferred. The second part examines the examples of transference in the speech of the questionnaire informants to examine the differences



between the adult bilinguals and the child bilinguals.

## **2.1 Some propositions extracted from previous studies**

In relation to the transference which occurs:

1. The majority of transfers are nouns: 70% in Italian Australian (Bettoni 1981:93); 70% in Norwegian American (Haugen 1950: 224).
2. Adjective transfers are largely transferred in an unintegrated form (Clyne 1967: 50).
3. The relatively rare lexical transference of structure words suggests the intactness of grammatical systems (Clyne 1972: 39).

Reasons for transference

1. An actual vocabulary gap relating to cultural items in a new environment (Clyne 1967: 73).
2. The bilingual has forgotten the [Macedonian] word (Clyne 1967: 82).
3. The English and [Macedonian] words do not have exactly the same meaning (Saunders 1991: 118).
4. Speech economy or the principle of least effort means that the bilingual will choose the word (whether English or Macedonian) which puts the least demand on the speaker (Clyne 1967: 79).
5. If transference in speech is accepted by the bilingual speech community it will be more likely that transference will occur (Mitkovska 1990:116).

The bilingual speakers

1. There are fewer transfers in the speech of females than in that of males because females maintain the 'community language' better than males (Clyne 1991:72).
2. Adult bilinguals use fewer transfers in their speech when compared to second generation or child bilinguals (Clyne 1991:79).
3. Language dominance in the community language is an important factor in the determination of transference patterns leading to lesser transference (Bettoni 1981: 95).
4. An interest in the learning of the community language and an attention to speech have the effect that less transference occurs (Bettoni 1981:94)
5. The transfers which appear in the speech of adult bilinguals are more highly integrated than the transfers which occur in the speech of child bilinguals (Bettoni 1981:97).
6. There are a very large number of possible incidences of transference which can occur but not all of those possible incidences do occur. The linguistic factors remain the same and the extralinguistic factors determine the pattern of transference (Weinreich 1953:3).
7. The situation and the interlocutor affect the transference patterns which occur (Fishman 1972:36).
8. The amount of transference varies from speaker to speaker and there is no stable form of the community language in contact with English; there are as many varieties as there are speakers (Correa-Zoli 1970: 101; Saunders 1991:117).

### **3.0 Methodology**

The group targeted for this study is the Macedonian bilingual community in the Illawarra. The community is comprised of both adult and child bilinguals. The informants for this study all speak one of the group of Central Western dialects of Macedonian. The community is vital and actively maintains and promotes its language and culture within the Illawarra. This bilingual community offered an opportunity to compare the speech of adult bilinguals to that of the child bilinguals where those speakers have, apart from their bilingualism, a number of common features. Therefore, it is their bilingualism which may be considered the cause of any observed differences between them.

#### **3.1 The Illawarra region**

The Illawarra area, a discrete geographical region within New South Wales on the east coast of Australia, is a coastal plain stretching from Helensburgh in the north to Durras Waters in the south and enclosed on the west by the Illawarra escarpment. The region is located 45 kilometres south of Sydney and covers an area of 8,485 square kilometres.

First sighted by Captain James Cook in April 1770, the first landing by whites in the region was by Bass and Flinders in 1796 in what is now known as Port Kembla Inner Harbour. Initially, the industries that were developed in the region were timber getting, coal mining and dairy farming. Ports were established along the coast at Wollongong,

Nowra and Kiama and settlements grew around them.

Wollongong harbour was the major port in New South Wales used for coal shipments until the Outer Harbour at Port Kembla was developed by the construction of two breakwaters in 1898 and 1901.

### **3.1.1 Industry in the Illawarra**

Since the turn of the 20th century and until the economic downturn in the early 1980s the Illawarra was seen as an exclusively industrial region. In 1908 the Electrolytic Refining and Smelting Co., later Southern Copper ("E.R.&S") was established in Port Kembla to produce refined copper, copper phosphate, gold, silver and platinum. In 1917 Metal Manufacturer's Ltd ("M.M") opened operations in Port Kembla to produce non-ferrous rod, wire, tube and cable.

In 1928, the Hoskins family decided to move their steelworks from Lithgow to Port Kembla. The No.1 Blast furnace was commissioned in 1928 and the first steel was produced in November 1931 from a 150 ton capacity open hearth furnace. In 1935 the interests were purchased by the Broken Hill Proprietary Company Ltd ("BHP") which had a steel manufacturing operation in Newcastle.

In 1936, John Lysaght Australia began operations at Port Kembla manufacturing sheet and

coil in uncoated galvanised zincalume oven cured painted and marviplated steels.

The output of steel from the BHP Port Kembla operation at the outbreak of war was 464,000 tons. At the outbreak of the second world war, BHP was in a position to make a contribution to the war effort and to profit from that contribution. After the war, Australian industry expanded by reason of technological advances, new techniques and the greater exploitation of resources.

The expansion required an increased workforce which birth rates in Australia could not satisfy. Thus migration was encouraged and the industrial expansion allowed the absorption of large numbers of migrants. In fact, it was not until the migrant numbers grew after 1948 that it was possible to build up an adequate workforce (Sherington 1990:136). Today, there is a 800 hectare steelworks plant with a large number of associated processing companies. Approximately 60% of the non-salaried employees (that is, labourers) in the steelworks are of non-English speaking background (Kalantzis et al 1989:140). Even though only 3.9% of the total population in Wollongong as at 1984 was of "Yugoslav" (the relevance of this term is discussed below in paragraph 3.4) background, 17.8% of the workforce at the steelworks were of that background (Kalantzis et al 1986:141).

A downturn in the Illawarra's economy in 1982 resulted in the workforce being reduced from 22,000 in 1980 to about 13,000 in 1984 and under 10,000 in 1992. The

retrenchments also meant that the steelworks could no longer be seen as a guaranteed source of employment (Kalantzis et al 1989: 141).

The population of the Illawarra area is about 337,000 in the 1991 Census (and about 309,000 in the 1986 Census). The census also indicates that approximately 25% of employment is in manufacturing. Most members of the Macedonian community have at least one member of the family, if not more, employed at the steelworks or associated industry. A number of the second generation migrants are also employed in manufacturing but more commonly, they have cadetships for tertiary study sponsored by the manufacturers.

### **3.2 The standard Macedonian language and the Macedonian dialects**

The standard Macedonian language is the official language of the Republic of Macedonia and it is the language of education, media and government. In On Macedonian Matters, published in 1903, Krste Misirkov advocated the codification of a standard literary language and proposed the bases on which the literary language should, in his view, be codified.

Historical events affecting Macedonia resulted in Macedonian not being adopted as the standard language until 1944 although the movement for the development of a standard language had begun in the nineteenth century during the Macedonian revival. Macedonian

was however, the language spoken by the people in Macedonia, the language of an extensive and rich folk literature and used in a number of literary works in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When the standard language was established, it was based on the Central Western dialects.

The standard Macedonian language was formally adopted as the national and official language of Macedonia in 1944. At a meeting of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) (a body formed by the second session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ)) at the monastery Prohor Pchinski, it was decided that Macedonians would join Yugoslavia as an independent people with their own language (De Bray 1980:138).

The initial formal codification of the literary language was made in 1945. The Commission for Language and Orthography, a panel of language experts formed for the purpose, decided, in relation to the standard Macedonian language, to formally adopt as the writing system, the Cyrillic alphabet based on phonetic principles which had long been in use. The Cyrillic alphabet (which succeeded the Glagolitic alphabet developed in the 9th century by the Macedonian monks, Cyril and Methodius) was named in honour of Saint Cyril by his disciples who are thought to have invented it. The main orthography rules were set out in the official Pravopis (Orthography) in 1945 (Koneski 1983: 115).

Prior to this recognition, Macedonian was excluded from the functions of public life in

Macedonia. The functions of the official language were filled, in recorded times, by successive rulers using, variously, Turkish, Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian. It was made illegal to speak Macedonian in Greece (Association of Macedonian in Poland 1992: 8) and in Bulgaria the Macedonian language was called Bulgarian (Association of Macedonian in Poland 1992:6). In Albania, Macedonians have access to only very rudimentary instruction in Macedonian (ibid).

The codification involved a selection of features from the various Macedonian dialects which form the standard. The standard Macedonian language is based on the central group of the Western dialects of Macedonian. The Macedonian dialects may be divided into east and west regions (Koneski 1983:118) on the basis of prosodic, grammatical and phonetic features amongst others.

The Republic of Macedonia ("Macedonia") declared independence from the former Yugoslavia in September 1991. The linguistic borders of Macedonia, both now as an independent republic and in its former political form of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia (SR Macedonia), do not coincide with the political borders of Macedonia set in 1913 in accordance with the Treaty of Bucharest. The linguistic and political borders are compared as follows:

In the west, Macedonia borders on Albania. The linguistic border is approximately co-extensive with the political border between Macedonia and the People's Republic of



Albania. However there are approximately 40 Macedonian speaking villages west and south west of Debar, some 10 villages in the west shores of Lake Ohrid and Lake Prespa and two villages in the region of Korça in South Albania (Vidoeski 1983: 117).

In the south, Macedonia borders on Greece. The linguistic boundary of this region goes beyond the modern political boundary to the south. Macedonian is spoken in the area bounded by Kostur, Kajlar and Neguš in the south; the Gulf of Salonika, Lake Lagadina and across Kara Dagħ to the river Mesta in the south east (Ibid).

In the east, Macedonia borders on Bulgaria. The linguistic border consists of the Dospat-Rila mountain chain and goes up to the political border between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria north west of Blagoevgrad (Ibid).

In the north, the linguistic and political borders are approximately co-extensive and divide Macedonia from the Serbian Republic within Yugoslavia (Ibid).

### **3.2.1 The speech of the migrants**

On arrival to Australia, all adult bilingual informants spoke one of the Central Western dialects or a dialectal variety of the standard. The reason for this situation is that there was little opportunity for education for the informants in Macedonia because of prevailing economic conditions. The dialects spoken by the informants are principally those of

Bitola, Resen or Ohrid. These are the dialects on which the standard language is based and, in relation to the Ohrid dialects, close to the basis of the standard. Accordingly, there are a great number of points of similarity between the dialects and the standard.

Until the end of WWII, Macedonians lived in villages with populations of between 250 and 2500 people. Life was limited to the village and surrounding districts. It was in this context that people traded, socialised and married and raised families. Rarely did anyone except for the migrant travel outside the village and surrounding district. Accordingly, language development was confined to the use of the speaker's local dialect. All of the first generation informants interviewed for this study were born and raised in a village.

Of the adult bilingual informants used in the questionnaire, two males had completed only primary school in Macedonia and the other six had completed only secondary school studies.

The political background will be considered here as it sheds light on why the economic situation was difficult and why there was little opportunity for education. In turn, these factors explain why so many Macedonians emigrated. All of these matters are bound up closely with the struggles of the Macedonian people for the right to self determination after more than five centuries under the domination of the Ottoman Turks and the subsequent conflicts in the Balkan this century over the so-called Macedonian question. These struggles and conflicts led to a seriously deteriorated economic situation in the

Republic of Macedonia, amongst other things.

### The Ottoman period

The Macedonian people were subject to Ottoman rule from 1395 until 1912. Life during this time was one of economic deprivation and lack of personal freedom. The Ottomans introduced a feudal system of state ownership of all land with the peasants working the land to pay taxes.

The Macedonian villager had to work the land to be able to pay the taxes levied by the various levels of government of the Ottoman Empire. Working his land was all that that the villager could do to produce income. From the produce, the family had to be fed as well as taxes being paid. Thus occupied, the Macedonian villagers, like others in the Balkans, did not have the opportunity for school. In fact, literacy levels only started to improve significantly after WWII.

The rule of the Ottomans was marked by violence, corrupt government, poor economic conditions, the lack of development in farming methods and a virtual absence in cultural and educational advancement (Kartalov 1983: 2). This gave rise however, to a rich oral folk tradition in the Macedonian culture which has survived to this day and continues to develop.

During the 1800s, principally because the land was not able to produce enough to allow the peasant to feed the family and pay taxes to the increasing numbers of Ottoman officials entitled to levy taxes, Macedonians began to travel to other towns within the Empire (such as Salonika, Istanbul, Smyrna and Scutari (Kartalov 1983:2)) working temporarily and returning home with the earnings to pay taxes and with this, the Macedonian tradition of "pečalba" commenced.

In the Macedonian language, the migrant is known as the "pečalbar". For the Macedonian this word is very evocative and suggests much more than its basic meaning. While the word can be translated as "guest worker" or "sojourner", there is no term in English which is an accurate translation of this word with all of the connotations that this word brings to the Macedonian ear. The root of the word, "pečal" means "great sorrow". The word suggests the poverty which compels the pečalbar to leave his home, it recalls the separation from the family, the tearful farewells to the worker going into the unknown and the loneliness of the family life passing in separation. There are many folk songs about pečalba.

Following the liberation of Serbia in 1804, Greece in 1821 and Bulgaria in 1876 from Ottoman rule, migrants targeted these regions and moved via Salonika and Constantinople to some Mediterranean countries to work (Kartalov:2). Herman quotes the 1908 publication "Kulturno Edinstvo" which details the type of work done by the Macedonian pečalbar: those from Debar and Ohrid were known as masons wherever they went; those

from Tetovo, Bitola and Kičevo were bakers in Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania; those from Kostur were milkmen in Istanbul and those from Gjavato and Buf were "lumberjacks" and charcoal makers in Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania and elsewhere (Herman: 70).

### Twentieth century

The turbulent events which took place on Macedonian soil from the turn of the 20th century caused an increase in the emigration of Macedonians: the liberation of Macedonia from the Ottoman empire, the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 between Turkey and the Balkan states of Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro which took place on Macedonian soil; the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 28 July 1913; the First World War; the Peace Treaty of Sèvres of 1920 and the division of Macedonia between Serbia, Albania, Greece and Bulgaria, deepened the economic backwardness of Macedonia. These events also led to thousands of Macedonians either being compulsorily resettled into Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece or leaving their homeland for overseas countries (Kartalov:4).

The Macedonian villagers had little opportunity to improve their lot during the turbulent times of the early twentieth century: "[t]he Macedonian people emigrated because of the difficult political and economic conditions. They were born, lived their life and died under conditions of backwardness, while their "native soil" was constantly a spoil of different armies and conquerors. Under the circumstances of unsolved agrarian questions, relatively

high natality and natural population growth, primitive technology, extensive and mostly natural agriculture, the hunger and struggle for ... survival, hung as a Nemesis over the Macedonian peasant. In this political and social constellation, the stories of the "new countries" and possibilities for getting rich "quick" had wide circulation." (Kartalov 1988:18).

The worsening economic climate and political position of the Balkans, forced the villager to travel further away, to the USA, Canada, other European countries, in search of work. After WWII, Macedonia experienced a growth in labour without a corresponding growth in employment opportunities. The USA, Canada and eventually, Australia on the other hand were unaffected by the destruction of the war and abounded in employment opportunities but lacked a sufficient work force.

Intensive migration to the USA started with a group of pečalbari who had previously gone to Romania to work, returned to their villages around Lerin, met with other villagers and set off for America. After the Ilinden Uprising against the Ottoman rule in the period 1903-1906, it is estimated that between approximately 40,000 and 49,000 Macedonians went to the USA (Andonov:13).

The USA had had an open door policy on migration but in 1924, migration to USA was restricted by a quota being introduced (Bryson 1994: 180), the migrants had to consider different destinations for migration, such as European countries, Canada and Australia.

Nevertheless, Macedonians still attempted to reach the USA via other countries (such as Canada, France or Greece) because of the reported high wages that could be earned in factories such as Ford in Detroit.

One of the informants related that it was apparently understood from those who had already travelled to the USA and Australia, that the wages in Australia were low by comparison to pay in the USA. He settled in the Illawarra from the village of Velušina, near Bitola, and had, as a young man, travelled to Detroit in 1920. He worked at the Ford factory for 10 years before returning to his village with his earnings to purchase land. However, the money he brought back with him was insufficient to pay taxes and allow him to support his family so he left again. This time, he went to France to cut wood for 4-5 years before eventually making his way to Australia in 1962, after being unable to return to the USA.

In addition, between the World War One and WWII, the numbers of Macedonians migrating overseas from the Aegean part of Macedonia was high. This followed on the forced resettlement of Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia to Bulgaria pursuant to the convention between Bulgaria and Greece based on the Neuilly Peace Treaty and the resettlement in the Aegean part of Macedonia of Greek refugees from Asia Minor and Turkey following the Greek and Turkish war and the Lausanne convention (Kartalov:7).

After the establishment of the Metaxas regime in Greece, the pressure on the Macedonians in Greece to emigrate was increased. The Macedonian language was banned and Macedonian speakers were arrested and imprisoned for the use of their mother tongue. Details of those laws are set out in the report prepared by the Association of Macedonians in Poland published in Sydney in 1992 (Association of Macedonian in Poland 1992). Most of these Macedonians are still unable to return to their villages because of the continuing Greek government policy on denying Macedonians the right to self determination.

Agriculture was still the basic sector in the economy of Macedonia after WWII but as a result of fragmented ownership, low level technology (legacies of the 500 odd year Ottoman rule) and the fact that production was subject to the forces of nature, there was little contribution to the material development of the villager in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. The policies adopted by the Socialist Republic of Macedonia assigned agriculture a secondary role, with the village falling behind the towns in every aspect of material and cultural development and the life, labour and culture of the Macedonian peasant being devalued. The result was that the farms were abandoned for the towns by some villagers seeking education or employment, with others setting off for overseas seeking better wages and earning opportunities (Kartalov:25).

From the start of the migration for work in the Ottoman Empire until the about the 1950s, the intention of the pečalbar (generally only men) was to be temporarily absent and to



return to the village with earnings saved to make a better life for the family. This meant that the wife and children often lived in the village for long periods of time, with the husband, father or brother working in a foreign country and sending back money. It was generally only after WWII that families were sponsored to join the migrant, buying homes and settling in the new country.

In the period after WWII, many young women were married by proxy to husbands in the USA or Australia whom they had only seen in a photograph. Nevertheless, the expected relief from poverty and the prospect of an easy life persuaded the women.

### **3.3 Australian Immigration Policy**

White Australia (a policy which required that immigration sources to Australia be restricted to people from the United Kingdom or Northern Europe; people who, because of their appearance, could easily become part of Australia, without looking different) has always relied on immigration for population growth, the underlying concept being 'populate or perish'. This policy was seen in the period after WWII as the only solution to the under-population problem which was, in turn, seen as a major obstacle to economic growth and industrial development.

The principle of assisted passage has always been a fundamental part of Australia's immigration policy. The result of this has been that peaks in the numbers of arrivals have

coincided with assistance programmes: the 1880s; the period immediately prior to World War One; the 1920s; 1949-51; and 1969-71 (First Report of National Population Inquiry: 93).

Until 1945, the migrants to Australia were principally from the United Kingdom. The Federal Government adopted various schemes to encourage immigrants from the United Kingdom to migrate to Australia and increase the population because it was thought Australia was really "England over the water" (Hardy 1988: 17).

From 1945 to 1970, Arthur Calwell was the first Australian Minister for Immigration. His contribution to Australia's immigration policy was significant and is quoted as having said that without immigrants Australia's future would be "uneasy, brief and shortlived" (Jupp 1988:17).

The chief expectations the government had of the migrants were that they would assimilate, that they would speak English and that the migrants would settle in Australia permanently.

The key element to this immigration policy was that immigration was seen as a national issue with long term benefits. It required that immigration would be substantially although not solely British. The preferred migrants were to be young and eager to accept work and the Australian way of life and all were subjected to rigorous health checks.

The migrants were to be employed in industry rather than in rural areas to advance the industrial development of Australia rather than rural schemes. In fact, many migrants found employment in the manufacturing industry in Australia which was experiencing a boom in the period after WWII. Furthermore, it was intended by government that migrant enclaves were to be avoided by dispersing migrants on arrival. A propaganda machine was established to ensure public acceptance of the programme (Kunz: 100). Major employers such as BHP found they needed a large "mobile and compliant labour force" to expand (Jupp 1991:75). Public works projects had similar needs (ibid).

The records of the arrivals during the sixties and seventies do not specify the nationality of the arrivals; only the country of origin. The number of "Yugoslav" arrivals from July 1947 to June 1973 constituted 5.2% of all settlers arrivals in this period. Well over half of the male settlers arriving in this period were unskilled and were absorbed in the manufacturing and construction industries. (First report of the National Population Inquiry: 126).

From the beginning of the 1950s, the Commonwealth government entered into agreements with various European governments for assisted passage of migrants from those countries. The European countries encouraged the migration. The Commonwealth government offered subsidised passages. Assisted passages did not end until 1982 but while in place, allowed the Australian government to determine the migrant profile by sex, ethnic background and occupation.

In a Report to the Minister for Immigration, the Honourable B M Sneddon QC MP by the Immigration Planning Council ("Sneddon Report") recommendations were made as to new sources of immigration, including Yugoslavia, to which the assisted passage programme should be applied. In the late 1960s, such an agreement was entered into between Yugoslavia and the Commonwealth government. The Report considered the available information about the migrants from Yugoslavia who already lived in Australia, who had migrated on their own initiative.

Prior to the implementation of the assisted passage programme, movement of migrants to Australia from Yugoslavia was directly sponsored by Australian residents with exit permits being reasonably freely available from Yugoslav authorities.

The decision to take migrants from Yugoslavia was influenced by the knowledge that the Yugoslavian migrants who had already immigrated, had shown themselves to be "good workers" but also by increasing pressure for family reunions. The Australian government did not seem concerned that the immigrants would be communist spies (Martin 1988:81). Australia was further persuaded by the fact that the British and the Canadians were accepting Yugoslav migrants.

The Sneddon Report recommended assisted passage for selected migrants of 19 years and over at a cost of \$A25 to the migrant. Migrants under the age of 19 years were to pay nothing for their travel costs.

According to Mort Barwick, an Australian migration officer posted to Yugoslavia in the late 1960s, most of the "Yugoslav" migrants were from Macedonia. This situation arose because, according to Barwick, Macedonians had always migrated and because Macedonia was a very poor part of Yugoslavia. Later the earthquake in Skopje became a further factor promoting emigration. (Martin 1988:81).

Ian McArthur, another Australian migration officer posted to Yugoslavia, this time in 1981, agreed that most of the migrants travelling with Yugoslavian passports were Macedonian. He describes the people as "poor but proud and with a strong sense of human dignity." He also described the Macedonian people as very hospitable with a "great affection" for, and a great pride in, Australia. Those who had emigrated had done "fairly well" and had written good reports to others in Macedonia (Martin 1988:86).

Between 1947 and 1972, 1.75 million migrants came to Australia from Southern Europe (Kunz:150). The Australian population was transformed by this large scale migration and Kunz alleges that by the 1960s, migration was an accepted part of Australian life (ibid). There were a number of investigations into the suitability of migrants by expert committees which were required to allay concerns and dispel the misconceptions held by the Australians about migrants (reports dealt with criminality; incidence of mental illness amongst migrants; and the return of settlers to countries of origin).

The Australian government which introduced an immigration programme after WWII

were dealing with an Australian population that had been brought up with the belief that White Australia was a noble ideal, a "central feature of nation building" (Jupp 1988:24).

In time, enquiries about the suitability of migrants changed into investigations by the Commonwealth government of what Australia could do to help the migrants to settle. From the early 1950s basic English classes were reportedly made available. However none of the first generation informants who had arrived before 1970 interviewed in this study had attended English classes.

In 1980, a Macedonian language ethnic school, Kiril i Metodij was opened in Cringila. The enrolments started at modest levels but by 1984 there were about 200 students enrolled in the classes offered by this school. The school was one of the community run schools generally called 'ethnic' schools.

The Ethnic Schools receive small grants from the state government (in 1994 was a little over \$35.00 per child per annum). The grants are administered by the State Ministry for Education and funded by the Ethnic Affairs Commission. The ethnic schools provide language classes to students from the ages of 5 to 15. In 1994, there are 4 ethnic schools: Kiril i Metodij continues in Cringila and there is a school at the Macedonian Orthodox church in Stewart Street Wollongong and, in recognition of the movement of the Macedonian community to the Shellharbour local government area, there is a school in Barrack Heights and a fourth in Dapto. In all 4 schools, in 1994, there were enrolments

of about 150 students.

In 1978 the Saturday School of Community Languages was established by the Department of Education to provide tuition in various community languages. The following gives an indication of the interest in the Macedonian language courses in the Saturday School of Community Languages which in the Illawarra are run in Wollongong Public School (details are only available from commencement to 1991):

<b>Year of enrolment</b>	<b>Number of enrolments</b>
1978-80	Nil
1981	39
1982	93
1983	100
1984	205
1985	306
1986	352
1987	434
1988	468
1989	488
1990	461
1991	402

At the tertiary level, Macedonian language and literature could be studied at Macquarie University from 1984, including externally by correspondence.

It may be as a result of the availability of course in Macedonian that the level of maintenance of the Macedonian language among the child bilinguals is one of the highest for child bilinguals of English and a community language. 92% of Macedonian child bilinguals maintain the Macedonian language (Clyne 1991:68).

Federal government interpreters first became available as a part of the Telephone Interpreter Service from February 1973 (Department of Immigration & Ethnic Affairs, 1993: 4). The State government funded interpreter service, the Health Care Interpreter Service originated in 1977 comprising over 100 full time interpreters available in hospitals and community health centres in Sydney Newcastle and Wollongong (Ethnic Affairs Commission 1985:12). However, none of the adult bilinguals could recall being aware of government funded interpreters available to them free of charge.

English classes were made available during the early 1970s through the Adult Migrant Education Service. There were of course the alternative options of privately funded courses, which the informants stated they could not afford, and self instruction, which did not occur.

In the 1970s, for the migrant children who enrolled in school on arrival to the Illawarra,



the Department of Education provided ESL (English as a Second Language) classes to assist the child's progress in learning English. The allocation of resources to ESL in the Cringila and Warrawong areas began to decline in the late 1980s as the numbers of new migrants declined (Department of School Education, South Coast Region, Community Liaison Officer's letter).

One female first generation informant stated that, on her arrival she prepared for the English language situation in Australia by learning the latin alphabet (in addition to the Cyrillic which she knew) and also tried to obtain a copy of the book, Engleski bez maka (English without difficulty) which she had seen, but was unable to find a copy. Instead, she and her husband borrowed a version in Croatian (a language she did not know) and so, her study of English did not progress.

Of those spoken to for this study, all said that they were not aware of any English classes available to adults. However, they said that had they been aware of any such classes, work commitments would have prevented them from attending. Their first priority was to establish financial security rather than self improvement. The means to finding financial security was hard work. Many of the male first generation informants worked long hours in the steelwork plant that operates seven days a week, 24 hours a day. Spare time was used to try to become accustomed to the disturbed sleeping patterns of working on a three shift roster (day shift, night shift and afternoon shift).

### Arrival in Australia

Up until the 1920s when Australian industry was underdeveloped, and a small number of Macedonians came to Australia, they came on a temporary basis in small groups and worked in different labouring jobs around Australia: on cattle stations and the mining industry in Western Australia (Karoski 1983:26), on farms, in the fishing industry, in Lithgow and later Newcastle and Port Kembla in steel manufacture. The migrants were isolated during this time by their lack of knowledge of English and the separation from their families. During the Depression, the Macedonian migrants suffered from lack of employment opportunities more than the Australians.

The Sneddon Report stated that the first arrivals from Yugoslavia came in the 1920s, mostly to Western Australia as timber getters, gold miners, railway fettlers and subsequently bought farms, vineyards or market gardens. These arrivals had not been assisted by the government and had come to Australia after the USA introduced restrictions in the 1920s (Jupp 1988:18). In late 1960s, the Yugoslav migrants were described as being principally employed in the steel and motor industries and in government development schemes.

Macedonian migration to Australia after the 1950s formed part of what has been described as the result of the failure of the then new socialist system in Yugoslavia after the second world war to offer full employment to all (Kartalov 1983: 11). The economic

policy of the government affecting the SRMacedonia was supposed to have the consequence that there would be full employment. For a short time after WWII, it appeared that the tradition of the pečalbar was to be relegated to folklore. However, unemployment increased and again there was an increase in the number of migrants leaving Macedonia to settle in Australia permanently.

One of the informants related that her life in the village prior to emigration was very difficult in the 1960s. As her husband was in Australia working, she had 5 children to raise on her own and found it difficult to meet the payments of levies required in respect of the land held in the village. The introduction of the collectives by the socialist government after WWII had the effect that there was not enough produced on their land to feed the family.

It was in this situation that her husband accepted an offer from a friend from their own village to sponsor him to Port Kembla to work in the steelworks. A short time after her husband had emigrated to Port Kembla, she received a telegramme to join him as he had found a better life. She travelled to Australia and has never wanted to leave her adopted country. Most of the informants had emigrated after recommendations from or sponsorships by family members or friends. Port Kembla was the destination of a large number of Macedonian migrants from before 1941 until the late 1970s and the attraction was the reported availability of work for all who wanted to work. One informant recalled how an anecdote with wide circulation in her village of a one legged man employed by

"Steelworks" convinced everyone that work was easy to find.

The majority of the migrants emigrated for the purposes of finding work and were able to start work before acquiring much knowledge of English as the employment they found was generally in the steel industry and the labourer positions did not require English language skills. More importantly, the employer did not consider it important to provide or suggest English classes, especially not during work time. On their arrival in Australia, migrants had to make adjustments because they found themselves in the urban industrial milieu of the Illawarra (Burnley 1974: 165).

The Macedonian migrants fall into the group described as Southern Europeans in the Australian literature concerning migration to Australia. The pattern followed by a large proportion of the Macedonian migrants was chain migration. The pioneer settler would settle in an industrial area, close to the steel industry where work was found and where housing and land was cheaper (Jupp 1966:70). That person would then write to others to emigrate (Sherington 1990: 118). This resulted in 'chain migration' (Jupp 1966:72) and it was a favoured form of migration by Southern Europeans who are more clan bound than the British or German migrants (Jupp 1966:72).

Initially, there was no government assistance available to the Southern European migrants. This is in contrast to the situation of British migrants who were provided financial assistance by the government to encourage them to migrate. Accordingly, while British

migrants arrived in Australia virtually debt free, the Southern European could only migrate with the sponsorship of someone who had already settled in Australia (Sherington 1990:118) and accordingly, were in debt as soon as they arrived. In the early seventies, passage assistance schemes were introduced for Macedonian and other Southern European migrants.

The result was that new Macedonian migrants settled near the person who sponsored them, for assistance with housing and employment and also for the repayment of the debt. Also, immigration policy at the time specifically targetted the southern Europeans to work in industry. The manufacturing industry could not expand until the migrant numbers grew after 1948 to build up an adequate workforce in the steelworks (Sherington 1990:136).

Chain migration also allowed the migrant to have contact with friends and relatives and others who spoke the same language and dialect (Jupp 1966:72) and also permits some employment and social contacts. The migrants were 'closed out' of Australian society (Collins 1988:209) and this gave added importance to community organisations and functions, giving the migrants scope for social interaction and maintenance of cultural traditions, an 'oasis in a largely unwelcoming new country' (Collins 1988:209).

This chain migration meant that Macedonian migrants could speak Macedonian to other members of the Macedonian migrant community. In the Illawarra region, migrants came principally from the Bitola and Ohrid regions of Macedonia and the language spoken by

most of the arrivals was a dialect form of Macedonian. These dialects form part of the Western dialects, the Bitola region one of the Central Western dialects and the Ohrid dialect one of the sub-groups within the Western dialects (Vidoeski: 118). These dialects are close in form to the dialects forming the basis of the standard language.

After the WWII, the migrations were in much larger numbers and had a different character. They were permanent. The migrant found work and saw opportunities unlikely to be available to them in Macedonia. The practical result of the post war policies in Macedonia that those of a village background missed out on education and that coupled with the lack of industrial development meant few work opportunities for the unskilled and those who could not afford the training necessary to become skilled.

Before this change occurred to make the migrants decide to settle in the new country, the men lived in temporary arrangements. More and more, the men (during the sixties and early seventies, the migrants were men, for the most part) arranged for their families to join them, bought homes and the entire family settled in the new country. By the 1960s the aim of most Macedonian migrants was to settle in Australia, buy their own home and work to provide opportunities for their children and improved material circumstances.

Macedonians settled in certain parts of Australia forming Macedonian communities such as Rockdale in Sydney, Port Kembla in the Illawarra region and others. This chain type

of immigration reflected patterns of settlement based on villages. Therefore, in Cringila and Coniston there are migrants from villages near Ohrid; in Port Kembla there are migrants from villages near Bitola.

As, more often than not, those that arrived assisted others to come to Australia, all of the informants who had arrived prior to 1975 told a similar story. They had either lived with close family or boarded with another Macedonian family on arrival and stayed there for a time until they were able to make more permanent arrangements including buying their own home. All of the first generation informants told of the large number of relatives and friends they had sponsored to Australia after their own arrival.

When a migrant bought a home, a number of "singali" (boarders) lived there and paid rent. Some of the informants told of their experience in the early 1960s with keeping "singali". Presumably the word has its origins in "single boarder" and would have been acquired by some of the early migrants who lived in boarding houses run by English language speakers. For the payment of a very small amount of rent, \$6.00 per week, the wife of the owner of the house would cook, clean and wash for all of the singali (up to six in addition to the family in a small 3 bedroom home). The money was used as a supplement to the wage to pay off the mortgage. Often the singali were relatives of the owner of the house or came from the same village.

The majority of Macedonians have their own homes. What was formerly the major

employer of migrants, the steelworks in Port Kembla has significantly reduced its labour requirements since the 1980s as a result of the introduction of new technology. There is high unemployment amongst the unskilled in the local community both in the youth and with those who have been retired early by the acceptance of a voluntary retirement scheme offer.

A large number of Macedonians (like other migrant workers) have suffered health problems from a life time of work in heavy industry. The 1980s saw different types of Macedonian migrant. Firstly there were those who with English skills and appropriate qualifications met the new requirements. These educated migrants spoke literary Macedonian as their first language or a regional variety of the literary language and are competent in their English. Few of these immigrants chose to live in the Illawarra because at the time of their arrival, the region was experiencing the effects of the economic downturn and offered few opportunities for employment.

During the early 1980s, there was the curious back-door migration by those who could not meet the entry requirements imposed by the Australian government. Young men, and to lesser extent young women, came to Australia on a visitor's permit with the intention of marrying an Australian and thereby obtaining permanent residence. A small number of the informants had children married in this way and the resulting marriages seemed genuine to the parents, being interpreted by the Macedonians as a variation on the arranged marriage which no longer takes place.



### **3.3.1 The Macedonian Community in the Illawarra**

A large number of Macedonian speaking migrants to the Illawarra region of New South Wales arrived during the early 1960s. Migration to the Illawarra region was principally from SR Macedonia; mostly, the Bitola area (the villages of Velušina, Kanino, Srpci, Capari, Gjavato, and so on), the Resen area and the Ohrid area. These were all villages which have long tradition of migration.

The main areas of settlement of the Macedonians in the Illawarra region were Port Kembla, Wollongong, Coniston, Corrimal and Barrack Heights. The first areas of settlement were those closest to the steel manufacturing plant.

The majority of Macedonians own their own homes and while most of the first generation Macedonians work as unskilled factory workers or in semi-skilled positions, an increasing number of the second generation Macedonians are obtaining tertiary qualifications.

#### **Qualifications and industry**

##### **Level of qualification for persons speaking the Macedonian language in 1991 census:**

- \* 3.3% have tertiary qualifications (higher degree, post-graduate degree, bachelor degree or undergraduate diploma)
- \* 10.5% have vocational qualifications, skilled or basic
- \* 74.5% have no qualifications

##### **Industry of employment**

- \* 0.03% in agriculture
- \* 0.03% in mining

- \* 34.2% in manufacturing
- \* 2.6% in utilities (electricity, gas, water)
  
- \* 15.4% in wholesale, retail and trade
- \* 9.3% in finance, business, property
- \* 6.7% in community services

It is estimated by the local community that there are 15,000 Macedonians in the Illawarra area, a figure which includes first and second generation migrants. It is difficult to arrive at the exact number of Macedonians in the Illawarra area. The reasons for this are in part, the manner in which questions are asked in the Census conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics and in part also, because Macedonian speakers have not come from "Macedonia" but from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria or Greece. This is hinted at by the result in 1991 of 257 persons originating from Greece who speak Macedonian, for example.

The only official indicator to be obtained is the number of Macedonian language speakers recorded in the Census data.

A Census is conducted each five years by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. All persons in Australia are enumerated at the dwelling in which they stayed on Census night. A question on language has been included in only five censuses:

1. The 1921 Census asked persons about their ability to read and write and listed a choice of responses including two choices relating to foreign language.
2. The 1933 Census asked that those persons who could not read and write English but could read and write another language, to specify the other

language.

3. The 1976 Census asked persons to state the languages which were regularly used.
4. The 1981 Census asked persons if they used a language other than English at home and, if so, how well they spoke English. The Census did not ask the person to name the non-English language.
5. The 1986 Census asked, in addition, that the non-English language be named. This question only applied to persons over 5 years of age. In addition, as a result of a recommendation by the Population Census Ethnicity Committee, there was a question on ancestry for the first time in the Census.
6. The 1991 Census asked if the person used a language other than English in the home and then provided a list of alternatives: Italian, Greek, Cantonese, Mandarin, German, Arabic or other. There was a blank space for the person to write out the other language.

The results of some of these questions are set out in the following table:

**STATISTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT MACEDONIANS IN THE ILLAWARRA**

Data	1986 census	1991 census
Australian population	15,602,156	16,850,334
Total overseas born		

in Australia	3,347,381	3,756,667
Total Macedonian language speakers over age 5 years		24,703
Total Macedonian Orthodox		17,447
NSW population	5,401,881	5,732,032
Total overseas born in NSW	1,126,282	1,307,786
Population of Illawarra	309,345	337,489
Overseas born Illawarra		
-Total	69,719	73,348
- English speaking country	32,108	32,263
-Non English country	37,611	40,085
Language spoken Illawarra (by persons over age 5years) at home: Macedonian <sup>1</sup>	4,297	6,720
Macedonian Ancestry		
-Wollongong Local area	3,176	
-Shellharbour Local Area	421	
-Kiama	5	
Total	3,602	

Notwithstanding the problems for obtaining statistical data about Macedonians and others,

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<sup>1</sup>In the 1991 census, the three most widely spoken community languages in the Illawarra were, in order of size, most numerous to least, Italian, Macedonian and German.

the Australian Bureau of Statistics have decided that no ancestry question will be posed in the 1996 Census, for the reason that, while the information will be useful, the cost of obtaining the information, in the view of the Australian Bureau of Statistics, outweighs the benefits.

A better picture of the number of Macedonians in the Illawarra can only be established by looking at a number of different sources of information, such as the number of Macedonians who have left Macedonia, perhaps the numbers employed in factories in the Illawarra (if that information were available) or the numbers of people who are married or christened in the Macedonian churches (but these were not built until the community was quite large and not all Macedonians may be of the Macedonian Orthodox faith). Even taking into account all of the different possible sources, one cannot be certain of accuracy. It is estimated that the number of Macedonians is 15,000.

Between 1965 and 1970 the number that left SR Macedonia was approximately 22,000 (Andonov:26).

In relation to the figures given for person from "Yugoslavia", it must be noted that the highest proportion of immigrants from Yugoslavia in the period between 1971 and 1981 were from SR Macedonia (Kartalov:12). In 1981, there were 110,922 Macedonians living "abroad" and more than half were living outside the European continent. The total emigrations from the SR Macedonia constituted approximately 5%

of the population (Kartalov: 12).

In the Illawarra area, there are many Macedonian community groups and associations. There are two Macedonian Orthodox churches established by the local community: Sveti Dimitrija in Wollongong and Sveti Kliment Ohridski in Port Kembla. The former was opened in 1972 and the latter was opened in 1982.

In Wentworth Street, the main street of Port Kembla, the Macedonian Welfare Association of the Illawarra operates a centre which provides a wide range of services to the Macedonian community such as day care meetings for Macedonian aged, reports, studies and newsletters, youth activities, retraining for unskilled middle aged migrants who have been retrenched and a women's group amongst others. The Association started offering services in 1984.

The Macedonian Theatre of the Illawarra was formed in the early 1984 and after his death, renamed "Blagoja Neškovski" in honour of the young playwright. It has presented a number of drama pieces performed in the Macedonian language. In 1994, the Illawarra Macedonian Youth Association celebrated its 10th anniversary.

Further, there are about ten active folk dance groups and almost that number again of soccer clubs, based variously in Port Kembla, Wollongong, Dapto and Barrack Heights, the main areas in which Macedonians live in the Illawarra. The child bilinguals who

participate in such folk dancing or sporting community groups are more likely to maintain the Macedonian language than those who do not (Kalantzis et al 1986: 189).

More than half of the child biliguals who participated in the questionnaire interviews were members of the Illawarra Macedonian Youth Association which started in 1984 as the Macedonian Australian Youth Association.

For many years there have been radio programmes in the Macedonian language broadcast by the Special Broadcasting Service on 2EA. Since 1992, there have also been local community radio station programmes (2 VOX-FM) which broadcast to the Illawarra and are locally produced. The radio programmes were listened to by all of the informants, both child and adult, only the frequency varied. Most of the questionnaire informants stated that they never miss a programme if they can avoid it. One of the female child informants stated that she only likes some parts of the programmes with younger presenters. The other child bilingual informants stated that they listen to the programmes from time to time.

In any case, the stations are an important media tool for the community to obtain information about events in the Illawarra involving the community, community announcements from government agencies concerned to communicate with the community and of course, to an extent, about affairs in Macedonia and for language maintenance.

### 3.4 Extralinguistic factors relevant to the Macedonian community

As a sociolinguistic approach to the consideration of language takes into account linguistic factors as well as extralinguistic factors, the following section considers those factors which play a role in the subject community.

The extralinguistic features which are relevant can be grouped into those of the individual speaker and those of the community of bilingual speakers (Weinreich 1953: 3). In relation to the individual, the following matters play a role in whether there is transference in the speech of the bilingual and if so, the amount of that transference. In the following section, the comments are restricted to the questionnaire informants about whom personal details were recorded.

To allow the questionnaire informants to remain anonymous, they have been allocated a four letter code to describe them. The code to describe the first generation or adult bilinguals commences with "f" and the code to describe the second generation or child bilinguals commences with "s". The second letter in all codes is "g", for generation.

The third letter in in the code indicates either "m" for males, or "f" for females. The last letter indicates the informants as one of "a", "b", "c" or "d". Accordingly, the first generation males informants are:

fgma, fgmb, fgmc and fgmd. The first generation female informants are: fgfa,



fgfb, fgfc and fgfd. The second generation male informants are: sgma, sgmb, sgmc and sgmd, while the second generation female informants are: sgfa, sgfb, sgfc and sgfd.

**3.4.1 The factors affecting the individual will indicate which is the dominant language for the bilingual, being the language in which the speaker has greater breadth and facility for expression. The factors are inter-related and interdependent and include:**

1. The ability of the speaker to express himself or herself in Macedonian in general and the ability of the individual to keep the two languages apart. It has been found previously that those Italian English bilingual speakers who had studied Italian and English and were interested in language generally, were those in whose speech the least amount of transference was observed

(Bettoni 1982: 51).

All of the adult bilinguals speak Macedonian as their first language. It is the language in which they can express themselves. The language is not the standard Macedonian language as it is spoken in Macedonia today. Rather, it is a dialectal version of the standard as spoken by them on departure from Macedonia. The year of departure for each adult informant is shown in the dominance table set out below.

From the interviews, it is clear that the only manner of keeping the Macedonian

language up to date for all adult bilingual informants is listening to locally produced radio programmes and, for fgmd, reading the locally published newspaper in the Macedonian.

They have all completed secondary schooling except for fgma and fgmb. None had subsequently studied Macedonian formally but all continued to use it as the language of the home, with spouses and family. It is the conclusion of this study that Macedonian was the dominant language for all of the adult bilinguals.

Fgfd was learning English at the time of the interview; fgma, fgmb and fgmd had completed short courses in English at work. However, there was a demonstrated ability of the adult bilinguals to keep Macedonian and English apart to a certain degree as the lower levels of transference which occurred in their speech would indicate.

In so far as the child bilinguals are concerned, all were dominant in English. Sgma, sgmd, sgfb, sgfc and sgmd had studied Macedonian: sgma in the Department of Education Saturday School system for the Higher School Certificate; sgmd had completed one year in Macedonia before migrating to Australia as a child; sgfb and sgfd had studied at the Saturday School but had not completed the language for their HSC and sgfc had completed one year by correspondence with Macquarie University as a part of tertiary studies at Wollongong University.

In relation to their ability to keep the languages apart, it is interesting to note that the least transference occurred in the speech of sgmd. While he had completed only one year of study of Macedonian as a child, it was important that he had travelled to Macedonia on several occasions as a young adult and had spent some months living there on each occasion. Further, he displayed an interest in the Macedonian language by his involvement in a number of Macedonian cultural organisations.

This result demonstrates that the study of Macedonian at the State Department of Education Saturday School without then being able to practise the language has limited effect on improving the speaker's proficiency in Macedonian. This is particularly the case where, as in the Illawarra, Macedonian is spoken but, obviously, transference is tolerated as a part of language use.

2. The speaker's relative proficiency in each language. This factor is related to the manner in which the language is learned, the utility of the language and the attitude toward the language.

Four of the child bilinguals had studied Macedonian formally, to the various levels discussed above and set out in the dominance table below. The others learned the language at home from parents. All of the child bilinguals speak Macedonian. However, for example, sgfb felt frustrated that she was not able to fully express all of her answers to the questionnaire in Macedonian. It was in the speech of sgfb that the highest level of multiple transference occurred and this

was her strategy for answering the questions as fully as possible notwithstanding her limited proficiency in Macedonian.

The strategy adopted by sgfa was first to ask "Can I answer in English" to the first question asked in Macedonian and when asked to answer in Macedonian, she kept her answers very brief, preferring not to try to express all of her answers in great detail. There was no instance of multiple transference in her speech but it was clear to the interviewer that her proficiency was similar to that of sgfb.

The child bilinguals have not studied Macedonian formally for significant periods of time (two years of Higher School Certificate ("HSC") study and one year tertiary study was all that had taken place). None of the adult bilinguals have studied English for any significant periods of time.

Both groups stated that it was important to maintain the Macedonian language but stated various reasons for that maintenance. Fgma considered that the Macedonian language should be learned by second generation Australian Macedonians as well as other languages because of the benefits that he saw in knowing more than one language. There was an added benefit for one to learn one's own mother tongue well, in his view.

Fgmb considered that it would be a good idea to maintain Macedonian or to learn other languages because he considered it of benefit to know as many languages as possible. He did not think that maintaining Macedonian was of special

importance to those for whom it is the mother tongue.

Fgmd and fgfd considered that the maintenance of Macedonian was very important for the maintenance of the ethnic identity and the maintenance of matters of cultural importance to the Macedonian people who have made their home in Australia. Fgmc stated that it was important to study Macedonian so that it could be learned properly. In his view, the language was not spoken properly in the Illawarra.

The other first generation, or adult bilingual, questionnaire informants merely stated that they agreed, when asked, that it was important to maintain Macedonian here in Australia.

Sgfd stated that one should study Macedonian only if one chose to. All other informants stated that the Macedonian language should be maintained because it was important for self-identification, or so that it is not forgotten by persons of Macedonian background in Australia. Sgma stated that it was also important to maintain the Macedonian culture for the benefit of all people in Australia (as one part of multicultural life) but particularly for people of Macedonian background.

While degrees of proficiency varied from informant to informant, it is the observation of the interviewer that all informants spoke Macedonian and were able to complete the interview.

3. Whether each of the languages have specific uses, whether in relation to the topics or the interlocutors.

With the child bilinguals in this case, it was revealed in the interviews that the use of Macedonian was mostly limited to the home. Except for sgmb, sgfd and sgfc, all other child bilinguals participated in Macedonian community organisations but generally, the language of communication at meetings was said to be English.

All child bilinguals used Macedonian with parents and English with siblings or (in the case of sgmb and sgfd) with spouses. Further, at work and school, even where other Macedonian speakers were present, English was used.

For the adult bilinguals (except for fgmc) there was the comment that they preferred that their children study and maintain Macedonian because they had not had the opportunity to learn English sufficiently. For Sgmd and sgfd stated that they had a deliberate policy of speaking in Macedonian at home with their children, even where the children spoke to them in English. They stated that this was because they knew there was ample opportunity for the English language to be spoken everywhere else.

4. The way in which each language is learned. The home learned language is not sufficient for all uses to which the speaker may wish to put it .

It was clear from the answers of the child bilinguals (except for sgmd) that the Macedonian language acquired at home and in some cases, assisted by short periods of study, that their ability in Macedonian did not equip them to speak as fully in Macedonian about a range of topics as they were able in English. This was particularly so where it was necessary to discuss intangible matters. It may be that this is because English is used in most contexts, other than with parents at home.

The situation with the adult bilinguals is different because their language is learned to secondary school level. However, it is clear from the appearance of some transference in the speech of the adult bilinguals that there are some gaps in the Macedonian language that they speak. Perhaps the gaps are actual or merely perceived by the speaker to be gaps, such as in the case where an English word is transferred into their speech notwithstanding the existence of an equivalent Macedonian word. The transference may occur either because the English word has a specialised meaning or because the speaker wishes to indicate that they are bilingual.

The acquisition of a new language causing the person to become bilingual, includes the learning of new cultural behaviour. This does not result in the acquisition of two sets of terminology for the full range of experiences in the life of the bilingual. Rather, Macedonian will be associated with certain experiences (perhaps home, church, traditions connected with weddings or other events) and English with others (work, school, politics).

The child bilinguals have all studied English formally and most were tertiary educated (only sgmb had left high school at school certificate level). This would indicate that English was a dominant language for all the child bilinguals (including sgmb).

None of the adult bilinguals had formally studied English, although one woman was currently enrolled in a course. None of the adult bilinguals had not had the opportunity to study Macedonian further after their arrival in Australia.

5. The speaker's attitude to each language. Without exception, all informants considered it necessary for Macedonian to be maintained but the reasons were mostly sentimental reasons. The attitude showed an emotional attachment to the language as the language of the home, family and culture.

6. The speaker's attitude toward the culture of each language community. English was universally identified by all informants as the language for success in life generally because it was the language in which children could succeed at work and in education. This view recognises that English has vital practical functions for those who speak it.

By contrast, even though all of the informants expressed the view that the Macedonian language should be maintained, the importance of Macedonian was seen in terms of its cultural importance for the informants, as part of their ethnic heritage.



The importance of Macedonian seemed particularly great in light of the attack on the Macedonian community by the federal government in attempting to rename the Macedonian community in Australia under the pressure from the Greek community lobby in Australia (Statement made by Senator Gareth Evans on 14 March 1994 in the Australian Senate). Referring to this, sgmd, sgfb, sgfd, sgma, sgmc, sgmd and sgfb made comments to the effect - we should stick together as we are under attack in Australia; we need to maintain our language as it will otherwise be lost; we are the only group which is not allowed to exist free from attack in Australia's multicultural society.

7. Attitude toward bilingualism as such. Indirectly, the informants supported bilingualism in so far as they all considered it important to know English as well as Macedonian. Fgma and fgmb both stated that one should learn all the languages that one has the opportunity to learn.

Further, sgmc and sgfd had both studied Italian and sgfc had studied French and each of these considered bilingualism a positive thing.

8. Tolerance toward mixing languages and incorrect speech. It appears from the interviews that a number of the adult bilinguals considered that this was a problem in the speech of the child bilinguals in the Illawarra and that it occurs frequently (fgmc, fgmd and fgfd). Sgfb stated that while she had studied Macedonian at the Saturday School for the higher school certificate, she did not consider that she could speak Macedonian properly.

Transference occurred in the speech of all informants. It appears that the appearance of the transference indicates that there is either acceptance of "mixed speech" or perhaps the speakers are resigned to transference occurring as the only way that they can express themselves fully in Macedonian.

9. Relationship between the bilingual group and each of two language communities of which it forms part. The Australian government has for more than twenty years adopted a policy of multiculturalism which recognises, subject to certain qualifications, the right of all ethnic groups to the right to self identification. The Macedonian community of the Illawarra is one of many ethnic groups which is able to enjoy its own language and culture as part of multicultural Australia.

#### **3.4.2 Some relevant factors of the bilingual group which are relevant are:**

1. The size of the group and its sociocultural homogeneity or differentiation; demographic facts, social or political relations between these subgroups.

The Macedonian language is the second largest community language group in the Illawarra (Ethnic Affairs Commission 1994:176). The largest group is Italian with numbers of 7,461; Macedonian is 6,720 and the third group is German, with 3,088.

As previously stated the migrants to the Illawarra have arrived principally during

the period between 1960 and the mid 1970s, from the Central western dialect groups and principally for economic reasons.

These factors make the Macedonian community in the Illawarra, for the purposes of this study a fairly homogenous ethnic group. The two main subgroups identified are the first generation and the second generation speakers.

2. Prevalence of bilingual individuals with given characteristics of speech behaviour. As stated above, all of the informants spoke both English and Macedonian and the characteristic of bilingualism was considered the norm for members of the community.

Further, many other residents of the Illawarra are bilingual in another community language and English. In an area populated principally by migrants, bilingualism is certainly the norm, community wide.

3. Attitudes toward each language (prestige) and status of languages (indigenous or immigrant). The Macedonian language is one of the many immigrant or community languages spoken in Australia. It is maintained by the Macedonian community for its own benefit.

The Australian National Languages Policy does not include Macedonian as one of the community languages spoken in Australia that should be given priority (National Languages Policy Report by Joseph Lo Bianco 1987: 148). Macedonian

is taught as one of the community languages in the Saturday School and ethnic language schools but it is not taught in any primary school or high school in the Illawarra as an integral subject. Obviously, this does not establish Macedonian as a prestige language in Australia.

However, there was an increase in the number of persons speaking Macedonian from the 1976 Census to the 1981 Census because the multicultural policy which applies in Australia caused an ethnic revival (Clyne 1991: 44). The increase was not due to an increase in numbers of new migrants. It is clear that the multicultural policy has led to bilingualism in the community language and English being treated as important and valuable (Clyne 1991: 22).

### **3.4.3 The interviews**

The speech collected for this study was from informants living in the Illawarra area who agreed to participate in interviews. The informants were selected from people known to the writer as members of the Macedonian community in the Illawarra. The informants were advised that the purpose of the interviews was for a study of the Macedonian language in the Illawarra.

It was considered that choosing informants known to the interviewer may reduce the possible stilted language that may otherwise result from the informants feeling they have to be on their best behaviour because the interview was being recorded. It is clear that while this factor may have had the desired effect in some

cases, there are some informants who did not feel comfortable with the concept of an interview perhaps feeling self-conscious about their proficiency or some other such reason.

It appears from the interviews that some informants had reservations about the interview altogether and remained cautious during the recording session, speaking much more freely when the tape recorder was switched off and the interview was finished. As many more transfer items were encountered during this part of the interview, the transfer items were noted down, after the visit was finished. These items were not recorded on the taped interviews but they were recorded at the close of the visit and so are considered to be a reliable record of the transfer items encountered.

The interviews were recorded with a cassette player after the agreement of the informants was first obtained. The location of the interview varied from time to time: some took place in the home of the informant, the home of the writer, or at the Macedonian Welfare Centre in Port Kembla.

Following the recording, the speech elicited was transcribed and used as the basis for the analysis.

Interviews of two types were conducted: the first group of interviews was based on a questionnaire (a copy of which forms annexure Q to this study) and the second group of interviews were conducted on an informal basis, with the writer

asking questions or conversing with the speaker in relation to various topics.

In this study, all informants live in the Illawarra region. It is not considered that there is any significant distinction which can be made on the basis of the different parts of the Illawarra in which the informants now live.

#### **3.4.4 The questionnaire**

The aim of the questionnaire was to elicit speech from 16 informants, 8 first generation bilingual and 8 second generation bilinguals, with 8 male and 8 female speakers within each generation. The questionnaire aimed to allow a comparison to be made between the speech of the first generation, or adult, bilinguals and the second generation, or child, bilinguals and between males and females in respect of the number of transfer items which appear and the manner and degree of integration of those transfer items in the various speech samples.

The questionnaire consisted of three major parts. The first part was designed to elicit information about the speaker. In their own words, the speaker informs about his/her background: place of birth, and if not Australia, date of arrival.

With child bilinguals, the date of arrival of parents. The level of study in Macedonian and English respectively and what language they use in the context of home, school, social contexts and work.

The second part of the questionnaire aimed to elicit opinions from the speakers

about a small range of topics in Macedonian. The third part asked the informants to describe a series of pictures. The questions were as follows:

1. **Should people of Macedonian background study the Macedonian language?**

This question aimed to identify the attitude of the informant to maintenance of Macedonian.

2. **What conditions are available for Macedonian study?**

This question was mostly aimed at the child bilinguals and aimed to identify the knowledge of the informant of the various venues at which Macedonian could be studied, Saturday School, ethnic school, Macquarie University's Macedonian Studies.

3. **What conditions are available for study of English for people who do not know English well?**

This question was mostly aimed at the adult bilinguals and aimed to identify their knowledge of the venues where they could study English.

4. **What are the biggest problems facing the Australian government and what should be done to resolve the problems?**

The question aimed to identify speech in connection with the domain of public affairs, current affairs or politics.

5. **What do you think of the Queen and should Australia's ties to the United Kingdom be cut?**

This question again sought discussion of current affairs.

6. **If you have spent time in Macedonia, what are the differences between life in the Illawarra and in Macedonia? If you have not been to Macedonia, why?**

This question again sought the opinion of the informant.

7. **In relation to the Illawarra, to what extent are steps taken to maintain the culture; to what extent are church traditions maintained; which are the main holidays celebrated; which is your favourite holiday and how do you celebrate it; do you have enough information about what is happening in the Republic of Macedonia; which are the most popular sport in the Illawarra; how does the**

**Macedonian community spend its spare time; where do Macedonians work and is there a difference between the first generation and the second generation?**

This question sought information about the familiarity that the informant had with the Macedonian community activities and life in the Illawarra and the extent to which the informant participated in it.

8. **What is important for success in life**
9. **If you were to win Lotto tomorrow, what would you do with the money**

The last two questions gave the informant an opportunity to put some personal content into the answers.

Descriptions of the pictures are set out in the questionnaire. Each picture is chosen to show things which are supposed to fall into the category of new objects and or concepts that the informants encountered on their arrival to Australia and for which it is hypothesised they did have the Macedonian word. Pictures were chosen because the visual representation did not require any speech from the interviewer.

It was presumed that the pictures would have a lesser effect on the speech elicited from the informants. If the interviewer used a standard Macedonian word (where that was different to the word that the informant may use) for an object or concept or activity which was shown in the picture, the informant might be influenced by that word. Alternatively, the informant, not knowing the standard Macedonian term, might be thereby discouraged from speaking frankly in the interview.



These questionnaire was designed to show in which language the speakers were dominant. In giving the same questions to both adult and child bilinguals, it was aimed to be able compare the different levels and types of transference in the different domains.

#### **3.4.4.1 The questionnaire informants**

The sample of speech was collected firstly from the questionnaire informants, using the questionnaire and recording the speech. In addition, there were observations made on the speech of about thirty other informants.

Details of the questionnaire informants will be set out below, so that in making a comparison between the speech of the adult bilinguals and the child bilinguals, the factors which play a role can be identified.

All of the informants encountered in the course of the study, say that they speak Macedonian at home.

All of the adult bilinguals were born in Macedonia. Fgma, fgmb and fgfb arrived in Australia in 1960. The others all arrived in 1970 or 1971. Fgfc was the only one of the informants who arrived on the government assisted passage scheme for the cost of \$24.00. The others had all been sponsored by relatives who had migrated earlier.

In terms of employment, fgma was on an aged pension but had spent his working life in Australia working as a labourer at the steelworks, fgmb and fgmd were currently employed at steelworks. Fgmc was unemployed, having been retrenched from steelworks as a part of the early 1980s policy of "lasy on, first off" devised by the employers and the relevant union at the steelworks during the downturn of the period.

Fgfa and fgfd were employed in home duties and had never worked outside the home, while both fgfb and fgfc were machinists in clothing factories. Fgfc was on light duties because of a repetitive strain injury she had received in the work place.

Fgma, fgmc, fgfa, fgfb and fgfc had not studied English formally. Fgmb and fgmd had completed short courses at steelworks to improve their work place acquired English. Both men commented that the courses at the work place were aimed at providing the worker with enough English to carry out work but that once that basic level had been attained, the courses were not available because it was considered that they knew too much English for the course.

All of the questionnaire informants except for fgfd who was currently enrolled in a course to learn English, indicated that they would have liked to have learned English better, that it would make their lives easier in many ways. They had not enrolled in courses, either through having no spare time because of work demands, or because of not being aware of the availability of courses.

In the case of each of the questionnaire informants who had not attended any classes in English, they considered that they were too old to commence English classes now.

Fgfd was currently enrolled in a course to learn English conducted at the TAFE near her home.

Having considered the lack of formal studies in English, it is important to note that, while it was outside the scope of this study to consider the competence of the informants in English, their ability to speak and understand English were informally observed. It was noted that each were able to communicate, at least in a basic way, in English. The male informants were better than the female informants. Fgfa had never worked outside the home and her command of English was the poorest amongst the informants.

The first generation informants ranged in birth dates from 1909 to 1952. The dates are set out as a part of the dominance table below.

Except for fgma and fgmb, all of the first generation questionnaire informants had completed 'sredno' school which is equivalent to completion of high school. Fgma had completed 4 years of primary school and fgmb had completed one year of primary school. In the case of both fgma and fgmb, the break in their studies came because of financial hardship in their families requiring them to commence work rather than be at school.

All of the first generation questionnaire informants reported that they speak Macedonian at home. Fgmc indicated that he speaks a limited amount of English with his children at home where they do not understand him in Macedonian.

Both fgmd and fgfd indicated that they had a deliberate policy to speak Macedonian at home to their children and resisted their children's tendency toward speaking only English. Their aim in so doing was to ensure that their children learn Macedonian as well as the parent could manage to teach them. None of the children in these two families attended formal Macedonian language classes.

From all that has been indicated above, it is concluded that the dominant language of all of the first generation questionnaire informants is Macedonian.

In terms of the attitude of the informants to the maintenance of Macedonian, the response was generally positive. The reasons for it are discussed above and set out briefly in the dominance table below.

**Dominance table - adult bilinguals**

Speaker	Occupation	Study of English	Study of Macedonian	Language used at home	Attitude to Maintenance	Dominant Language
fgma b. 1909 a. 1960	Pensioner prev. labourer in steelworks	No	4 years primary	Only M	Should learn other languages including M especially if you are M	M
fgmb b. 1933 a. 1960	Labourer in steelworks	5 weeks at work 2 hours pw	1 year primary	Only M	The more languages the better	M
fgmc b. 1952 a. 1971	Unemployed prev. labourer in steelworks	No	secondary school	M mostly some E with children	Should learn M properly	M
fgmd b. 1942 a. 1971	Machine operator in steelworks	No	secondary school	Only M as his deliberate policy, esp with children	Must learn to maintain our identity	M
fgfa b. 1940 a. 1972	Home duties Never worked outside home	No	secondary school	Only M	Yes	M
fgfb b. 1937 a. 1961	Machinist	No	secondary school	Only M	Yes	M
fgfc b. 1945 a. 1970	Machinist now on compensation	No	secondary school	Only M	Yes	M
fgfd b. 1940 a. 1972	Home duties & part-time scripture teacher	Yes TAFE course	Secondary school	Only M Her deliberate policy	Yes for self identification	M

In respect of the child bilinguals, except for sgfa and sgfd, all were born in Australia of parents who were born overseas. In the dominance table for the child bilinguals set out below, details of the year of birth of the child bilinguals and, where applicable, their date of arrival in Australia are indicated. Many of the child bilinguals born in Australia, were born shortly after their parents' arrival in Australia which indicates that the migrants were young on arrival and planned to establish their families in Australia.

Sgmb is a labourer in local heavy industry while sgma, sgfa and sgfb were studying at university. Sgmc, sgmd, sgfc and sgfd were employed in various professional positions having already completed their tertiary studies.

Except for sgmb who had completed only his school certificate, the others had either fully or partly completed tertiary studies in English.

Details of the study of Macedonian are discussed above but it must be noted that the periods of study in each case was brief, the longest being three years preparation for the Higher School certificate in Macedonian language.

In respect of the attitude to maintenance indicated by the child bilinguals, it is interesting that none saw any practical application for the language. Rather, it was considered important to maintain Macedonian because it was necessary to maintain one's culture, to ensure one's ancestry is not forgotten and for self identification. Only sgfd stated it was not vital to study Macedonian and one should only study the language if one chose to do so.

### Dominance Table - child bilinguals

Speaker	Occupation	Study of English	Study of Macedonian	Language used at home	Attitude to Maintenance	Dominant Language
sgma b. 1970 in Aust Parents 1970	Graduate cadet in chem engineering	Yes	Saturday school to HSC	M with parents E with others	Should learn M for maintenance of own culture	E
sgmb b. 1968 in Aust Parents 1965	Labourer	Yes	No	M with mother E with wife	Yes, to remember our origin	E
sgmc b. 1964 a. 1970 Parents 1960	High school teacher in English	Yes	No	M with parents E with siblings	Yes, to maintain our culture	E
sgmd b. 1964 in Aust Parents 1970	Stage Manager	Yes	One year Saturday school	M with parents E with siblings	Yes, to maintain our culture	E
sgfa b. 1971 a. 1973	Economics univ. student	Yes	No	M with parents E with sister	Yes, so it is not forgotten	E
sgfb b. 1972 in Aust Parents 1950	Graduate training in Business	Yes	Saturday school to year 10	M and E with parents	Yes	E
sgfc b. 1962 in Aust Parents 1961	Business analyst	Yes	Yes, tertiary by correspondence Macquarie University	E and M - mostly M with parents	Yes, to maintain our culture	E
sgfd b. 1969 in Aust Parents 1969	Public service officer	Yes	Saturday School to HSC	E with husband E and M with parents	Only if an person chooses to	E

## **4.0 Description of transference**

### **4.1 Lexical transference**

A lexical or morphosemantic transfer is the transfer of a word in both form and meaning which arises when two languages are in contact. Transfers may be a part of any word class, for example a noun, adjective, verb, adverb, pronoun, interjection and so on.

With the exception of a small number, the transfers encountered in the speech sample are not a stable part of the Macedonian language spoken by the informants in that they are not used by all of the informants and are not repeated by the informant who use them. That can be contrasted to the position where certain English words have been transferred into the standard Macedonian, for example, **kompjuter** and **traktor**. In such a case, the transfers are stable and form part of the vocabulary of the standard Macedonian language, they appear in the written form and are defined in dictionaries of the Macedonian language.

The amount of transference varies from informant to informant and also from time to time and context to context with the same informant.

### **4.2 Single transfers**

The following analysis is concerned with single transfers which occurred in the speech sample. The question of whether the transfer is a single word or an example of



multiple transference will be determined from the point of view of the bilingual speaker rather than the perspective of descriptive linguistics.

4.2.1 In the following examples, the transfers are treated as single words by the informants:

**dazen 'mera** (doesn't matter); **o 'rajt** (all right), **ka 'man** (come on), **e 'cit** (that's it), **lidigen** (leading hand), **Kokavec** (Coke Ovens), **laj 'džuti** (light duty).

These transfers will be treated as single word transfers for the purposes of this study notwithstanding the fact that the English models are not single words.

### 4.3 The domains of the nouns in the speech sample

A large proportion of the total single transfers, approximately 75%, are nouns. It is important to determine the domains to which the nouns may belong in order to identify the types of things or ideas for which the migrants adopted transfers to express. This analysis will indicate the areas in relation to which the informant found that their Macedonian did not meet their needs in the new circumstances.

#### 4.3.1 The New Circumstances

Approximately 2/3 of the noun transfers can be said to fall into the category of new things and ideas which the migrants encountered when they arrived in Australia and

started to work, the Australian way of life, as encountered by the migrants. As it is such a large group of transfers, for discussion purposes, this category will be divided into sub-groups of work and study, physical environment, lifestyle and government and business institutions.

#### **4.3.1.1 Work and study**

For most migrants, the first (and for some, the only) job they found was in the heavy steel industry of the Illawarra. This work was different to the work they had been engaged in prior to migration. For the children, the school system was organised differently to the system to which the parents were accustomed and also was conducted in English, a language with which they were not familiar.

The places where people went to work included the steelworks, related factories such as Australian Iron & Steel or BHP, Lysaghts, MM (Metal Manufacturers), ER&S, and clothing manufacturers such as Bonds.

The following transfers relating to work occurred in the corpus:

##### **(a) In relation to Bonds and machinists:**

**Bonz** (Bonds); **amos**; **amoz** (armholes); **bonus** (bonus); **bos**; **bosica** (boss; [woman] boss; **supa 'vajza** (supervisor); **skivi**; **skivite**; **lajbol**; **lajboli** (label); **komp** (compo; abbreviation for compensation); **seksion**; **seksionot** (section); **mekaničar**; **mekaničaro** (mechanic); **fleksi** (flexi-day).

**(b) in relation to the steel industry**

**faktori** (factory); **lajba** (labourer); **krejnčajsa** (crane chaser); **seftifiket** (certificate); **kompjuta** (computer); **rosta** (rostered day off); **sikpej** (sick pay day); **foman** (foreman); **lidigen** (leading hand); **linija** ([production] line); **lajdžuti** (light duty); **velda** (welder); **sekiriti** (security [guard]); **dril** (drill); **grajnda** (grinder); **report, reporti** (report); **ofa** ([redundancy] offer); **vodžes, vejžes** (wages); **fortnaj; fortnajto** (fortnight); **union** (adult bilingual version), **junjon** (child bilingual version) (union); **strajk** (strike); **dejšif; aftenum; najšif; šifta** (day shift, afternoon [shift], night shift; shift) but also, in relation to the word 'shift', the word takes a feminine definite article, **šifta**; **stilvork** (steelworks). The use of **stilvork** in the same form by all informants suggested that the word had wide currency in the speech of the community. It seems likely that the child bilinguals learned the word from adult bilinguals as a transfer in the Macedonian variety spoken in the Illawarra bilingual community.

**(c) in relation to other occupations**

**ekspirion** (experience); **norsa** (nurse); **transpor** (transport); **farma** (farm); **bildin** building

**(d) in relation to study**

There are only a small number of words here and this may be because none of the informants were currently involved in secondary school studies:

**skripča** (scripture); **ajskul** (high school); **pojntoi** (points as in HSC result);  
**buk** book; **spič** speech.

#### 4.3.1.2 Physical environment

There were many things that the migrants encountered in the Illawarra that were different to that with which they were familiar. For example, the manner in which the houses were built along a street (rather than in clusters), divided from the other houses by fences, was different from the manner in which the houses were arranged in the village. In Macedonia, the ownership of houses was passed down from generation to generation in a family and were set in small groups (*maalo*) where people knew each other or were related. In Australia, whoever bought the house would live there. Also, in each village, there was a village square for festive occasions; in Australia, towns had main streets and there was no village square.

##### (a) The outside of the home:

**strit** (street); **bekjat** (backyard); **fens** (fence); **jaat, jardot** (yard); **gaaden** (garden). This transfer was encountered only once. The more common words used to describe the domestic garden were Macedonian words **gradina**, and **bavča**. The transfer is also unusual because it is a word which is homophonous with a Macedonian adjective **gaden** meaning ugly. **garač, garadžot** (garage); **olza** (hose); **blok** (block [of land]); **mašina za treva sečenje, Vikta** (lawn

mower); **ruf** (roof); **ač** (arch); **pajpa** (pipe); **bilda** builder;

**(b) Parts of the home:**

**londri** (laundry); **kičin** (kitchen); **šaoa** (shower); **rum** (room); **faniča** (furniture); **flor** (floor); **kaoč** (couch); **kabec** (cupboards); **karpet** (carpet); **sink** (sink); **voljunit** (wall unit); **mapa** (mop).

**(c) In relation to appliances and conveniences:**

During the 1960s, some Macedonian villages did not yet have electricity. Accordingly, there were many new appliances and services that the migrant had to describe:

**grila** (griller); **hita** (heater); **fen** ([ventilation]fan) (It is interesting that this word has a different meaning to an identical word in standard Macedonian. By contrast, that standard Macedonian word means blow dryer rather than ventilation fan); **erkondišon** air conditioning; **majkrovej** (microwave); **miksa** (mixer) which can be contrasted to the standard Macedonian equivalent, modelled on English, **mikser**; **friza** (fridge); **televizija** (television) which is the same as the standard Macedonian version but which may have arisen independently in the bilingual community, based on the same English model; **vakjum, vakum** (vacuum cleaner); **štofa** (stove) which is an unusual transfer in that it is similar to the standard Macedonian word meaning fabric, **štof**; **video** (video).

**(d) In relation to other products:**

**šampu** shampoo.

**4.3.1.3 Lifestyle and Leisure**

The migrants took steps to maintain their culture and traditions by establishing cultural organisations and building the two churches (in Wollongong and Port Kembla). It is clear from the interviews that the informants consider that the traditional festivities and celebrations for holy days and feast days are strongly adhered to in the Illawarra among the community.

In addition, it is clear that the migrants encountered new activities involved in spending leisure time. Such activities had new words attached to them, such as weekend, shopping, picnics, different sports, drinking with workmates in the pub after work, activities permitted by a different climate, and different night life. While many of the words connected with these activities are also used in standard Macedonian, the different form which the transfers have in the variety spoken by the informants indicates a separate and perhaps parallel introduction.

While it is common for the youth to be involved in a wide range of social and sporting activities, a number of informants mentioned that this has been because of a relaxation of traditional conservative attitudes in the community over the last 15 years or so, especially in relation to the social life and education of young (particularly unmarried) women.

One particularly interesting example of transference which arises in this area is **brajzmer, brajzmerka**. It is a transfer which has very wide circulation (including in the Macedonian communities outside the Illawarra) and the forms in which it appears are stable.

There is no bridesmaid in the traditional Macedonian wedding but the Australian custom of bridesmaids was welcomed with open arms by the Macedonian migrants. The first of the two transfers to appear in Macedonian appears to have been **brajzmerka**, based on bridesmaid. The masculine version appears to be based on the transfer **brajzmerka** rather than the English equivalent, groomsman. The masculine form is created by the removal of the feminine suffix "-ka".

The transfer is also interesting in the way that the diphthong at the end of the word is transferred and phonologically integrated: after dropping the /d/ in bridesmaid in what can be seen as a process of consonantal cluster simplification, the sound /eI/ is altered to /er/ in **brajzmer**.

**(a) In relation to leisure and other non-work activities:**

**tiket** ticket; **brdaj, brzdaj** birthday; **prezen** present or gift; **kampin** camping; **erobiks** aerobics; **bič** beach; **piknik** picnic; **disko** disco; **parti** party; **pap** pub; **babakju** barbeque; **sfanje** surfing; **karavan, karavana** caravan; **Krismos**

Christmas on 25 December; not the Macedonian Orthodox Christmas (**Božik**) celebrated on 7 January in accordance with the Orthodox church calendar; '**Senta-Klos** Santa Claus; **dens** dance; **fudbol** meaning rugby codes not soccer; **soka** soccer; **brajzmerka**, **brajzmer** bridesmaid, groomsman; **šliperki** thongs (obviously the transfer is based on the word slippers, but is used to refer to rubber thongs); **teksa**, **teksi** taxi (the first version of this transfer is the same as the transfer for tax, **teksa**);

#### (b) Shops

**šop** shop; **bučarnica** butchers; **kemis** chemist; **frutšop** fruit shop; **Kentaki** Kentucky [Fried Chicken]; **centa** cent (note standard Macedonian version of this transfer is **cent**); **dolar** dollar; **šilin** shilling (this transfer arose in the corpus where informants discussed the wages that were earned early in the 1960s); **market** [trash and treasure] market;

#### (c) Media

**magazin** magazine (in connection with this transfer, it is interesting that the transfer is homophonous with a standard Macedonian word meaning shop); **spika** speaker; **radio program** radio programme; **njus** news; **njuspajpa** newspaper.

#### (d) Other

**lajt** [traffic] light; **trafik** traffic; **singal** single boarder; **renta** rent; **rentadžija**



tenant.

**(d) in relation to food**

Australian multiculturalism had not yet been adopted as a policy in the 1960s and food in Australia was not what the migrants were accustomed to. The migrants quite quickly established gardens and tried to cook foods that they liked but could not yet buy in shops. However, they could not help acquiring some new words and learning to eat some of the new foods available.

There were some foods for which there is a commonly used standard Macedonian equivalent but for which the transfer is preferred by the informants. It is not clear why this is the case. A possible reason is that the informant associates the particular food with the Australian context more than the Macedonian one and wishes to indicate this by means of the speech. Such transfers as encountered in the speech sample, the English model and their Macedonian equivalents (where applicable) include:

**(i) vegetables:**

**kebič** cabbage **zelka**; **kerec** carrots **morkov**; **kolifleoa** cauliflower **karfiol**;  
**letes** lettuce **zelena salata**; **marulka**;

**(ii) fruit:**

**fruta** fruit **ovošje**; **mango** mango (while this is also the version used in

standard Macedonian, it is a transfer because the fruit was not known to the migrants until after migration); **pajnapl** pineapple **ananas**; **oranč** orange **portokal**; while one of the informants stated that she had not seen a banana until her sea voyage to Australia in 1960, the word banana is very common in standard Macedonian and has not been included as a transfer here. It would be the case that most of the informants would know the word other than as a transfer.

**(iii) other:**

**slajs** sliced [bread] **leb**; **čips** chips (this form also used in standard Macedonian), **prženi kompiri**; **drink** [soft] drink **pijalok**; **džus** juice **sok**; **keksa** cake **torta**; **hemburga, emburga** hamburger **hamburger**; **ajskrim** ice cream **sladolet**; **lanč** lunch **ruček**; **senvič semič** sandwich **sendvič**; **recip** recipe **recept**.

In relation to foods, it seems that the number of transfers used in relation to fruit and vegetables is small by comparison to that used for "other" foods. The reason for this would be that most of the vegetables encountered and used by the migrants (for example, there was no reference in the corpus to a choko, parsnip or bok choy and other vegetables perhaps not commonly used by the migrants) in Australia would have been commonly referred to by them and so, transfers would not be needed.

By contrast, in relation to foods the migrants were not accustomed to discussing prior to migrating, the transfers were more readily taken into use. For example, with sliced bread, the transfer **slajs** is widely used. The Macedonian word for bread is also widely used, but in the view of a number of informants, sliced bread is so different in quality to the loaves of bread eaten by Macedonians that a different word is required.

**(c) in relation to vehicles**

**majla** mile; **parkin** parking [lot or station]; **kar** car; **trak** truck; **motor** motor [bike]; **eroplan** aeroplane; **bas** bus; **brejkoi** brakes; **but** boot; **blinka** blinker [indicator]; **džek** jack; **toč** torch.

**4.3.1.4 Government, commercial and legal matters**

The system of government and commerce in Australia was different to that which applied in Macedonia prior to the migrants' departure. In any case, apart from the obviously necessary dealings with government, it is difficult to establish the extent to which the migrants may have been familiar with the standard Macedonian words relating to commerce and those areas of government with which they had dealings.

**(a) in relation to commercial and legal matters:**

**biznis** business; **ček** cheque; **klajent** client; **kastama, kastuma** customer;

**okšion** auction; **išuranc** insurance; **mogič** mortgage; **re'cit, re'sit** receipt; **džuri** jury; **ba'rista** barrister; **solista** solicitor; **samservis, Kajmat; Kajmak, Kolz**, supermarket and named stores K-Mart, K-Mart, Coles; **čenč** change.

**(b) in relation to government matters**

**gavrament** government; **Lajba Pati Labo Party; Liberal** Liberal [Party]; **republik, repablika** republic; **social** social [security]; **anemplojmen** unemployment; **teksa** tax; **monjument** monuments; **imigranti** immigrants; **dol** dole.

#### **4.3.2 Transfers relate to tangible objects**

Fewer than 10 of the transfers in the entire corpus can be said not to describe tangible objects. Where the transfers were used, it was, except in the case of **trabol**, used by only one informant on only one occasion. Again with the exception of **trabol**, but also excepting **pleža**, all such transfers were used by child bilinguals.

These include:

**rispekt** respect; **trabol** trouble; **ajdiija** idea; **individual** individual, **pleža** pleasure; **ek'skus** excuse; **ekspirion** experience; **folt** fault.

This result suggests that the transference which occurs in the speech of the immigrants

results from a need to describe new things, a new physical environment. This is reinforced by the fact that Macedonian words are widely used instead of the transfers referred to above.

#### **4.4 Transfers used in place of Common Macedonian words**

##### **(a) Certain Proper nouns**

In relation to a small number of transfers, it may be that there is no Macedonian equivalent. This would be the case with, for example, proper nouns, relating to specific processes at a work place or specific details of courses of study, and so on, such as **Bonz**, **Kokavec** and **Blasfrnes**. Accordingly, it would be understandable that the bilingual speaker would use transfers in relation to such nouns.

##### **(b) Variety of Macedonian spoken by the informant does not include Macedonian word**

The variety of Macedonian spoken by the bilingual may not include the relevant Macedonian word, either because the speaker never learned the word, because the word has developed in standard Macedonian after the time that the bilingual left Macedonia or simply because the word has been forgotten by the bilingual.

For example, the words 'piknik' and 'mango' are used by the informants. These words form part of the vocabulary of the standard Macedonian language. However,

because the words were not part of the vocabulary of the informants on their arrival to the Illawarra, it seems reasonable to observe the words 'piknik' and 'mango' as examples of transference. The presence of those words in the speech of the informants is as a result of their acquisition of English and becoming bilingual and not as a result of their knowledge of the words in the standard Macedonian language.

When determining whether a particular word constitutes transference, one must consider the actual language competence of the speaker, or the variety spoken by the speaker. That competence may be different from the standard language. In this case, it is an observation of this study that the variety of language spoken by each informant (it is not possible to speak of one variety of Macedonian spoken in the Illawarra) is different from the standard Macedonian language, because of the presence of the dialect, the level of education and the steps taken to learn new vocabulary as it develops in standard Macedonian.

This problem of identifying to which system a particular element belongs is particularly difficult in light of the influence that English as a 'lingua franca' has had on many languages in many different lexical domains internationally. It seems that the influence on the speech of the bilinguals is from Australian English and not the influence of English on the standard Macedonian language because the informants reported that they had not taken steps to learn new vocabulary in standard Macedonian.

**(c) Transfer has developed in parallel with a transfer in standard Macedonian**

In certain instances however, it is clear that the transfer is being used rather than the standard Macedonian equivalent and that is because the transfer is a slightly different form to that in the standard language.

In a number of instances, there is a stable transfer from English in standard Macedonian but it is clear from the different form of the transfer that the informants have acquired the word direct from English rather than via the standard Macedonian:

**mekaničar; mekaničaro** (mechanic) - this transfer is similar but not identical to the standard Macedonian word **mehaničar**. The transfer is modelled on the pronunciation of the word in Australian English /məˈkənɪk/.

**miksa** (mixer). The standard Macedonian equivalent is **mikser** which appears to be based on the written form of the English model whereas the transfer is based on the pronunciation of the word in Australian English.

**kompjuta** (computer). The standard Macedonian equivalent is **kompjuter**, based on the written English model whereas the transfer is based on the pronunciation of the word in Australian English.

**hemburga, emburga** (hamburger). The standard Macedonian equivalent is

**hamburger**, again based on the written model with the transfer based on the verbal model. In this transfer, a prevalent feature of the western Macedonian dialects, spoken by the informants, is present; the loss of /h/. This is discussed in greater detail below, in the context of phonological integration.

**palament** (parliament). The standard Macedonian equivalent is **parlament** which is influenced by the written model. The transfer is clearly based on the Australian English pronunciation.

#### (d) Speech economy

It may be that the bilingual chooses the English transfer over the Macedonian word because of speech economy. The Macedonian alternative may require more effort than the English one, in the sense that the Macedonian word is longer or harder to pronounce than the English transfer. This may be the case where the speaker uses **blajma** (blame) instead of the longer Macedonian word **obvinuva**; and **juza** (use) instead of one possible alternative, the longer Macedonian word **upotrebuva**. Alternatively, it may be because other transfers from English are used in a sentence, it is easier for the mind of the bilingual to produce further words in English rather than to revert to Macedonian.

In relation to some of the months of the year, nouns which are commonly used and known, there is a strong influence from English on the form of the noun. This may



indicate that, for speech economy, the bilingual tries to make the two alternatives, which bear some similarity anyway, more similar, so that there is less to remember in relation to the naming of the months:

<u>Standard Macedonian</u>	<u>Transfer</u>	<u>English model</u>
<b>Septemvri</b>	<b>Septemba</b>	September
<b>Oktomvri</b>	<b>Oktomba</b>	October
<b>Noemvri</b>	<b>Novemba</b>	November
<b>Dekemvri</b>	<b>Disemba</b>	December

In certain cases, the English transfer is more commonly used in the community than the Macedonian equivalent. Such may be the case with **sladoled** which is not used. Rather, **ajskrim** is commonly used. The same can be said in relation to **kerec**.

**(e) Informant wishes to display proficiency in English**

Further, it may be that the bilingual deliberately prefers the transfer over the Macedonian word because he or she wishes to display that he or she has a certain level of proficiency in English. In the mind of the bilingual, there may be some other reason to prefer the English transfer: perhaps the English transfer has some prestige or perhaps is more commonly used in the community than the Macedonian equivalent. It may be that the bilingual is doing so for effect, to achieve irony or humour or some similar effect.

One informant explained why she prefers new products and does not like to have hand made antiques in her home; it was because the old hand made objects were made **so maka** (with effort) by the craftsmen and she had known such difficulty and now wished to only have things around her that were made in a factory, without effort. It may be that the same applies with vocabulary and the fact that the Macedonian equivalents may, in certain instances, remind an informant of a more difficult time in his or her life, and the transfer is therefore preferred.

#### **(f) Transference used for effect**

While it is clear that the principal use to which transference is put is as a strategy to communicate in Macedonian where he or she does not have an adequate vocabulary to do so, that is not always the case.

Certain of the transfers have been deliberately created for purposes other than communication; for example, for humour (pun or other word play). Such is the case with the saying, **sori od ko' se stori** (which has a parallel in the language spoken by youths in the capital of Macedonia as **sori, se stori**); and also the play on the similarity between **video** and the Macedonian word for view, "**videlo**", to make the pun, **gledam videlo** [I'm looking at the view/video].

Further, transference is also deliberately used between bilinguals as an indicator that they belong to the same bilingual community. In such cases, it can also be used where

bilinguals wish to keep comments secret from someone who is unable to speak one of the languages of the bilingual.

#### **4.5 Strategies other than transference**

Before considering transference further, it is necessary to note that the bilinguals have another method for describing things for which they do not know a Macedonian word and that is to describe it in general terms:

rabotam kaj brodoite	I work with the ships
mojata rabota e so matematika raboti	My work is with mathematical things
pram sportoi raboti	I do sport things
pram kosi	I do hair
popravam karo	I fix cars

#### **4.6 Classes represented by the transfers**

In the speech sample, there were 224 nouns being 75% of the total transfers; 35 verbs being 12% of the total transfers; 25 adjectives being 8% of the total transfers and 4 adverbs being 1% of the total transfers.

In relation to the total transfers, where the transfers were repeated by one or more informants, for the total they were only counted once. Also, in relation to each

transfer, if there was a definite and indefinite form, a plural and singular, only one was counted. Examples of unintegrated transfers were not included in the count of total transfers.

No pronouns were encountered in the corpus. It is important to note that in Macedonian the verb form gives information as to the person and number and to that extent, the use of the pronoun is less important than in English for that information.

The percentages set out above indicate the frequency with which certain classes are transferred. A tentative conclusion may then be made that nouns are more susceptible to being transferred than are other classes. This may be related to the degree of structural independence of each word. Further, nouns are a class of language which can be easily added to or replaced and that is why, relative to other classes, there are more nouns.

The conclusions can only be tentative. This is because, to be confirmed, it would be necessary establish the total number words in each class in the recipient language. After obtaining an extensive list of transfers from the speech of a bilingual speaker, it would be necessary to calculate the proportion of the total of each class of the total words for that class in the recipient language.

No such count has been carried out here in respect of Macedonian. The transfers obtained have been as a result of the natural speech of the bilinguals but it cannot be

said to be an extensive sample of speech, when compared to the total number of words in a language.

As discussed in chapter 2 above, the proportion of total transfers formed by the nouns was the same in contact situations between English and Italian, German and Norwegian.

#### 4.7 Transfer based on written or verbal English model

The form of the transfer may reveal whether the original English model for the transfer was the written form or the verbal form.

The following examples demonstrate the two different approaches. It is not always clear why in some instances the model is written and at other times it is the verbal model. It would of course be related to the manner in which the informant is introduced to the original English word, but no pattern can be deduced as to why words which would be commonly heard as well as read, such as 'union' or 'section', would be transferred as the written rather than the verbal form.

**seksjon; seksjonot** (section) - the model for the word seems to be the written word "section" because the 'i' in "- tion" is given full value rather than as in the Australian English pronunciation of "-tion" which is: /s ɛ k t̪ ɪ ɒ n /.

**oksjon; oksjonot** (auction) - the model again seems to be the written form because

the 'i' is again given full value, rather than as a part of "-tion".

This can be contrasted with **erkondišan** in which the Australian English pronunciation is relevant: /ɛə-kəndɪʃən/.

**social; socialot** (social [security]) - in this case the transfer is modelled on the written form and may also be influenced by the standard Macedonian **socijalno**, again based on the fact that the letter 'i' is given full value rather than as pronounced in "-cial", that is /soʊʃəl/. By contrast, the transfer **spešol** is obviously based on the verbal model.

**union, junjon** (union) In this transfer, the adult bilingual pronunciation of **union** is clearly influenced by the written form of the word, whereas the child bilingual version is influenced by the Australian English pronunciation of the word /junjən/.

**vekjum, vakum** (vacuum) This transfer appears in two versions, one based on the written form of the English model and the other based on the Australian English pronunciation, /vækjum/.

Apart from the examples given above, where the written form of the English word influences the transfer, the great majority of the transfers were based on the verbal English model.

## 4.8 Integration

Integration of a transfer occurs when the transfer adapts elements to the phonological, prosodic or grammatical systems of the recipient language. The lexical transfer may enter the speech of the bilingual in a form which is integrated or unintegrated in the phonological and morphological systems of Macedonian.

### 4.8.1 Prosodic Integration

Prosodic integration involves the transfer being adapted to the Macedonian rules of stress or intonation.

#### (a) stress

The accent in standard Macedonian and in the dialects spoken by the informants, is a purely stress accent. The stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable and on the first syllable in dissyllabic words. Where the word takes a suffix, for example, in the definite form or in the plural form, the stress shifts so that it is still on the antepenultimate syllable.

With few exceptions, the transfers comply with this rule. It is important to consider transfers individually to consider whether the transfer merely has the same stress as in the English and coincidentally it falls on the antepenultimate syllable. However, where the stress shifts on the transfer taking a suffix to make the definite form, it is clear that there is prosodic integration.

Some of the instances where this occurs are as follows:

light            'lajt; lajt 'oite

Birthday	<b>'brdaj; 'brdaite</b>
boss	<b>'bosica; bo'sicata</b>
fruit	<b>'fruta; 'frutata</b>

Those transfers which do not conform to the stress rule are few. In the following examples, the transfer is not prosodically integrated

<b>ambu 'lant</b>	first aid centre.
<b>kompe 'sajšon</b>	compensation
<b>ek 'skjus</b>	excuse
<b>ga 'radža</b>	garage
<b>Ken 'taki</b>	Kentucky,

but when the transfer takes a suffix to form the definite form or the plural form, the additional syllable results in the stress coincidentally being on the antepenultimate syllable, in accordance with the rule:

<b>kom 'pjuta</b>	(computer)	<b>kom 'pjutata</b>
<b>imi 'granti</b>	(immigrants)	<b>imi 'grantite</b>
<b>njus 'pajpa</b>	(newspaper)	<b>njus 'pajpata</b>
<b>so 'lister</b>	(solicitor)	<b>so 'listeri</b>
<b>supa 'vajza</b>	(supervisor)	<b>supa 'vajzata</b>

#### **(b) accentual units**

In standard Macedonian and in the dialects spoken by the informants, the stress can be affected by the formation of an accentual unit. With monosyllabic prepositions,



conjunctions, pronouns, the negative "ne" and with adjectives before nouns and the article attached to an adjective, accentual units can occur. The two words may combine to be pronounced as a single word so that the accentual unit takes the stress on the antepenultimate syllable rather than stress being allocated to each of the two components of the accentual unit. The accentual unit may be comprised of noun and a preposition, such as **'na-selo** (in [the] village), **bolna 'ta-noga** (the sore leg).

The same occurred with five transfers in the speech sample:

<b>'na-market</b>	at the market
<b>'na-friza</b>	on the fridge
<b>'Por-kembla</b>	Port Kembla
<b>'Ok-flec</b>	Oak Flats
<b>'Blas-frnes</b>	Blast Furnace

#### **4.8.2 Phonological integration**

##### **(a) phonologically unintegrated transfers**

Lexical transfers may be phonologically integrated or unintegrated. It is an observation of this study that none of the transfers which were morphologically integrated were phonologically unintegrated. That is, the phonological integration appears to be the first type of integration in which a transfer is involved, and may be the only integration that a transfer undergoes.

There are instances of unintegrated transfers occurring in the corpus:

**Kako šo tie tuka, settled and all that type of thing, sme tolku developed differently**

kako šo bevme togaš, trebame sega da imame...to cut the ties.

### (b) Vowels

Macedonian has five vowels, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/. Phonological integration involves the informant allocating the Australian English vowels to the closest Macedonian vowel. The indeterminate vowel /ə/ is integrated as /a/ when in the final position, as /e/ when it is in a penultimate position but followed by a consonant (which is in the final position). In two examples, however, the indeterminate vowel is integrated as /i/ and /u/ as well, but that may be under the influence of the written form of the English words "bonus" and "barrister" respectively. The following vowels and diphthongs from English were phonologically integrated into Macedonian vowels as follows:

#### Vowels integrated as /a/

- / æ / **/aksiden, ambulenc**, based on English: /æ ksədənt/, /æ mbjuləns/.
- / eɪ / **/eroplan**, based on English: /ɛəropleɪn/.
- / ʌ / **/ač, bekjat, babakju**, based on English: /atʃ/, /bækjat/, /babəkju/.
- / ə / **/barista, blinka, Britan, badžet, bilda, gata**, based on English: /bɛrəstə/, /blɪnkə/bɪtən/, /bʌdʒət/, /bɪldə/, /gʌtə/.
- / ʌ / **/bas, lanč**, based on English: /bʌs/, /lʌntʃ/.

#### Vowels integrated as /e/

- / ə / **/eksiden, badžet, kabec**, based on English: /æksədənt/, /bədʒət/, /kəbɛts/.
- / ɛə / **/eroplan, erkondišon**, based on English: /ɛəropleɪn/, /ɛə-kəndɪʃən/.
- / æ / **/bekjat, kerec, dem, fen**, based on English: /bækjad/, /kɛrɛts/.

/ ɛ /čək, cent, based on English: /tʃɛk/, /sɛnt/.

#### Vowels integrated as /o/

/ ɔ /okšion, folt, londri, moglič, based on English: /ɔ kʃən/, /fɔlt/, /lɔndri/,  
/mɔ gə dʒ/.

/ ɒ /blɒk, bɒs, bɒksa, based on English: /blɒk/, /bɒs/, /bɒksa/.

/ ɒʊ /bɒnus, dɒl, based on English: /boʊnəs/, /dɒvl/.

/ ɔ /Krismɔs, based on English: /Krɪsməs/.

#### Vowels integrated as /i/

/ ɪ /sekiriti, based on English: /sɛkjurətɪ/.

/ ɪ /Britan, bilda, bildin, friza, blinka, based on English: /brɪtən/,  
/bɪldə/, /bɪldɪn/, /frɪdʒ/, /blɪnkə/.

/ ɪ /bič, based on English: /bɪtʃ/.

/ ɔ /barista, based on English: /bæ rɪ stə/.

#### Vowels integrated as /u/

/ ʊ /babakju, butsi, but, fruta, ekskjus, džus, based on English:  
/bʌbəkju/, /buts/, /but/, /frut/, /ɛkskjus/, /dʒus/.

/ ɔ /bonus, based on English: /boʊnəs/.

/ ʊ /buk, bučarnica, džuri, based on English: /bʊk/, /bʊtʃə/, /dʒʊrɪ/.

The commonly occurring diphthongs which occurred in the corpus are integrated by being replaced with a pure vowel combined with a glide, as follows:

/ai / is integrated as /aj/

**slajs**

**pajnapl**

**pajpa**

**majla**

**majkrovej**

**lajt**

**ajskrim**

**ajskul**

**grajnda**

**brajzmerka**

**klajent**

/ei / is integrated as /aj/ and /ej/

**Lajba**

**brdaj**

**pejdej**

**sikpej**

**imigrajšon**

/ oɪ / is integrated as /oi/

**pojntoi**

### **(c) Consonants**

There are no Macedonian consonant equivalents for the English /ð/, /θ/, /ŋ/ and /w/.

Accordingly, it is interesting to note how the transfers which contain these consonants are phonologically integrated:

/θ/ (unvoiced)

In the example, **tenkju** based on thank you, the sound /t/ replaces /θ/. In the case of the transfer of "Commonwealth", the /θ/ sound is eliminated altogether, **komonvel**.

/ð/ (voiced)

The transfers based on "that's all" is **decol**, and that based on "that's it", **decit** and **ecit**, show that /ð/ is rendered /d/. In one of the alternatives of "that's all", it is eliminated altogether as in **ecit**.

/ŋ/

This becomes /n/ as in the examples **bildin** and **kempin**.

/w/

This becomes /v/ as in the examples **voljunit komonvel** and **vodžes**. In the case of shower, the sound /w/ is pronounced in **šaoa**.

#### (d) Voiced consonants in final position

In standard Macedonian and the dialects spoken by the informants, a voiced consonant in the final position, is pronounced as an unvoiced consonant: for example, the standard Macedonian word "mraz" is pronounced /mras/. The consonant is

pronounced as a voiced consonant when the word takes a suffix for the plural or the definite form /mrazot/.

With only one exception, the same rule applies where there are transfers in the corpus with a voiced consonant in the final position:

<b>amos</b>	<b>amozī</b>	armholes
<b>bekjat</b>	<b>bekjado</b>	backyard
<b>kebič</b>	<b>kebidžo</b>	cabbage
<b>pap</b>	<b>pabot</b>	pub
<b>bek</b>	<b>begot</b>	bag
<b>njus</b>	<b>njuzot</b>	news

The one exception to this is **nojz** which is pronounced as in the English model with a voiced final consonant. The transfer was only encountered once and so it is not possible to discover whether other informants use the same form or not.

#### **(e) Consonantal clusters**

Consonantal clusters which are not common in Macedonian undergo phonological integration resulting in the simplification into phones which sound natural to the speaker. In the first instance, the process of simplification of consonantal combinations is considered; then the interesting case of the role of the dialect in the treatment of the consonant cluster /sr/.

**(f) Simplification of consonantal clusters**

- (i) The English model has a long vowel followed by a consonant in the final position:

transport - **transpor**

microwave - **majkrovej**

- (ii) The English model ends in a cluster of consonants but the transfer is altered:

The final consonants "-ng" in the English model is simplified to /n/ in the transfer after phonological integration:

building - **bildin**

camping - **kempin**

The final consonants/nt/, /nts/ and /ns/ in the English model are simplified to /n/ in the transfer after phonological integration:

accident      **eksiden**

present      **prezen**

experience      **ekspirion**

However, there are a number of transfers with consonantal clusters which do not undergo such phonological integration in the corpus:

fence      **fens**

dance      **dens**

ambulance      **ambulens**

insurance      **išurans**

sink

**sink**The phonological integration of /ft/ to /f/ and /θ/ to /l/

shift - **šif** (Note that this transfer also has the feminine form **šif~~ta~~** which ends in a vowel)

Commonwealth - **komonvel**

In relation to certain transfers in which the English model ends in a consonant combination, the informant avoids pronouncing the unusual consonant combination as the final sounds in the word by adding a vowel to make it easier to pronounce or sound more plausibly Macedonian to the informant. It may be that the transfers are affected by identification with possible Macedonian equivalents and this will be considered below.

**šif~~ta~~** (and also as **šif**) based on shift. In relation to this transfer, it may be that the some influence is exercised by other Macedonian words incorporating the consonantal combination of /ft/ such as **nafta**, leading to a feminine gender

**boksa** based on box

**čansa** based on chance

**friza** based on fridge

There are other transfers which are based on a monosyllabic English model but do not end in a combination of consonants and yet the transfer has added to it a vowel to make it in a feminine phonic shape.



**fruta** based on fruit

**olza** based on hose

**mapa** based on mop

**centa** based on cent

It is not clear why these transfers are treated this way when a large number of other monosyllabic transfers are transferred as monosyllabic transfers:

**ač, blok, buk, bos, bas, dem, dens, dril, dol, drink, fens, flor, fren, džus, džek, njus, pap, ruf, rum, tren and trak.**

#### **(g) Influence of dialect on 'sr' combination**

In the dialect spoken by the informants, where there is a consonant cluster of /sr/, the consonant /t/ is inserted, accordingly, the standard **sreka** is pronounced **streka**; **srede** is pronounced **strede** and so on.

In the transfer of **rumpus room**, rendered as a single word, the same situation results: **rampastrum**.

#### **(h) loss of /h/ in initial position**

In the central Western dialects spoken by the informants for this study, /h/ is rarely used. Accordingly, there are a number of transfers where the /h/ is lost in the initial position:

**olidej**            holiday

**emburga**      hamburger. Note there is also an alternative form of this transfer which does include the /h/ in the initial position.

**olza**          hose

**ajskul**        high school

But in relation to the transfer **hita**, the /h/ is retained.

### 4.8.3 Morphological integration

Morphological integration means adaptation of a transfer to the grammatical rules of the recipient language. The morphological integration can be **functional**, allocating the transfer to the categories of the recipient language, or it can be **formal** in which morphemes of the recipient language are allocated to the transfer.

#### (a) functional morphological integration

Generally in the corpus, transfers retained class membership. Accordingly, nouns are transferred as nouns. For example:

#### Nouns are transferred as nouns:

Ne pra i nojz

Don't make any noise.

Ništo ne se prodade na okšionot

Nothing sold at the auction

Verbs are transferred as verbs:

..tie ne 'i reprezentat lugeto	..they don't represent the people
..taka živeevme da sajvame pari	..that's how we lived so we could save money
zna'eš se filame deka e naša nacija	you know, we feel it's our nation

Adjectives are transferred as adjectives:

Kako si? Gud sum	How are you? I'm good
------------------	-----------------------

There is a single example in the corpus where this does not occur. One of the adult informants said "Mi napra i **polodžajs**, i sega pak sme freno i". In this instance, the model for the transfer seems to be the English verb "apologise" but the transfer is in the form of a noun, based on "make an apology".

The situation with the adjective safe, **sajfti** appears to be a similar example of functional morphological integration but it is not. Rather, it is based on the use of the noun as an adjective as in the examples "safety glasses".

**(b) formal morphological integration**

The formal morphological integration of a noun transfer can be detected in Macedonian in the following instances:

1. Gender. In English nouns only have natural gender. Words such as mother and

actress can be said to be feminine; bull and stallion, masculine; animal, cattle common and photography, moon, neuter. English nouns do not have grammatical gender as does Macedonian. In Macedonian there are groups of nouns with certain grammatical features (endings) which are allocated to masculine, feminine and neuter genders.

Accordingly, when a transfer is used by a bilingual, it usually has allocated to it a morpheme indicating that the speaker has determined its gender as one of the available Macedonian noun genders: masculine, feminine or neuter.

2. Number. Nouns in both Macedonian and English have number but the manner in which that is indicated differs. In Macedonian, the morpheme used to indicate number depends on the gender of the noun.

#### 4.8.3.1 Gender of noun transfers

Apart from the proper noun transfers such as *stilvork*, *Bonz* and the months of the year, which, appropriately, were not allocated any gender, the informants allocated the nouns to one of masculine, feminine or neuter gender.

The gender can be allocated to the transfers in accordance with one of the methods set out below:

- (a) In accordance with the Macedonian grammar rules, that is in accordance with the

phonic shape of the noun.

In Macedonian, with some exceptions, a noun ending in a consonant generally takes a masculine gender, a noun ending in “-a” takes a feminine gender and a noun ending in a vowel other than “-a” takes neuter. As there are exceptions, the gender allocated by the informant is detected in the adjective which qualifies the noun, and the pronoun.

Nouns of masculine gender include:

<u>noun, definite form</u>	<u>noun with adjective or pronoun (where encountered)</u>	<u>English model</u>
<b>eroplan, eroplanot</b>	<b>eroplanot mu go..</b>	aeroplane
<b>bič, bičot</b>	<b>ubav bič</b>	beach
<b>buk, bukot</b>	<b>celiot buk</b>	book
<b>ček, ček</b>	<b>go..čekot</b>	cheque
<b>kar, karot</b>	<b>našiot kar</b>	car
<b>folt, foltot</b>	<b>mojot folt</b>	fault
<b>ambulant, ambulanto</b>		First aid centre. Note that while this is similar in form to the standard Macedonian term <b>ambulanta</b> is feminine in gender and the transfer is masculine.

Nouns of feminine gender include:

<b>blinka, blinkata</b>	<b>ja.. blinkata</b>	blinker
<b>pleža</b>	<b>moja pleža</b>	pleasure

<b>zipa, zipata</b>	<b>ja..zipata</b>	zipper
<b>šliperka, šliperkata</b>	<b>ja..šliperkata</b>	thongs
<b>teksa, teksata</b>	<b>ja.. teksata</b>	tax; also, taxi
<b>šaoa, šaoata</b>	<b>ja...šaoata</b>	shower

Nouns of neuter gender include:

<b>patio, patiototo</b>	<b>našeto patio</b>	patio
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In the case of the transfer **babakju**, the definite form used by the informant is **babakjute**. There was a single barbeque unit under discussion but the definite form chosen was a neuter plural. This is the manner in which the informant dealt with a noun ending in the sound /u/ which, except in the case of transfers, are not known in Macedonian. It may be that the allocation of the gender is influenced by the standard Macedonian word **intervju** which, in the definite form is neuter **intervjuto**.

In the speech sample for this study, of the 224 nouns, 63% were masculine, 22% feminine and 6% neuter. The balance of nouns were proper nouns or nouns for which there was no gender allocated.

It is likely that the large number of masculine nouns can be explained by the fact that the English models on which the transfers are based end in a consonant and this leads to a masculine gender, where the informant bases the determination of gender on the phonic shape of the noun.

None of such transfers are transferred in the neutral gender.

The phonic shape factor, based on the form of the transfer, was the main factor used by speakers in the determination of the gender of the nouns. However, where any of the other factors are present, those factors dominate and override the phonic shape factor.

2. The natural sex of the person being described can play a role in the allocation of gender.

An example of this factor in operation can be seen in the case of **bas'drajva** which, according to the phonic shape factor may take a feminine gender. Instead, the definite form is **basdrajverot**. In standard Macedonian, where a noun refers to a living thing which has a natural masculine sex, the noun which refers to it may have an apparently feminine phonic shape, in that it ends in "-a". Such is the case, with **sudija**. In the definite form, this noun is **sudijata**, still an apparently grammatically feminine form. The adjectives and pronouns used to refer to these nouns are however masculine. However, with **basdrajva**, the informant created a definite form (**basdrajverot**) which has a masculine ending, that is, a consonant. It was in fact a male bus driver that was under discussion. The same can be seen with **bilda** and **bilderot**.

In the case of **krenčajsa**, **krenčajsata** (crane chaser) the natural sex of the person under discussion is male but the phonic shape of the noun suggests that the grammatical gender is feminine. The transfer was not used with an adjective, so that it is not clear what gender the informant would allocate to it.

**glfrenka** (girlfriend) is transferred from an English model ending in a consonant to a transfer in a form which has the suffix "-ka" added to it to make it of the feminine gender.



3. A semantic association with a word in the recipient language can affect the gender taken by the noun. This occurs where the bilingual speaker associates in his or her mind the meaning of an Australian English word with a native word, such that the semantic association causes the determination of the gender as well.

In the speech sample, the operation of this factor was observed with the transfer **stori**. According to the ending, it should be allocated to the neuter gender. Rather, in the sentence in which the adult bilingual used it, it was allocated the feminine gender: **Kolku pati ja ima kažvano taa stori...** which may be explained by the gender of the native equivalent, **prikazna**.

With the transfer **pajpa** (pipe), there may be an association with the Macedonian equivalent **cevka** which is feminine. The phonic shape would also lead to a feminine gender.

**šifta** based on shift may be influenced by the feminine gender of the Macedonian equivalent **smena**

**boksa** based on box which may be influenced by the feminine gender of the possible Macedonian equivalent **kutija**

**čansa** based on chance may be influenced by the feminine gender of the possible Macedonian equivalent **šansa**

**mapa** based on mop may be influenced by the feminine gender of a possible

### Macedonian dialectal equivalent **pajalka**

The gender of a noun to be used in the sentence must be determined early because the relevant pronoun which precedes the noun must indicate the gender of that noun, or in cases of reduplication of the object.

This factor can override a preference for another gender.

The situation with the transfer of shift is worthy of comment. Used alone **šifta**, takes a feminine form. Used in conjunction with day, night or afternoon, the form is masculine, - **šif** as in **dejšif**; **aftenumšif**; **najšif** day shift, afternoon shift, night shift. The steel works runs on three shifts, day afternoon and night, and when referring to these shifts, the forms incorporating the 'shift' are masculine. In standard Macedonian, the word is feminine, **smena**. It may be that the gender of the Macedonian equivalent plays a role in the gender of the transfer.

However, in the combination with the adjective of day, afternoon and night, the masculine gender applies and this is perhaps because the phonic shape of the transfer, ending in a consonant, plays a more important role than an association with a Macedonian word of similar meaning or similar sound.

4. A language may show a preference for one gender over others, so, for example, Bettoni states that in Italian, the preference is for the masculine gender (Bettoni 1981:66).

In this study, it is found that the masculine gender was preferred. It is most likely that this results from the fact that the English models for the transfer generally end in a consonant and the phonic shape is the strongest factor in determining gender.

5. The transfer nouns can take suffixes from standard Macedonian to form pejorative, diminutive or augmentative forms. The gender of the transfer to which the suffix is added will change in accordance with the gender of the added suffix:

<u>transfer</u>	<u>definite form</u>	<u>diminutive form</u>	<u>definite form</u>
<b>kar</b>	<b>karot</b>	<b>karče</b>	<b>karčeto</b>
(augmentative form:			
		<b>karište</b>	<b>karišteto</b>
<b>keksa</b>	<b>keksata</b>	<b>kekse</b>	<b>kekseto</b>
<b>blok</b>	<b>blokot</b>	<b>blokče</b>	<b>blokčeto</b>
<b>brajzmer</b>	<b>brajzmerot</b>	<b>brajzmerče</b>	<b>brajzmerčeto</b>
<b>ajskrim</b>	<b>ajskrimot</b>	<b>ajskrimče</b>	<b>ajskrimčeto</b>
<b>prezen</b>	<b>prezentot</b>	<b>prezenče</b>	<b>prezenčeto</b>
<b>boksa</b>	<b>boksata</b>	<b>bokse</b>	<b>bokseto</b>
<b>šop</b>	<b>šopot</b>	<b>šopče</b>	<b>šopčeto</b>
<b>trak</b>	<b>trakot</b>	<b>trakče</b>	<b>trakče</b>

Productive suffixes can also be added to transfers to create a noun describing a trade or occupation. Again, the gender is allocated according to the phonic shape of the suffix and

not by the transfer which forms the base of the word:

<u>transfer</u>	<u>definite form</u>	<u>with suffix</u>	<u>definite form</u>
<b>drink</b>	<b>drinkot</b>	<b>drinkar</b>	<b>drinkaro</b>
<b>renta</b>	<b>rentata</b>	<b>rentadžija</b>	<b>rentadžijata</b>

**Drinkaro** is similar to the Macedonian dialectal **lebaro** (the standard form is **lebarot**).

The transfer **rentadžija** is an alternative for the Macedonian **kiradžija**, meaning a person who rents or a tenant. The productive suffix is a transfer from Turkish which is now used to create another transfer, this time with a root based on an English model.

#### 4.8.3.2 Number of Noun Transfers

Both English and Macedonian have grammatical number. The various forms of plural in standard Macedonian are set out below. In relation to English, subject to exceptions, the plural is generally formed by the addition of "-s" and "-es".

It is an observation of this study that the Macedonian rules for allocation of a number apply to the transfers. In the following, each type of noun and the standard or dialect plural form rules are considered.

Plural of masculine nouns in "-i" or "-ovi"

In standard Macedonian, the monosyllabic masculine noun predominantly forms a plural by the addition of the suffix "-ovi". In the dialects spoken by the informants, the suffix is in the form of "-oi". The following transfers comply with this pattern:

**fens** in plural is **fenso'i**

**dem** in plural is **demoi**

**ruf** in plural is **rufoi**

**blok** in plural is **blokoi**

Other masculine nouns in the plural form end in "-i"

**eroplan** in plural is **eroplani**

**badžet** in plural is **badžeti**

**bildin** in plural is **bildinzi**

**prezen** in plural is **prezenti**

In relation to the last transfer, the consonantal cluster /nt/ reappears in the plural notwithstanding that in the singular, the consonantal cluster was simplified.

In relation to the transfer **bildin**, the consonantal cluster also reappears to form the plural.

As discussed below, the /g/ ending alternates with a plural in /z/.

Plural of feminine nouns in "-i"

In standard Macedonian, the plural of feminine nouns is in "-i". The following transfers indicate this operates fully in the process of integration:

**zipa** in plural is **zipi**

**brazzmerka** in plural is **brazzmerki**

**fruta** in plural is **fruti**

**štifa** in plural is **štofi**

Neuter nouns in "-e", plural in "-a", ending in "-o" plural in "-a" and ending in "-e" plural in "-inja" or the dialect form "-ija"

**vidio** in plural is **vidia**

**karče** in plural is **karčinja**.

Plural of transfer ending in "-k" and "-g"

In the instance of a masculine noun ending in in "-k" or "-g", there is a morphophonemic alternation k:c, g:z with the plural. For example, in standard Macedonian **maznik**, **maznici** and **bubreg**, **bubrezi**.

The transfers include the following plural forms:

**piknik** in plural is **piknici**.

**bildin** in plural is **bildinzi**

**šopin** in plural is **šopinzi**

English plural indicator retained in the transfer plural form

In a small number of transfers, the English plural indicator “-s” is incorporated into the transfer before the Macedonian plural morpheme is added. In a situation such as this, the English morpheme “-s” loses its grammatical function:

**buci** (boots)

This transfer is based on an English model that is already plural but the Macedonian morpheme is added but the English plural indicator “-s” is retained.

The same occurs with **čipsi**, the plural transfer of chips; the plural indicator from English is retained.

**trabolsi** (troubles)

In this case, the singular form of this transfer is also encountered **trabol** which can be distinguished from **buci** where there is no singular form for ‘boot’.

**amos, amози** (armholes)

The single form of the transfer is based on the plural English model ‘armholes’ but then the transfer is given a plural transfer form **amози**,

which retains the English plural.

**voljunit, voljunici** (wall units)

and **junit junici** (units)

Unlike the examples above, the single form of the transfer is based on the singular form of the English model but in the formation of the plural, the plural form of the English model is the basis for the transfer.

#### Phonic shape is significant

It seems that the phonic shape of the noun which was significant in the allocation of gender to a transfer is also important in relation to plurals. So much so that with two of the transfers, notwithstanding the fact that the objects under discussion were single items, the plural form of the definite article was given by the informant:

**skivi** (skivvy)      the form ends in "-i" and is treated as a plural in the allocation of the definite form **skivite**

**babakju** (BBQ)

the form ends in "-u" and is also treated as a plural,

**babakjute**

#### **4.8.4 Formal Morphological Integration of Verbs**

The verbs which appear as transfers in the speech sample are integrated according to



Macedonian grammar. There are few unintegrated verbs in the speech sample, outside the context of the multiple transference which includes stretches of unintegrated English.

### Unintegrated verbs

The only instances where unintegrated verbs occur, is the imperative form, especially in so called English prepositional verbs:

**šadap** (shut up)

**kamon** (come on)

**ariap** (hurry up)

### Integrated verbs

In Macedonian, verbs can fall into one of three main groups according to the conjugation. The groups are determined according to the third person singular endings in "-a", "-i" or "-e". In the corpus, except for the imperative forms referred to above, all of the verb transfers were integrated. It appears to be necessary for a verb transfer to be integrated because other parts of the sentence alter depending on the information provided by the verb as to person, number, tense and mood.

In the speech sample in this study, out of the total verbs, 31% were Macedonian verbs which involved semantic transference; 60% were in the group "-a", (1% with the suffix "-uva" and 7% with the suffix "-ira"). No transfers were allocated to the "-i" or "-e" groups.

Examples of the verbs in the "-a" conjugation are:

<b>bipa</b>	beep
<b>bida</b>	bid
<b>blajma</b>	blame
<b>čadža</b>	charge
<b>krosa</b>	cross
<b>promisa</b>	promise
<b>ringa</b>	ring
<b>sajva</b>	save

The example with the "-uva" suffix:

<b>pentuva</b>	paint (artistic)
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This verb had another version, **penta**, which was used in relation to house painting. As each was only used once, it is not clear whether there was any stable distinction between these two versions.

Examples with the "-ira" suffix were:

<b>šopira</b>	shop (there was also another version for this verb, <b>šopva</b> )
<b>adoptira</b>	adopt
<b>čekira</b>	check

In relation to one transfer, there is also the prefix "is-" (and the allomorph form "-iz") which indicates a further level of integration. The verb is based on the English model 'mop', **mapa**. Along the model of the Macedonian verb **isčisti**, the transfer becomes **izmapa**.

The verb based on the English model 'feel' is **filame** or **se filame**. In the Macedonian language, a likely equivalent is **se čuvstvuva**, that is, a reflexive verb. In the corpus, the verb occurred in both the reflexive form and the non-reflexive form.

In regard to their aspect, the verbs predominantly integrated as imperfective verbs, but such forms were used both as imperfective and perfective:

**krosa**            was crossing

**krosa**            crossed

An exception to this was the verb transfer **izmapa**, being a perfective form created with the suffix "iz-".

### Variety in manner of Integration

It is an observation of this study that the transfers encountered in the corpus are not stable forms such that there is wide use of them in the bilingual community. The situation is highlighted by the existence of separate versions of certain transfers.

There is some variation in the manner in which the verbs are transferred. For example, the verb **šopvam** appears also as **šopiram**. In this case, the integration of the verb is in two different forms, **šopvam** being a more integrated version. The ending "-ira" in verbs is used in relation to borrowed verbs in Macedonian such as **nervira** and **servira**. Accordingly, this form is integrated with two endings, one of which suggests that it is a foreign word, transferred into Macedonian, and the other being native. **šopiram** is also related to the verbal noun **šopiranje**.

Another example of this is **komplajna** which also occurs in the form **komplajva**. It may be that the latter form is an abbreviated version of **komplajnuva**; no other explanation is obvious.

#### 4.8.5 Formal Morphological Integration of Adjectives and Adverbs

In the speech sample, only 8% of the transfers were adjectives and only 1% of the total transfers were adverbs. The adjectives transferred in this sample were generally morphologically unintegrated but they were phonologically integrated.

##### Adverbs

The adverbs encountered in the study were used only once in the corpus. The adverbs were also morphologically unintegrated:

**redi**                      (ready)                      Ajde, **redi** si?

**izi** (easy) Ovaa keksa možiš **izi** da ja napraiš.

**pro 'fek** (perfectly) Znam engleski **pro 'fek** da zborvam. In this case, the stress in the transfer is different to that in the Macedonian stress system and also different to the English model. It may be that the stress is shifted on this adverb to give it emphasis.

### Adjectives

In Macedonian the adjective varies according to gender in the singular and the plural is the same for all genders. The article is attached to the adjective in a noun phrase. The adjectives in the corpus did not take gender of the nouns they qualified and there were no definite forms. By contrast with verbs, the adjective is not central to the sentence in that the sentence can still make sense even if the adjective is in an unintegrated form. This resembles the grammatical functioning of Turkish loanwords in Macedonian - **azgan muž, azgan žena** or the transfer **fer muž, fer žena**.

It may be that the informants do not integrate the adjectives as another form of speech economy; so that as it is not necessary to integrate it, it remains unintegrated.

The adjective transfers in the corpus include the following:

**lejzi** lazy

**spe** spare

**diferen** different

#### 4.8.6 Formal Morphological Integration of Exclamations and Australian phrases

There are a number of interjections and phrases commonly used in Australian English which are used in the corpus:

**o'rajt**                      all right

**majt**                      mate

**so vot**                      so what

The commonly heard toast "all for the best" is used widely as **ol za bes**. it is clear that there is phonological integration of the phrase but there is no morphological integration. The same is the case with the commonly used phrases: **bik dil** (big deal); **na spešol** (on special); **decol** (that's all); **decit, ecit** (that's it); **ju no** (you know); **vejst ov mani** (waste of money).

In relation to exclamations and particles, the transfers are phonologically integrated but, again, not morphologically integrated:

**majt** (mate)

**okaj** (okay)

**jes** (yes)

**je** (yeah)

Particular mention should be made of the commonly used greeting on leaving; **tara**. Long after the expression "ta-ta" stopped being commonly used in Australian English, it

remains as the most commonly used leaving greeting in the Macedonian community.

#### **4.8.7 Formal Morphological Integration of Pronouns**

In this study there were no pronouns, except for those which occurred in the instances of multiple transference. There was one instance of semantic transference in the use of a Macedonian pronoun: **celi** was used to mean "all" or **site**,

Bukvite gi znam **celi**

There were pronouns which occurred as a part of the phrases referred to in 4.8.6 above and that is the only context in which they occurred :

(all right) **orajt** - incorporates the universal pronoun. This is also the case with (all for the best) ol **za bes** and (that's all) **decol**.

There is a third person singular neuter pronoun in **ecit**, **decit** (that's it).

#### **4.9 Semantic transference**

Transference of the meaning without a transfer of the form of a word is referred to as semantic transference. As discussed in chapter 5, only the child bilinguals use semantic transference.

### Verbs given additional meanings

In this case, the bilingual gives additional meanings to Macedonian words which are, in some sense, equivalent to the English word which do have the additional meanings. It involves the bilingual analysing the various meanings of an English word and allocating those meanings to a Macedonian word which does not have those meanings.

Consider the following verbs:

<u>Transfer</u>	<u>Possible Standard Macedonian alternative</u>
<u>be</u> a particular age: Toj e 30 godini.	Imam 30 ..
<u>give</u> dava spič (give a speech)	govori/ drži govor
<u>make</u> prai decision	rešava
prai krevet (make the bed)	mesti krevet
<u>hit</u> udriš strit (hit the street)	izleze (na)

### Australian Expressions recompounded in Macedonian

Elements of Australian expressions are analysed by the speaker and recompounded into Macedonian notwithstanding that the Macedonian words in such a combination, do not have the meaning which the equivalent words in such a combination have in English:

Drive straight until you hit Wentworth Street - Vozi pravo duri da go udriš Wentworth Street. Hit is equivalent to udri in certain contexts but does not have the meaning given



to it in the example, that it means to reach the street.

They keep to themselves - site sami se čuvati. In this case, the Macedonian equivalent of keep is given an additional meaning, as in the example.

BB is running for Prime Minister - BB trča za Prajministra. The Macedonian verb trča does not include the meaning that the English equivalent has of being a candidate in an election.

In these times, we have to stick together - vo ovie vremenja, treba da se zalepime zaedno. The English verb has the additional meaning of banding together, but the Macedonian equivalent means to adhere and does not also mean to band together.

The semantic transference occurs where the informant tries to expand his or her vocabulary by endowing the Macedonian words he or she knows with additional meanings. Those additional meanings are based on the meanings that the equivalent word has in English.

#### Semantic transference differentiates meanings

An example of semantic transference in which the meanings of words are differentiated is **peralna** and **londri**. Both words refer to a laundry but the former is used in relation

to the domestic laundry while the latter is used in relation to the commercial laundry where a large number of Macedonian women worked in the 1970s and 1980s in Port Kembla.

## **5.0 Description of Questionnaire Informants - Comparison between adult and child bilinguals**

The first 500 words of the transcribed speech recorded in response to the questionnaire were examined for transfers. For the purposes of comparison, the transfers were listed in three categories: nouns, verbs and adjectives. There were too few transfers in the other classes to be considered.

Counting the words in the samples revealed that the adult bilinguals were more talkative than most of the child bilinguals. This may be because the adult bilinguals felt more comfortable in Macedonian. Alternatively, perhaps the child bilinguals were more cautious of their speech because they appeared to understand more clearly that the study they agreed to participate in was focussing on their language, in respect of which all except sgmb stated they felt could be improved. Of course, it was explained to all informants what the aim of tape recording the speech was. However, while the child bilinguals were cautious about their speech, it seemed that the adult bilinguals were bemused by a study of their speech because it was not "kako šo treba" (as it should be) but "mešano" (mixed) or "turski" (Turkish-style, referring to the imperfect manner in which the Ottoman Turks spoke Macedonian, or to unintelligibility).

In this section, in the first instance, the comparison is made looking at the transfers which occurred excluding the unintegrated transfers from consideration. On this basis, in the speech of the adult bilinguals, there is a greater number of integrated transfers than in that of the child bilinguals.

Table 1 below sets out the results. In the table, the number of proper nouns, constituting part of the total nouns, is set out in brackets next to the noun result for each speaker.

Table I - Transference <u>excluding</u> unintegrated transfers and multiple transference				
	Adult bilinguals		Child bilinguals	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Number of nouns (Proper nouns included in total and set out in brackets)				
A	7 - (2)	8 - (2)	1	4
B	15 - (1)	13 - (7)	3	10 - (3)
C	8 - (3)	13 - (5)	8 - (1)	15 - (2)
D	12 - (10)	10 - (4)	12 - (1)	2 - (1)
Total	42 - (16)	44 - (18)	24 - (2)	31 - (6)
	86 - (34)		55 - (8)	
Number of verbs				
A	0	0	1	0
B	2	0	1	0
C	2	0	3	3
D	0	0	4	0
Total	4	0	9	3
	4		12	
Number of adjectives				
A	1	2	0	2
B	2	2	2	0
C	1	0	0	3
D	3	2	2	0
Total	7	6	4	5
	13		9	

In the adult bilingual sample there were 103 transfers. In the corresponding sample of the child bilinguals, there were 76 transfers.

83.4% of the adult bilingual transfers were nouns; 72.4% of the child bilingual transfers were nouns. Of the total noun transfers, 39.5% of the transfers used by the adults were proper nouns whereas only 14.5% of the noun total in the child bilingual sample comprised proper nouns.

The following table shows the percentage that each of noun, verb and adjectives form of the total transference and also the percentage that the proper nouns form of the total transference and of the total nouns:

**Table 2**

	Adult bilingual		Child bilingual	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Nouns of total transference	81%	75%	74%	62%
Proper nouns of total transference	33%	29%	14%	5%
Proper nouns of total nouns	41%	38%	19%	8%
Verbs of total transference	0%	7%	7%	23%
Adjectives of total transference	14%	12%	7%	5%

Proper nouns form a larger proportion of the total transference in relation to the adult bilinguals than is the case with child bilinguals. Proper nouns used by the adult bilinguals also form a larger proportion of the total noun transfers in the speech of the adult bilinguals than is the case with child bilinguals.

The adult bilinguals used proper nouns in relation to place names:

<b>Astralija</b>	Australia
<b>Singapo</b>	Singapore
<b>Meon Varigal</b>	Mount Warrigal
<b>Njuteon</b>	Newtown
<b>Varavon</b>	Warrawong
<b>Sitnej</b>	Sydney
<b>Por-Kembla</b>	Port Kembla
<b>Ilavara</b>	Illawarra
<b>Melbur</b>	Melbourne
<b>Kanbera</b>	Canberra
<b>Ok-flec</b>	Oak Flats

Port Kembla becomes an accentual unit with movement (shift) of the stress as does Oak Flats. Mount Warrigal also forms an accentual unit but there is no shift of the stress.

Among the proper nouns used by the adult bilinguals, there were also references to the names of places of work:

<b>Bonz</b>	<b>Bonds</b>
<b>Mašin-šop</b>	<b>Machine Shop</b>
<b>Vota Prodakšon</b>	<b>Water Production</b>

Other proper nouns related to political matters, government and related institutions:

<b>Komonvel</b>	<b>Commonwealth</b>
<b>Lajba Pati</b>	<b>Labor Party</b>
<b>Liberal</b>	<b>Liberal (Party)</b>
<b>Social Servis</b>	<b>Social service</b>

In relation to the Labor Party and Liberal (party), by contrast with the approach of standard Macedonian, the informants do not give the definite form of the adjective, indicating that the transfer of the two words is done on an unanalysed basis, the names are transferred as though they constitute one word or as though they are understood as a proper noun and not as a noun and adjective.

The transfer of Commonwealth is adapted by the loss of the final /θ/ sound. It is theoretically possible that the transfer could have altered the /θ/ sound to /t/ as is the case with other words containing or commencing with /θ/, for example, **tenkju** thank you.

There were some proper nouns used by the child bilinguals, as in the place names,

some of which were repeated:

<b>Britan</b>	Britain
<b>Vulongong</b>	Wollongong
<b>Por-kembla</b>	Port Kembla
<b>Astralija</b>	Australia

and places of work:

<b>Lajsats</b>	Lysaghts
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In relation to **Por-kembla**, which is pronounced by the child bilinguals as an accentual unit, it is possible that the name was learned from adult bilinguals as the pronunciation is the same as that of the adult bilinguals.

The greatest number of proper nouns used among the child bilingual informants was by sgmb, whose distinguishing feature when compared to the other child bilinguals, had completed his education in English to school certificate level only.

Excluding the proper nouns, the nouns used by the adult bilinguals can be divided by subject as follows:

(14 in number ) in relation to the Australian way of life

klab  
 kriket  
 rejsin kar  
 drink, drinko i  
 šop, šopo i  
 disko  
 strit  
 gardeno  
 kar, karče  
 olidej  
 karavana, karavanata  
 bič, bičot  
 strit

**tempiča**(7 in number) in relation to work

**ofis**  
**faktori**  
**operator**  
**industri**  
**šifta, šifti**  
**re 'port, re 'porti**  
**so 'listeri**

(2 in number) in relation to government

**pala 'mento**  
**gav 'ramento**

(7 in number) in relation to other

**skripča**  
**kindegar**  
**buk**  
**pleža**  
**čens**  
**mis 'tajk**

On arrival to Australia, the migrants faced a new culture, new types of jobs to those they were accustomed to and also a new government system. Accordingly, the words relating to these new things would expected to be significant in the transference used by the adult bilinguals.

In the category of "other", three describe abstract concepts: **pleža**, **čens** and **mis 'tajk**. The number of transfers which relate to intangible concepts are small. It is expected that where the adult bilingual encounters new objects, the English words associated with those objects would be likely to be transferred, especially where the bilingual considers that the Macedonian word does not properly describe the new object.



In respect of **skripča**, the informant was describing the scripture classes that she taught in a local high school, as a part of the high school curriculum. While there may be Macedonian words which can describe these classes, there is no exact equivalent in Macedonian schools for such classes. Accordingly, the informant uses the transfer instead because the scripture class is peculiarly local.

In relation to **kindegar** and **buk**, there are commonly used Macedonian equivalents. The adult bilinguals use the transfers instead. One can only speculate at the possible reasons for this. Perhaps the informant wishes to indicate that they know the English language so much so that the transfer comes to their mind rather than the Macedonian word. Alternatively, by using the transfer they may be indicating that the particular transfers have such a wide currency in the bilingual community that the transfers are used instead of the Macedonian word. Lastly, it may be that the transfer is used because the Macedonian word has been forgotten.

In relation to the child bilinguals, the nouns (other than proper nouns) can be divided into the following categories:

(8 in number) in relation to the Australian way of life

**piknik**  
**bič, bičot**  
**klab**  
**kar, karot**  
**kampin**  
**parti**  
**e'robiks**  
**olidej**

(8 in number) in relation to work

kom 'pjuta  
 biznis  
 koses  
 market  
 klajent  
 fajmens

(4 in number) in relation to government

defisit, defisitot  
 det, detot  
 anem 'plojmen  
 gavamento

(12 in number) other

o(l)za  
 funkcii<sup>1</sup>  
 fudbol<sup>2</sup>  
 prezen  
 eroplan  
 heli 'kopter  
 renta  
 maga 'zin, maga 'zini  
 čansa  
 ri 'spekt  
 aj 'dija  
 fjuča, fjučata

The child bilinguals use fewer transfers relating to the Australian way of life. They have not experienced migration as the adult bilinguals have; those who were born in Macedonia, arrived in Australia as very small children. There was no new cultural environment with which they had to become accustomed. Further, **piknik, bičot, klab,**

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<sup>1</sup>This is a semantic transfer - the word exists in standard Macedonian but here it was used to mean a celebration event.

<sup>2</sup>Semantic transfer - the meaning given to the word here includes rugby and other codes of football; not just soccer, as in standard Macedonian.

**kar, kampin and olidej** were all used by the adult bilinguals, either in the sample used in this part of the study for comparison or elsewhere. It may be that these transfers have such a wide currency in the bilingual community that the child bilinguals use the transfers as a part of the variety of Macedonian with which they are familiar.

In relation to the noun transfer of the English word 'chance', in the adult bilingual group it was **čens** and in the child bilingual group it was **čansa**. By comparison, the standard Macedonian equivalent is **šansa**. The transfer used by the adult bilingual seems to have been modelled on the pronunciation in Australian English. By contrast, the child bilingual seems to have been modelled on the spelling of the English model but seems also to have been influenced by the standard Macedonian equivalent.

The child bilinguals used a larger number of transfers when speaking about the work that they do and describing work done by others in the Macedonian community. This may be explained by the fact that the child bilinguals were studying for or already employed in a wider variety of occupations than were the adult bilinguals. It is clear that in relation to work, the transference occurred because the Macedonian language spoken by the child bilinguals was inadequate to describe their occupations or study.

In the category of government, the question put to the informants was what, in their opinion was the greatest problem faced by the Australian government and what could be done to resolve it. In response to this question, there was greater discussion by the child bilinguals than by the adult bilinguals. This perhaps indicated that the child

bilinguals displayed a greater facility in discussing such issues or perhaps were more prepared to discuss the issues than were the adult bilinguals. In response to this question, the adult bilinguals, except for fgmc and fgmd, each responded that they did not know what the government should do about its problems. Fgma responded that he did not know about the government's affairs, the problems would be resolved by *golemite glai* (great minds).

In other studies, the number of transfers encountered in the speech of the adult bilinguals is lower than the transference in the speech of child bilinguals. The different result here is understandable when it is made clear that in this section the samples did not include any unintegrated transfers or multiple transference. The position is different when the unintegrated transfers are taken into account and table 2 sets out the results. Only the figures for the child bilinguals are shown because there were no unintegrated transfers in the sample of the adult bilinguals. The results for them are accordingly the same as in table 1 above.

**Table 2 -Transference in the speech of child bilinguals including unintegrated transfers**

<b>Child bilinguals</b>			
	<b>Total transfers</b>		<b>Total unintegrated transfers</b>
<b>Males</b>			
A	37	-	22
B	43	-	28
C	41	-	24
D	8	-	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>Females</b>			
A	40	-	12
B	186	-	72
C	41	-	17
D	29	-	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>118</b>

Table 3 sets out a comparison between the total transfers in the speech of the adults and the child bilinguals, including the unintegrated transfers:

**Table 3 - Total transfers - comparison between adult and child - unintegrated transfers included**

	Adult		Child	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Transfers	50	53	129	296

The child bilinguals use a larger number of transfers than the adult bilinguals when the unintegrated transfers are taken into account. The results are strongly affected by the results for sgfb who uses multiple transference in her speech and therefore has a far greater number of unintegrated transfers in her result. This informant will be considered separately below to try to identify the possible reasons for her use of multiple transference where other informants do not.

Apart from the nouns discussed above, the transfers encountered in the speech of the adult bilinguals included the following verbs:

<b>renta</b>	- rent
<b>štima</b>	- steam (vegetables)
<b>spenda</b>	- spend

Only two of the verbs used by the adult bilinguals, **renta** and **štima** may be said to related to the new environment encountered by the migrants in Australia. Until arrival, rent of accomodation was not familiar to the migrants but it became common for single migrants to rent accomodation in boarding houses. The person renting was known in English as a single boarder and referred to by the Macedonians as a **singal**

as an abbreviation. Although the **singal** was in fact paying board, because in most cases the migrant was provided with meals and laundry services, the verb that was used was **renta**.

Steaming vegetables was new to Macedonian cooking. It was easily described by referring to cooking **na parea** (in steam) but perhaps the transfer better indicates that not only is the word borrowed but that the word is borrowed because the cooking technique is also borrowed.

The verb **spenda** has a common Macedonian equivalents, **troši**. It seems unlikely that the Macedonian equivalents could be permanently forgotten by the informants. The possible reason for the use of the transfers could be because they want to indicate that they are familiar with English or alternatively because the transfers have a wide currency in the bilingual community and are commonly used to replace the Macedonian equivalents.

The verbs all fall into the "-a" group of verbs and this is consistent with the manner in which all verb transfers are integrated by all bilinguals. The verbs used by the adult bilinguals were integrated:

Za prazniko, site pari, se' šo imavme, se **spendaa** za prečekot (For the holiday, all the money, everything we had, was spent for the guests).

The verbs used by the child informants are also integrated and again, the "-a" group of verbs is used.

Nekojpat odam na bič, dali na kampin i **pentuvam**, sliki, prirodi (Sometimes I go to the beach , or camping, and I paint, pictures, landscapes).

This transfer uses the productive suffix "-uva" for imperfective verbs. The verb 'to paint' is also encountered elsewhere in the form **pentam**. It is not possible to establish whether there is intended to be a distinction between the two forms, for example that **pentuvam** (as used above) refers to an artist's work and **pentam** (as used elsewhere in the corpus) refers to house painting.

Trebat luge da se **džojnat** so drugi (People have to join with others)

Perhaps the transfer is used here instead of one possible Macedonian equivalent **združuva** because the transfer avoids a consonantal compound "zdr" which makes the word require more effort to pronounce than the English transfer.

Ke napravam kuči za investment i da gi **rentam** (I would build houses and then rent them out).

The verb as used here could be replaced by the Macedonian equivalent **dava pod naem** or the more commonly heard in the Illawarra **dava pod kirija**. However, the transfer has both the meaning of renting something to someone and renting something from someone. Accordingly, the transfer may be preferred by the informant because it replaces the larger number of words which would need to be used in Macedonian to say the same

..tie pari da gi klavat poeke vo biznis ili takvi raboti za da **emplojat** poeke luge (... they should put that money into business or things like that so that they can employ more people).

(Kralicata) ne ne' **reprezentat** nas ((the Queen) does not represent us).

In this case, the transfer may be preferred over the respective Macedonian equivalent because the informant may consider that the English equivalent is easier to say than **vrabotuva** or **pretstavuva** or perhaps because the English words are heard more frequently and relate to Australia, each replaces the Macedonian word in her mind.

Another possible reason is that the informant is accustomed to speaking about the issues in which the transfers arise in English rather than in Macedonian.

Treba da bidime sami, independent od Britan...posle.. **ke filame deka**  
e naša nacija (We have to be independent from Britain.. then.. we will  
feel that it is our nation).

It is clear that the standard Macedonian equivalent **se čuvstvuvame** (a high variety style) has not played a significant role in the integration of this instance of the transfer **filame**. Earlier, it appeared in a reflexive form, **se filame**. Here it is not. Again, the Macedonian equivalent that is not used contains a consonantal cluster "-vstv-" which involves more articulatory effort to produce than does the transfer.

The speech of the child bilinguals included examples of the **ima+** perfect form of the verb to a greater extent than would be expected in standard Macedonian. Some of the instances encountered:

**.. imav studirano...**  
**makedonskiot jazik e zborvan doma...**  
**po engleski pat imaat trgano**

The adult biliguals use the following adjectives (some of which were repeated):

<b>lejzi</b>	<b>lazy</b>
<b>spe, speto (vremeto)</b>	<b>spare</b>



**non-stop**  
**top (tempiča)**

**non-stop**  
**top (temperature)**

The adjectives are, except for **spe** morphologically unintegrated. Fgfd used the adjective **volonterski** to describe her work as a voluntary scripture teacher. This reveals an influence by English in that the Macedonian alternatives available to her are **dobrovolen**, **volonterski** and **so sakanje**. The adjective chosen is that closest to the English "voluntary" which is not the most common alternative used in standard Macedonian.

The adjective **speto** used by fgmb is integrated in so far as the adjective is given the definite form as is the case with the adjective in standard Macedonian. However, the noun which the adjective qualifies is also given the definite form which is not correct. In standard Macedonian, subject to certain exceptions, for example, in a noun phrase, the adjective takes the definite form while the noun does not.

The adjectives used by the child bilinguals were as follows:

**individualen**  
**aktiv** (used by female informant)  
**astralski**

**individual**  
**active**  
**Australian**

The adjective **aktiv** bears close resemblance to the standard Macedonian adjective **aktiven**, **aktivna**, and **aktivno** which is modelled on the English "active". However, notwithstanding the fact that the speaker was describing herself, the form used does not appear to have a feminine ending. In another part of the interview, this informant describes herself as **aktivna**. The reason for the previous version may be that the informant made a mistake. This is borne out by the other irregularities in the speech

of this informant. The following indicate a lack of noun and adjective agreement:

**eden nedela** instead of the correct **edna nedela**  
**nekoj mesto** instead of **nekoe mesto**  
**eden i pol godini** instead of **edna i pol godini**  
**zborvam po naši** instead of **zborvam po naše**

In relation to **individualen**, the word is known to standard Macedonian but not used in the manner in which the informant uses the word here, which suggests that it is transferred from the English rather than the Macedonian. In response to the question of whether second generation Macedonians should be encouraged to study Macedonian, the response was:

Sekoj **individualen** e; ako decata sakaat da učit poarno znaeš roditelite da 'i enkaridžat... (Everyone is an individual; if the children want to learn it is best for the parents to encourage them..)

The more usual term that would be used in standard Macedonian in such a context may be **poseben** or **oddelen**.

The adjective **astralski** again bears a close resemblance to the Macedonian equivalent, **avstraliski**. The loss of the "-v" may be as a consequence of the dialect of the informant. In so far as the suffix is concerned, it is not clear what in this case has influenced the informant; it may be merely that the informant made a mistake in using the English model. Alternatively, there is the possibility that the adjective, in the mind of the informant is modelled on other adjectives, using the **astralija** as a base such as **ruski** (Russian) in which **rusija** drops the "-ija" before the adjective morpheme "-ski" is added.

### Differences between male and female informants

There does not appear to any notable difference between the amount of transference in the speech of the female and male adult bilinguals. This is notwithstanding the situation that the proficiency of the female informants (except for fgfd who was currently enrolled in English classes) in English was less than that of the male informants. It was expected that the male informants, with better proficiency in English, would use more transference than the female informants, but the interviews did not give this result.

In relation to the child bilinguals, the position is similar, when the unusual result of sgfb with her high level of unintegrated transfers and multiple transference, is taken out of the count of transfers. There is little difference between female and male transference. The lowest level of transference is used by sgmd. In terms of a number of features of bilingualism this informant was similar to the other child bilinguals: he had completed tertiary studies in Australia, his Macedonian was learned at home from parents, the language of the home was Macedonian with parents and English with the younger brother and he had an involvement in a number of community organisations.

The distinguishing feature of this informant was that he had on a number of occasions, for extended periods of time, spent time in Macedonia using the Macedonian language in an environment where it is the language generally used. Other informants had spent holidays of only up to three weeks duration in Macedonia. Other informants stated that they speak Macedonian at home but in that case the basis is not the standard

Macedonian language but the local variety which includes transfers from English.

Accordingly, as sgmd had, during his stays in Macedonia, the opportunity to watch television in Macedonian, read the paper in Macedonian and speak to people in Macedonian, where the standard language was the basis of the language used, this had the effect that he could improve his proficiency in Macedonian in relation to a wide range of domains, thereby improving and extending his vocabulary.

### Multiple transference

Only one informant, sgfb, uses multiple transference. Other informants use unintegrated English words but in this discussion, multiple transference includes only those comprised of stretches of English greater than one word. There are examples, which will be considered below, of switches from Macedonian to a single English word.

In terms sgfb's bilingualism, there is no distinguishing feature which can be said to be responsible for this result. She was born in Australia and speaks Macedonian at home with her parents. She completed tertiary studies in Australia and for her higher school certificate, studied Macedonian at the Saturday School of Community Languages. She is involved with Macedonian community associations but stated that for work and in social contexts, she generally uses English. This profile is similar to that of the other child informants.

In the interviews, the informant wished to make full and detailed comments in

response to the questionnaire but her proficiency in the Macedonian language did not permit her to do so. The strategy that she adopted in this situation was to use multiple transference and switch to English. Sgfa asked at the beginning of the interview whether she could give her answers in English but when asked (in Macedonian) to answer in Macedonian, her strategy was to speak in the interviews as briefly as possible.

It would appear that her use of multiple transference is a matter of personal choice which is not related to the features of her bilingualism.

While the multiple transference occurred in only one informant's speech and cannot therefore be used to draw any general conclusions about the points at which switching occurs, some observations will be made here on the point at which the switches occurred in her speech.

Some of the incidences of multiple transference are constituted of complete sentences:

**It's not perfect.**

**Ama nemat..they don't have a closeness in their relationships with people to understand or help out or give a reaching hand.**

**They need to learn a bit more community spirit.**

**Community spirit is very much lacking in Australia.**

**The Queen no longer represents, say, the young Australian in the street, or whatever.**

**But maybe that's not her role to represent the young Australian in the street but I don't see the validity of having her.**

Other instances constitute clauses and phrases:

**Kako šo tie tuka, settled and all that type of thing, sme tolku developed differently kako šo bevme togaš trebame sega da imame.. cut the ties.**

In this instance of multiple transference, the switch commences at **settled**. The use of an unintegrated noun transfer then causes the following phrase to be said in English. It is an example of a sandwiching trigger which is preceded by a Macedonian phrase and is followed by another Macedonian phrase. There is another phrase which is comprised of an unintegrated verb and adverb transfer but in this case it does not lead to further transference in its vicinity. The sentence finishes with a clause in English which is also a commonly used expression, **cut the ties** may be said to be a cliché'.

**Praime different types of skills that we have to learn, so nekojpat, oime ekskurzija za eden nedela**

In this case, the example of multiple transference is a phrase which is triggered by an unintegrated adjective transfer **different** and it occurs after the verb. It is constituted by a noun phrase. The speaker reverts to Macedonian after the continuative **so** and in that position, **so** acts as the trigger to switch languages again. The Macedonian speech is then constituted by a clause.

**Am, znači golemite prat decisions, make all the decisions**

In this example, the switch occurs at the point in the sentence where there is an unintegrated transfer occurring after the verb. The multiple transference is constituted by a clause.

**Sega, moite roditeli, as an example, jas deka sum nogu aktiv...**

In this instance, the switch occurs after the noun phrase and is constituted by an English subordinate clause which is commonly used, as an expression. Following the clause, there is another switch to Macedonian for a complete clause.

While the instances of multiple transference are too few to draw any conclusions especially as they are used by only one speaker, it seems that switches occur more often after a verb and are usually constituted by an unintegrated transfer, whether a noun, adjective or verb.

Further, English expressions such as **as an example** can appear as multiple transference sandwiched between clauses in Macedonian.

### Semantic transference

While it was not intended to consider semantic transference in this study, observations will be made on it as a significant amount of semantic transference occurred in the speech of the child bilinguals. No semantic transference occurred in the speech of the adult bilinguals.

In relation to some of the examples of semantic transference, an English expression is rendered with Macedonian words, even though it is not known as an expression in Macedonian:

**Vo moeto mesto živeat dvajca...** Two people live at my place. The standard

Macedonian expression, instead of **mesto** could be **kaj nas**, or **vo moeto mesto na živeenje**.

**stoevme** vo Melbur dve godini (we stayed in Melbourne for 2 years). This use of **stoevme** gives to the Macedonian verb the various additional meanings that the English verb 'stay' has. In standard Macedonian, the verb that would have been used may be **ostanavme** or even **bevme** (were). Another use of the same verb is in relation to the question of whether Australia should become a republic: **taka počna, taka neka stojt**. In this case, the alternative would be **ostani**. Further, there is the use of the verb in relation to the question of maintaining traditions in the community: **tie ušte si stojat so istite tradicii**.

In the clause, **nemat da bidat celo vreme tuka** (they will not always be here), the child bilingual aims to use in Macedonian the euphemistic expression from English to the effect that the persons referred to will not always be with us, that is that they will die.

In the use of the noun **funkcija** there is semantic transference: **sekoja nedela se držat funkcii vo makedonskata zaednica** (every week there are functions held in the Macedonian community). The English word "function" has the meaning of a role as well as of a social event. The standard Macedonian word does not have the same range of meanings but the informant uses it as though it does.

The question of whether the Macedonian language should be maintained was



responded to as follows: **treba da se drži jazikot** (the language should be maintained). In standard Macedonian, an appropriate word would be **poddržuva**. Another informant used the verb to mean the maintenance of a family: **nekoj luge ne se sposobni da držat familija**. The appropriate verb in standard Macedonian would be **gleda** or **izdržuva**. Accordingly, either the informant made a mistake in using the verb or there has been semantic transference in the use of the verb, giving **držat** the additional meanings that "keep" and "maintain" have in English.

It is most likely that the reason that semantic transference occurs in the speech of child bilinguals but not in that of the adult bilinguals is related to the relative levels of proficiency in Macedonian and English. For semantic transference to take place, it is necessary that the speaker know the various meanings that the word or phrase in English has, so that those meanings can be attributed to the Macedonian word.

A high level of proficiency in Macedonian (and all of the adult bilinguals interviewed here were dominant in the Macedonian language) would lead to the result that the speaker would know the limits on the Macedonian word. It would be clear to such a speaker that the additional meanings that an English word which was partially equivalent in meaning to the Macedonian word, were not conveyed by the Macedonian word. Further, if the person who was highly proficient in Macedonian was not proficient in English, it may be that that speaker may not be aware of the wide range of meanings of English words.

## 6.0 Conclusions

An analysis of the speech collected for this study revealed some general patterns in the type and amount of transference which occurs in the speech of bilinguals. A consideration of the various extralinguistic features of each informant for the study also suggested that there is a correlation between the extralinguistic features and the transference which occurs.

### The lexical transference

In the lexical transference which occurred, the largest number of transfers were nouns, followed by verbs and then adjectives and adverbs.

The nouns, except for a small number, related to tangible objects which fell into the domains encountered by the migrants on arrival in Australia. The domains into which the nouns could be allocated were work and study, the physical environment (parts of the home), the Australian way of life and government, commercial and legal matters.

It appears from the domains into which the transfers can be allocated that the transference is a method of the bilinguals coping with the new circumstances faced after migration. The other methods that the adult bilinguals use is to describe activities with simple words of general meaning rather than using the specific name for the activity. The child bilinguals also try to expand their vocabulary by semantic transference, giving to Macedonian words all of the meanings that the equivalent English word has, notwithstanding the fact that those words do not have those

meanings in Macedonian.

From the results of this study, it appears that some of the reasons behind transference occurring in the speech of the bilinguals is that their Macedonian vocabulary is not adequate to speak about the new environment, or perhaps the relevant word has been forgotten. However, this is not a sufficient explanation; there are a large number of transfers which occur for which there are commonly known and used Macedonian words. In this situation, it appears that the bilingual speaker uses the transfer because it is more closely identified with the Australian environment. There is also the possibility that the informant uses the transfer in place of an equivalent Macedonian word which the informant prefers not to use because of its connotations with a harder life. This was a factor suggested by one of the informants.

Alternatively, it may be that the bilingual wishes to indicate that he or she has some proficiency in English as the speaker may consider that there is value in conveying that information to the person to whom he or she is speaking.

The lexical transfers were found to occur in unintegrated and integrated forms on the phonological, prosodic and morphological levels. There were no transfers which underwent morphological integration, without first undergoing phonological integration. Phonological integration was the first level of integration for all lexical transfers. In this area, the bilinguals changed the Australian English vowels of the model for the transfer to one of the five pure Macedonian vowels. In the case of the indeterminate vowel, there was a variety of vowels to which it was changed.

Some transfers depend for their pronunciation on a verbal English model; others on a written English model. The number of transfers modelled on a verbal English model were in a large majority.

To a large extent there is an overlap between the English consonants and those in Macedonian. In the case of /th/, /tʰ/, /w/ and /n/ [except as an allomorph of /n/ before velar stops /k/ and /g/], which do not occur in Macedonian, the consonants were rendered with the closest consonant in Macedonian. It is interesting that /w/ did occur in one transfer.

With only a small number of exceptions, all of the lexical transfers underwent prosodic integration, with the antepenultimate syllable being allocated the stress and the stress moving where there was a suffix added to the transfer as a result of morphological integration.

In terms of morphological integration of noun transfers, the determination of gender and number were considered according to the pronoun or adjective used to describe the noun. The largest number of noun transfers were allocated the masculine gender. It appears that the reason for this is that a large number of the English models ended in a consonant, and nouns ending in a consonant are generally masculine in Macedonian. This pattern was overridden in the event that the noun referred to a living thing; in that case, the natural sex would override other patterns and would determine the gender.

In relation to number, the transfers were given number according to Macedonian rules.

In a small number of instances however, the English plural marker was retained in the transfer as well as the Macedonian plural suffix being added.

The verb transfers were found to be conjugated in accordance with the simplest conjugation in Macedonian, verbs ending in "-a".

The few adjectives transfers that were used by the informants for the study were not morphologically integrated.

In relation to the nouns and verbs, in a small number of instances, there was more than one version of the transfer. This highlighted the fact that the transfers used are not stable forms in the variety of Macedonian spoken in the Illawarra.

The child bilinguals used semantic transference, giving to a Macedonian word, meanings additional to those that the word has in Macedonian, being those meanings that the English equivalent has. This transference also occurred with expressions commonly used in English which were literally translated into Macedonian, but which do not occur in Macedonian.

#### The comparison between child and adult bilinguals

There was some unintegrated transference in the speech of the child bilinguals, however, all transference encountered in the speech of the adult bilinguals was integrated, at least at the phonological level.

In relation to the nouns used by the adult bilinguals, a significant proportion was comprised of proper nouns. The child bilinguals, by comparison, used a larger number of nouns but fewer proper nouns. The level of transference used by the adult bilinguals would be significantly reduced if the proper nouns were not included in the count of noun transfers.

The transfers used by the adult bilinguals principally related to tangible objects connected with the new circumstances encountered by them on arrival in Australia. The child bilinguals also used noun transfers which principally related to tangible objects, however, those transfers which did occur in the study relating to abstract concepts were used by the child bilinguals.

In relation to some nouns common to both the adult and child bilinguals, the transfer was in the same form when used by the adult and the child bilinguals. This suggests that such transfers may have been learned by child bilinguals from adult bilinguals as a word in the Macedonian variety spoken in the Illawarra, rather than having been transferred to the speech of the child bilinguals from English and that such transfers have a degree of stability about them.

Multiple transference was only used by one child bilingual and by none of the adult bilinguals. After a consideration of the extralinguistic features of that child bilingual informant, it was clear that she could not be distinguished from other child bilinguals in terms of her proficiency in English and Macedonian, the uses to which she puts the two languages and their functions for her. Accordingly, it appears that the question as

to whether multiple transference will be used by an informant, is a matter of individual variation.

There is less transference in the speech of the child bilingual who has had exposure to the standard Macedonian language, such as extended stays in Macedonia. By contrast, the level of transference is not significantly reduced by the use of Macedonian amongst the community in the Illawarra.

In relation to child bilinguals, it is possible that in some cases transfers are used where the Macedonian equivalent contains a consonantal cluster which involves more articulatory effort to produce than does the transfer.

Semantic transference occurs in the speech of the child bilinguals but not in that of the adult bilinguals. The type of semantic transference which occurred involved the allocation to Macedonian words additional meanings, being those that the English model had and also the differentiation of meanings such that the Macedonian equivalent was used for one purpose and the transfer for another purpose.

It is clear from this study that the Macedonian language is currently used for communication in the Illawarra region and that the Macedonian English bilinguals value the language and consider it important that the language be maintained. However, as the influence of English on the speech of the child bilinguals is stronger as evidenced by more transference, it seems that with successive generations, the speakers of the Macedonian language are not managing to keep their proficiency up

to a level which will allow them to speak about all necessary matters.

Without some reinforcement by way of study (and in that case the language that will be studied will be the standard Macedonian language and not the rich variety of dialects that are currently the home-learned language for the bilinguals in the Illawarra), it may be that in the future the Macedonian language will become less and less useful to the speakers. In the absence of a need for the language to speak to monolingual speakers or to use the language in connection with church or cultural activities, the language would face the danger of being lost in the Illawarra.



## **Appendix A - Glossary of transfer items**

The following dictionary is based on the English models for the transfer items encountered in the sample collected for the study. Only the integrated transfers are included.

The entries show the model of the word, the transfer item, the definite form, the plural and an example of its use. The glossary is divided into categories based on parts of speech: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, interjections and other. In a separate part, extracts of speech for each speaker are set out.

The glossary format generally follows that set up by Surdučki (1978) and Correa-Zoli (1970). The English model of the transfer appears as the first item in each entry and the entries appear in alphabetical order. In relation to each transfer, the Macedonian version is recorded in bold type. Where encountered, the definite and plural forms are noted. Following the entry, there is an example of the use of the transfer which is either from the questionnaire sample or from the general interview results.

The spelling adopted for the entries in the glossary is that of standard Macedonian written in a latin script. The vowels are pure: a e i o u. The letter "r" represents the rolled /r/. The following letters represent the sounds set out adjacent to them:

č	/ ʧ /
š	/ʃ/
ž	/ʒ/
ќ	/k/
g'	/g' /
dž	/       /

In standard Macedonian, the stress is on the antepenultimate syllable. Where the transfer complies with that rule, no stress is indicated. Otherwise, the stress is indicated by " ' ".

In the final position, in standard Macedonian, a voiced consonant is pronounced as an unvoiced consonant. When a suffix is added, the consonant again becomes voiced. The entries in the glossary will be transcribed to indicate the pronunciation.

**A. NOUNS**

Accident.

m. (adult bilingual) **EKSIDEN. AKSIDEN.** (Child bilingual) **AKSIDENT.**

Eg        Mažot je se poboli i setne deteto 'i se osakati vo **eksiden** so karo.

---

Aerobics

m. **E'ROBIKS**

Eg        Vo slobodnoto vreme pram **erobiks**.

---

Aeroplane

m. **EROPLAN. EROPLANOT**

Eg        Čoekot se gleda vo **eroplan**.

---

Afternoon

**AFTENUM**

Eg:        Ovaa nedela sum **aftenum** (shift).

---

Air conditioning

m. **ERKONDIŠON**

Eg:        Nema **erkondišon** deka e star bildin.

---

Ambulance

m. **EMBULENC. AMBULENC**

Eg.        Čirot mu pukna i so **embulenc** go zajso v'bolnica.

m. **AMBU'LANT. AMBU'LANTOT.** pl: not recorded

Eg:(First gen.)Formanot me zajse vo **ambulantot** i od tamu pravo vo bolnica me zajso.

However, note the use for "Ambulance". First aid centre in the Steelworks plant, which is consistent with the meaning in Macedonian. However, the standard Macedonian form is feminine gender, **ambulanta**.

---

Arch

m. **AČ. AČOT.pl. AČOI**

Eg:        Nogu uba kuka imat so **ačoi** odnapred i ač megu kičinot i televizornata.

**NOUNS**

Armholes.

**M.AMOS. AMOSOT. AMOZI**

Eg. Mojata rabota e da 'i veltam **amozite** na maicite.

---

Auction

m. **OKŠION. OKŠIONOT.** pl: not recorded

Eg: Ništo ne se prodade na **okšionot**.

Ja kupi kukata na **okšion**.

---

Backyard

m. **BEKJAT. BEKJADO.**

Eg. Ovie deca igraat vo **bekjat** nekade.

---

Bag

m. **BEK.** No other forms encountered

Eg: Orandžite se dolar za **bek**.

---

Barbeque

**BABA'KJU.** Also used, skara. **BA'BAKJUTE** (definite singular form). pl: not encountered

Eg: Toj napravi **babakju** vo jardot, golem za desetmina.

---

Barrister

**BA'RISTA.** pl: **BA'RISTI**

Eg: Toj zede nogu kompo deka junjonot mu najde dobar **ba'rista**.

---

Beach

m. **BIČ.** Also used, plaža (Mac). **BIČOT.** pl: **BIČO'I**

Eg: Nie živeevme na ritčeto pokraj **bičot** vo Por-Kembla.

---

Birthday

m. **BRDAJ, BRZDAJ. BRDAJTE** (adult); **BRDAJOT** (child). pl: **BRDAITE.**

The plural form was encountered only once and that was by a first generation.

Eg: **Brdaite** mu se na istite dena.

Na rabota, za **brdajot** mu poračale žena da mu se slekva gola i go snimaa na video ka'e što se srameše.

## NOUNS

---

**Blast Furnace**m. **'BLAS-FRNES**Eg:       Rabotav vo **Blas-frnes** dur da zatvori.

---

**Block (of land)**m. **BLOK, BLOKOT; BLOKOI**Eg:       Ne se tuka; ojdoa kaj **blokot**.  
          Toj imal 5 kuki i 3 **blokoi**.

---

**Blinker****BLINKA. BLINKATA**Eg:       Sega, klai ja **blinkata** za da svrtiš levo.

---

**Bonds****BONZ**Eg:       Rabotam šienje, vo **Bonz**.

---

**Bonus**m. **BONUS. BONUSOT**. pl: not encountered. **Pram bonus**Eg:       Nekoi od ženite stot na edna rabota i možat stalno da pra'at **bonus**. Nekoi ne  
          možat ni normata da ja napr'at osta'i **bonus**.

---

**Book. Bank book; also used, in relation to book, kniga; in relation to bank book, kniška;**m. **BUK. BUKOT**. pl: bukoiteEg:       Ka'e go klade **bukot**?          Platata mi odi direktno na **bukot**.          Popot ke go pee celiot **buk**? (child to his mother during the Easter service)

---

**Boot (of a car)**m. **BUT. BUTOT**. pl: not encounteredEg:       Zatvori go **butot**.

---

**NOUNS**

**Boots**

pl. **BUCI** Also used, čizmi (Mac). **BUCITE**.

Eg: Jas ko' rabotav vo čevlarata, čupeto mi stalno mi barase da mu kupam **buci**.

---

**Boss**

m. **BOS**. f. **BOSICA**. **BOSOT**. **BOSICATA**. pl: **BOSOITE**. **BOSICITE**.

Eg. I sobraa site **bosicite** od fabrikata i napraja miting.

**Bosoite** (vo Stilvork) se staf, i tie ne odat na strajk.

---

**Box**

f. **BOKSA**. **BOKSATA**. pl: **BOKSITE**

Eg: Kupiv nekolku **boksi** grozje za vino.

---

**Boyfriend**

m. **BOJFREN**. **BOJFRENOT**. **BOJFRENI**. **BOJFRENITE**

Eg: Se šetaat so **bojfrenite**.

---

**Brakes**

**BREJKOI**

Eg: Ako **brejkoite** ne rabotaat, finiš si.

---

**Bridesmaid / Groomsman**

f. **BRAJZMERKA**. **BRAJZMERKATA**. pl: **BRAJZMERKI**. **BRAJZMERKITE**.

m. **BRAJZMER**. **BRAJZMEROT**. pl: **BRAJZMERI**. **BRAJZMERITE**.

Eg: **Brajzmerite** i **brajzmerkite** vlego pred nevestata i zetot i napraja ač so cvekija.

Fustanite na **brajzmerkite** bea sini.

Ne sakaše da go klai moeto čupe **brajzmerka**.

---

**Britain**

**BRITAN**

Eg: Nie sme druga nacija od **Britan** i treba da bidime sami.

---

**Budget**

**BADŽET**. **BADŽETOT**

Eg: Nogu sum bizi na rabota ko ke izlezi **badžetot**.

**NOUNS**

---

**Builder****m. BILDA. BILDEROT.****Eg.** Sakav da najdam **bilda** koj e našinec.

---

**Building****m. BILDIN. BILDINGOT. pl: BILDINZI.****Eg.** Kolku spratoi ima vo tvojot **bildin**?  
Nema erkondišon deka e star **bildin**.

---

**Bus****m. BAS** m bus. Also used, avtobus (Mac). **BASOT. pl: BASOI. BASTOP. BASTOPOT****Eg:** Toj raboti kaj **basoite**.Site odvavme na rabota so **basot** deka nikoj ne vozeše kar togaš i deka dukanot beše pokraj **bastopot**, site tamu šopvaa.

---

**Business. Business enterprise. Small enterprise.****m. BIZNIS. BIZNISOT. pl: BIZNISI.****Eg:** Pojketo od našite rabotat vo fabriki. Ima samo nekoi so **biznis** - ili frutšop ili milbar.Malite dukani nemaat nogu **biznis** sega. Site lugeto vozat i si odat vo golemite šopinzi.

---

**Butcher****f. BUČARNICA.** Also used, mesarnica. **BUČARNICATA. pl: BUČARNICI****Eg:** ženata izleze od fabrikata i se pikna da raboti vo **buarnicata** vo Varavon (Warrawong).

---

**Cabbage****m. KEBIČ. KEBIDŽOT.****Eg.** Se' imame vo gradinata ama **kebidžot** skapa.**Cake****f. KEKSA****Eg:** Gledam nevesta, keksa, baloni (vo slikata)**NOUNS**

---

**Camermen**pl. **KAMERMENI**

Eg: Nagradite i dobivaat, blagajnici, pretsedateli, kamermeni... (draw of raffle at a fund raising dance).

Note that the standard Macedonian term is **kamerman**. The informant has used the plural English model, camermen, to create the plural transfer.

---

**Camping**n. **KAMPIN**. pl: not recordedEg: Bevme na **kampin** so numkoto.

---

**Car**m. **KAR**. Also used, kola (Mac). **KAROT**. pl: **karoi**.Eg: Vo Amerika, rabotav vo Ford fabrikata kaj šo praja **karoi**.

---

**Caravan**m. **KARAVAN** or f. **KARAVANATA**.Eg: Toj e na olidej so **karavanata**.

---

**Carpet**m. **KARPET**. **KARPETOT**. pl: **KARPETI**.Eg: Nemavme **karpet** vo televizornata togaš. Mušama imavme na zemja i samo nastinvaa decata.

---

**Carrots**sing and pl. **KEREC** pl carrots. Also used, morkovi (Mac). **KERECOT**. pl: **KERECI**Eg: Edna keksa ja pram so **kerec**.

---

**Cauliflower**f. **KOLIFLEOA**. **KOLIFLEOATA**. pl: not encounteredEg: Se' imame vo gradinata: **kerec**, kebič, **kolfleoa**.**Cent**f. **CENTA** pl. **CENTI**Eg. Za **centa** se besi.**NOUNS**

---

Certificaten. **SEFTIFIKET**

Eg: Jas imam seftifiket za krenčajsa.

---

Chancef. **ČANSA**; m **ČENS**; **ČENSATA**;Eg: Mu davat čansa da se soberat lugeto.  
Nemav čens da naučam engleski.

---

Change**ČENČ. ČENDŽOT**

Eg: Moeto dete nikogaš ne mi dava čenč.

---

Chequem. **ČEK**; **ČEKOT**; **ČEKOI**; **ČEKOITE**

Eg: Koga se vrakaše doma, čekoite 'i zagina i setne trebaše da se vraka da 'i bara, ama ne 'i najde.

---

Chemist (shop)m. **KEMIS. KEMISOT**. pl: not encountered.

Eg: nivnoto čupe raboti vo kemisot vo 'Por-Kembla.

---

**KEMIKALI**

Eg: Prašaci za perenje ališta i takvi kemikali.

---

Chipspl. **ČIPSI** (one first gen. female informant kípci). **ČIPSITE**.

Eg: Sekoj den kupvav čipsi i hemburga od kaj Kris za lanč.

---

Christmas**KRISMOS**Eg: Najgolemi praznici za Makedoncite se Veligden, **Krismos** i Vodici.

---

**NOUNS**



## Client

m. **KLAENT**. pl: **KLAENTI**Eg: Zborvam makedonski samo koga imam makedonski **klaenti**.

## Compensation

m. **KOMPO**; **KOMPOTO KOMPE'SAJŠON**. pl: not encounteredEg: Ništo ne rabotaat. Se šetkaat niz fabrikata; bile na **kompo**!

## Computer

f. **KOM'PJUTA. KOM'PJUTATA**. pl: **KOM'PJUTI**.Eg: Rabotam so **kom'pjuti**.Mu kupivme **kom'pjuta** za deteto.Compare: the standard Macedonian word for computer is **kompjuter**.

## Couch

m. **KAOČ. KAOČOT**. pl: **KAOČOI**Eg: Nekogaš, ke sednam pred televizijata da ja gledam ama zaspivam na **kaočot**.Compare: exists in standard Macedonian as **kauč**.

## Cover

f. **KAVA** pl. **KAVI. KAVITE**Eg: Će vlegvaf vo beliot kar koga vidof deka ima beli **kavi**; i duri togaj se setif ne e našiot kar.

## Crane chaser

f. **KRENČAJSA. KRENČAJSATA**. pl: not encountered.Eg: Jas imam seftifiket za **krenčajsa**.

## (kitchen) cupboard

m. **KABEC** (kitchen) cupboards. **KABECOT**. pl: **KABECI; KABECITE**Eg: Posle 3 godini vo kukata, kladovme novi **kabeci** vo kičinot

## Customer

m. **KASTAMER; KOSTUMER**. pl: **KAST'UMERI. KASTUMERITE**

Eg: Ne sakav da sedam cel den da čekam kostumeri da dojdut vo dukanot.

## NOUNS

---

Dam

m. **DEM. DEMOI. DEMOITE**

Eg: Ko bea mali decata odevme po **demoite** na piknik ama sega ni se gleda daleku.

Note: common picnic locations close to the Illawarra are Cordeaux, Cataract and Woronora Dams.

---

Dance

m. **DENS**. Also used, igranka; zabava; bal (Mac). **'DENSOT**. pl: **DENSO'I**

Eg: Našite deca ne odat na **denso'i**; tie si odat na disko.

---

Debt

m. **DET. DETOT**. pl: not encountered.

Eg: Treba da se odplati **detot** na Astralija.

---

Disco

n. **DISKO**; pl. **DISKA**

Eg: Mladite si odat po našive **diska**.

Compare: this term has also come to be used in standard Macedonian.

---

Dole

m. **DOL**

Eg: Ima mladi koi ne rabotat i dol mu plakat.

---

Drill

m. **DRIL DRILOT DRILOI**

Eg: Daj mi go **drilot**.

---

Drink

m. **DRINK**. Also used, sok (Mac). **DRINKOT**. pl: **DRINKOI**

Eg: Decava samo **drink** pijat; stomacite ke si rasipat.

**NOUNS**

Derivative:

**DRINKARO\*** m drink man. Only the definite form was encountered.

Eg: **Drinkaro** se nauči po naše - ko' pominvaše, vikaše, "Drinkaro!"

\*The weekly home delivery of soft drinks was common in the Illawarra in the 1960s-1980s; those who delivered the goods were referred to as "drinkarot". Those who delivered milk and bread were referred to respectively as "mlekarot" and "lebarot".

Emergency

n. **I'MEGENCI**. No other forms encountered.

Eg: Našite mislat deka mojata rabota e da gi vozam ovde-onde. Ama jas ne sum za transpor - samo ako treba vo nekoj i'megenci.

Excuse

m. **EKS'KJUS**.

Eg: Ne sakaše da plati za večerata i naprai **eks'kjus** deka ima gosti.

Experience (as in work)

m. **EKSPIRION**. The definite form not encountered. pl: not encountered.

Eg: Ka'e da o'iš da prašaš za rabota, sekade barat da imaš **ekspirion**.

Factory

n. **FAKTORI**. No other forms encountered

Eg: Skoro site rabotaa vo **faktori**.

Fan

m. **FEN. FENOT. FENOI. FENOITE**

Eg: Vo letoto kajmat prodava mnogu fenoi.

Me boli vratot; na rabota go puštija fenot da dujet vo mene.

Note: standard Macedonian uses this word to refer to a blow dryer.

Farm

f. **FARMA. FARMATA**. pl: **FARMI**.

Eg: Ovaa slika e od životot na **farmite**.

Compare: this term is also now used in standard Macedonian.

## NOUNS

---

Fault

m. **FOLT. FOLTOT**

Eg: Ne e mojot **folt**!

---

Fence

m. **FENS. FENSOT. pl: FENSOI**

Eg: Komšiite se skaraa za **fensot**.

---

Flexiday

pl. **FLEKSIDEJ; FLEKSI. pl: not encountered**

Eg: Ednaš mesecot imame **fleksidej**.

---

Floor

m. **'FLOR. 'FLOROT. pl: not encountered**

eg: Klaj 'i torbite na **florot**.

---

(All codes of) Football

**FUDBOL**

Eg: Fudbolite šo se brkat.

Note: in standard Macedonian, the term refers to soccer only.

---

Foreman

**FOMAN. FOMANOT FOMANI**

Eg: Bevme site lajba i imaše eden **foman**. **Fomanot** beše nogu mlad.

---

Fortnight

m. **FOR(T)NAJT. Also used, dve nedeli (Mac). FOR(T)NAJTOT. pl: not encountered.**

Eg: Ne možam da stignam da go doplatam ovoj **fornajt**.

---

Fridge

f. **FRIZA. FRIZATA. pl: FRIZITE**

Eg: Zatvori ja **frizata**.

Ostaj go na-**friza**.

---

**NOUNS**

---

**Friend**

m. **FREN**. Also used, drugar (Mac). **FRENOT**. pl: **frendoi** or **frenoi**

Eg: Ako mu treba nešto, ti se prai **fren**.

Derivative:

See also **frenli** (adj).

---

**Fruit**

f. **FRUTA**. Rarely used, ovojše (Mac). **FRUTATA**. pl: **FRUTI**

Eg: Odzgora na pavlovata se klava **fruta**.

Za dezer imaše salata so **fruta**.

---

**Function - semantic**

m. **FUNKCIJA**. **FANKŠAN** pl: **FUNKCII**

Eg: (child bilingual) Sekoj vikend ima Makedonski **funkcii** kaj šo moiš da oiš.

(adult bilingual) Od rabota imavme kako **fankšan**.

---

**Furniture**

f. **FNIČA**, **FONIČA**, **FONIČAS** f furniture. Also used, mebel (Mac). **F NIČATA**.

Eg: Prodavaat taljanski **foniča** (the adjective takes masculine gender).

**F'ničata** što ja prodavame tuka e napra'ena od raka (child bilingual male) .

---

**Garage**

m. and f. **GARADŽ**; **GA'RADŽA** (1. petrol station and 2. domestic garage). **GARADŽOT**; **GARADŽATA**. pl: **GARADŽI**

Eg: Ima mesto za 3 karoj vo nivniot **garadž**.

---

**Garden**

**GARDEN**; **GARDENO**

Eg: Slobodno vreme vo **gardeno** si podrobotvam.

---

**Girlfriend**

f. **GLFRENKA**. **GLFRENKATA**. pl: 'glfrenki

Eg: Slušna za toj vo Melbur' š'o si ja šutiral **glfrenkata**?

---

**NOUNS**

## Government

m. **GAVRAMEN. GAVAMEN. GAVRAMENTO.**

Eg: **Gavramento** treba da go otplaka detot na Astralija.  
 Si mislam edna strana nogu **gavamento** plaka pari na politicians.

---

## Griller

f. **GRILA. 'GRILATA.** pl: not encountered.

Eg: Starata štofa nemaše **grila**.  
 Mi najdo' kolestro i sega ne go pržam mesoto, go klavam pod **grilata**.

---

## Grinder (power tool)

f. **GRAJNDA. GRAJNDATA**

Eg: Go baram klučot za **grajndata**.

---

## Groomsman

**BRAJZMER. BRAJZMEROT BRAJZMERI**

Eg: Gi klade braka mu za **brajzmeri** i imaše edno malo **brajzmerče**.

Note that this transfer is created as a masculine form from the feminine, **brajzmerka** (based on bridesmaid) rather than directly from the English model.

---

## Gutter

f. **GATA GATI GATITE**

Eg: So rufot, treba pred lamarinata da se namestat **gatite**.

---

## Hamburger

f. **HEMBURGA** also **EMBURGA. HEMBURGATA.** pl: **hemburgi; emburgi.**

Eg: Ovdešnite ne znat da jadat - sekoj den kupvat **emburgi** i setne odat vo klabot da igrat na mašinite.

---

## Heater

f. **HITA. HITATA**

Eg: Mnogu studi vo televizornata i celoto vreme ja goram **hitata**.

---

## NOUNS

High school.

m. **AJSKUL**. Also used, školo, skoliya. **AJSKULOT**. pl: not encountered

Eg: (adult bilingual) živee tamu, vo Por-Kembla, do **ajskulot**.

---

Holiday

m. **OLIDEJ**. **HOLIDEJ** Also used, odmor (Mac) **OLIDEJOT**.pl: not encountered

Eg: Se vrativme vo stari kraj za **olidej** vo 1967.

---

(garden) hose

f. **OLZA**. **OLZATA**. pl: **olzite**

Eg: Zavitkaj ja **olzata** da ne se sopni nekoj.

---

Ice cream.

m. **AJSKRIM**. **AJSKRIMOT**. pl. **AJSKRIMI**.

Eg: Imaše edno trokče so **ajskrim** što odeše po stritoite i site decata trčaa po nego.

---

Idea

pl. (child bilingual) **AJ'DIA**

Eg: Trebat da 'i slušat **aj'dia** šo imaat mladite.

---

Immigrants

pl. form only encountered. **IMI'GRANTI**

Eg: Centarot i pomožva site **imigranti**.

Also, (Department of) immigration

m. **IMI'GRAJŠON**.

Eg: Za vizata se rasprašav dobro vo **Imigrajšon**.

---

Individual

m. **INDIVIDUALEN** (second gen).

Eg: Sekoj čoeck e **individualen** treba da reši dali saka da uči makedonski.

Compare: this term is also used in standard Macedonian.

## NOUNS

## Insurance

m. **IŠURANS; IŠU'RANS**. Also used, osiguruvanje (Mac). **IŠURANSOT**.

Eg: **Išuransot** dojde za plakanje.

## Jack

m. **DŽEK. DŽEKOT DŽEKOI**

Eg: Ko pukna trkaloto, ne znaev da go klam džekot pa mi pomoži eden čoek.

## Jury

n. **DŽURI. DŽURITE**. pl: not encountered

Eg: Ko' me viknaa za **džuri** mu rekov na sin mi da mu kaži deka ne znam angliski pa i ne trebaše da odam.

## Juice

m. **DŽUS. DŽUSOT**.

Eg. So orandžite šo 'i kupiv od marketot, napraiv **džus**.

## Kentucky Fried Chicken

m. or pl. **KEN'TOKI; KEN'TAKI. KEN'TAKI ČIKEN**. pl: not encountered.

Eg: Mora da ima po dve parčinja **Kentak** na sekoja pajnca.

## Kitchen

m. **KIČIN. KIČINOT**. pl: **kičini**

Eg: Nivnoto dete praj **kičini**.  
Oj vikni ja; vo **kičino** e.

## Label

m. **LAJBO. LAJBI**

Eg: Porano imav lesna rabota; šiev **lajbo** na maicite.  
Mojata mašina se rasipa i bosicata mi dade **lajbi** da pram.

## NOUNS



---

Labor Party

**LAJBA PATI**

Eg: Nogu naši stanaa členoi na **Lajba Pati**.

---

Labourer

n. **LAJBA**. pl: not encountered.

Eg: Jas sum **lajbo** vo stilvork.

---

Laundry

pl. **LONDRI**, in relation to commercial laundry premises. Also used, peralna (Mac). in relation to the domestic laundry. **LONDRITE** .

eg: Taa ušte raboti vo **londrite**.

---

Leading hand (position in factory)

m. **LIDIGEN**. **LIDIGENOT**. pl: **LIDIGENI**

Eg: Mažot mi e **lidigen** vo MM (Metal Manufacturers).

---

Lettuce

m. **'LETES**. Also used, marulka (Mac). pl: **'LETESI**

Eg: Ovaa godina nasadivme **letesi** i požocite g'izedo site.

---

Light

m. **LAJT**. **LAJTOT**. **LAJTOI**. **LAJTOITE**

Eg: Ko ke dojš do raskrsnicata kaj dukanot kaj šo prodavat **lajtoi**, svrti desno.  
Pušti go **lajtot**.

---

Light duty (work for those with injuries)

n. **LAJ'DŽUTI**. pl: not encountered

Eg: Koga se vrativ od operacija me klado' na **lajdžuti**.

---

(Traffic) Lights

pl. **LAJTOI**. **LAJTOITE**

Eg: Na vtorite **lajtoi**, treba da zavrtiš desno.

---

## NOUNS

Line

f. **LINIJA. LINJATA**

Eg: Jas rabotam na **linijata** so takvo železo.

---

Lunch

m. **LANČ**. Also used, ruček (Mac); **LANČOT**. pl: not encountered.

Eg: Za **lanč** zemvam dva servičija (relating to work).

Derivative: **lančtajm**.

---

\*The next page is 229

**NOUNS**

Magazine

m. **MAGAZIN**

Eg: Čitam sè so ke mi pomini - knigi, **magazin**, sè.

---

Mango

n. **MANGO**

Eg: Sakam mango da jadam samo nogu se mesi.

---

Market

m. **MARKET**. Also used (rarely), pazar and usually when referring to a market in Macedonia. **MARKETOT**. pl: **MARKETI**

Eg: Lani ojdovme vo Flemington **market**.

Kupiv kožen džaket od **marketite** vo Vulongong (Wollongong).

Ednaš mesecot odam **na-market** (forming an accentual unit).

---

Mattress

m. **MEDREC** and **MEDRECOT**. **MEDRECI**

Eg: Bevme vo dukanot šo prodava medreci i tamu imaše edni legnati na medrec - go probvale!

---

Mechanic

m. **MEKANIČAR**. **MEKANIČAROT**. **MEKANIČARI**.

Eg: Ako se rasipi mašinata, ke go kla'iš flegot i **mekaničarot** ke dojt da ja poprajt odma.

Compare: standard Macedonian uses the form **mehaničar**.

---

Microwave oven

m. **MAJKROVEJ**. **MAJKROVEJOT**. No other forms encountered

Eg: **Majkrovejot** go juzam samo da odmrznuvam meso.

---

Mile

f. **MAJLA**. **MAJLI**. pl: **MAJLITE**

Eg: Sydney e 50 **majli** od tuka.

---

## NOUNS

## Mixer

f. **MIKSA. MIKSATA.** pl: not encountered.Eg: Belkite ke 'i bieš za 10 minuti so **miksa**.Compare: standard Macedonian has developed this word as **mikser**.

## Monument

**MONJU'MENTI**Eg: Vo Singapor gledavme **monjument**i i ojdovme po dukanite.

## Mortgage

m. **MOGIČ. MOGIDŽOT.** pl: not encountered.Eg: Imam krenato golemi pari i bankata ima **mogič** na kuќata.

## Mop

f. **MAPA. MAPATA.** pl: **MAPI. MAPITE.**Eg: Go izmiv patioto so **mapata**.

## News

m. **NJUS. NJUZOT**Eg: Sakam na nulata da gledam **njus**.

Na njuzot kazaa za vremeto.

## Newspaper

f. **NJUS'PAJPA, NJUS'PAJPI; KNIGA** (second generation)Eg: Za makedonsite ima **njuspajpi** po makedonski.

Njuspajapa imame, makedonska kniga.

## Noise

m. **NOJZ. 'NOJZOT.** pl: **NOJZ'OITE.**Eg: Ne pra'i **nojz**.

## November

**NO'VEMBA**Eg: Rodena sum vo **Novemba** mesecCompare: **SEPTEMBA, OKTOBA, DISEMBA.**

## NOUNS

Nurse

f. **NORSA; NRSA. NRSATA; NORSATA.** pl: **nrsi**

Eg: Kerka mi e **nrsa** vo bolnicata.

---

Ocean

**OŠIAN**

Eg: Imame nogu ubavi **ošian**, beach...

---

(redundancy) offer

f. **OFA. OFATA.** pl: not encountered

Eg: Ako mi ja dat **ofata**, ke ja zemam.

Od tie što ja zedo' **ofata**, ni eden ne najde rabota na drugo mesto.

---

Office

m. **OFIS; OFIC. OFISOT.** pl: **OFISI; OFICI. OFISITE, OFICITE**

Eg: Čistam **ofisi**.

Togaš site rabotaa vo fabriki; sega mladite se piknaa vo **ofici** da rabotat.

---

Operator

m. **OPE'RATOR, OPER'AJTOR**

Eg: Mojata rabota, pra'am cevki, sum **operator**.

Rabotam kako Mil **Operajtor** vo 'Mašin-šop.

---

Orange

m. **ORANČ. ORANDŽI. ORANDŽITE**

Eg: Vo salatata ima jabolka, **orandži**, pajnapol, mango i pašefrut, sè.

---

Park

m. **PAK.** Also common, **PARK** (Mac.)

Eg: Sekoja godina praivme piknik vo Našonol **Pak**.

---

Parliament

m. **'PALAMENT, PALA'MENTOT**

Eg: Da sum jas vo **palamentot**...

---

**NOUNS**

Party. Also, political party, eg Lajba Parti

f. **PARTIJA** n. **PATI. PARTI. 'PARTIITE; PAR'TIJATA.** pl: Not encountered.

Eg: Sekoja nedela berat pari za lotarija i setne za Krismos imame **parti** za site ženite od fabrikata.

Na televizija vidov deka golem broj Makedonci stanaa členo'i na Lajba **Pati**.

Passionfruit

m. **PAŠEFRUT**

Eg: Vo salatata ima jabolka, orandži, pajnapol, mango i pašefrut, sè.

Patio

n. **PATIO PATIOTO**

Eg: Go izmiv patioto so mapata.

Payday

n. **PEJDEJ.**

Eg: Pra'ime šopin sekoj **pejdej**.

Points (HSC marks)

pl. **POJNTOI**

Eg: Nemaše dovolno **pojntoi** da vlezi vo junivesiti.

Pipe (plumbing or electrical)

f. **PAJPA. PAJPATA.**pl: **PAJPITE.**

Eg: **Pajpите** se 'natre vo dzidot.

Note: the Macedonian equivalent is also feminine gender: "cevka".

Picnic

m. **PIKNIK. PIKNIKOT.** pl: **PIKNICI**

Eg: Sekoja godina za Krismos, Makedoncite pra'at **piknik** vo Našonol Pak.

Pineapple

**PAJNAPOL**

Eg: Vo salatata ima jabolka, orandži, pajnapol, mango i pašefrut, sè.

## NOUNS

Pleasure

f. **PLEŽA**.

Eg: Imam **pleža** da odam na-market.

---

Present

m. **PREZEN. PREZENTOT**. pl: **PREZENTI**

Eg: Posle svadbata, se vrativme doma kaj zetot i snimaa so video duri 'i otvora **presentite**.

---

Program

**PROGEM**

Eg: Eden program beše nogu interesent so mladi spikeri.

---

Pub

m. **PAP**. Also used, birarija. **PABOT**. pl: paboite

Eg: I našive se naučija da odat vo **paboite** ko ovdešnite.

---

Receipt

m. **RE'CIT**. Also used, potvrda.

Eg: Ako imaš **re'cit**, mo'eš da gi smeniš vo Kajmat.

---

Recipe

m. **RECIP. RE'CEPTA** pl: not encountered

Eg: Ne sakaše da mi da'e **recip** za slatkite.

Imam **recepta** za pečen luk.

Note: the standard Macedonian term is **recept**.

---

Rent

f. **RENTA. RENTATA**.

Eg: Živeevme 5, 6 familii vo edna kuka da ne plakame **renta**.

Also, Tenant

m. **RENTADŽIJA; RENTADŽII; SINGAL**. pl. **SINGALI**

Eg: Site imavme po dva tri **singali** doma.

Ne sakavme da sne **rentadžii**; skavme da si kupime kuka naša.

## NOUNS

Report

m. **RIPORT, RIPOITI**

Eg: Na rabota pišuvam **riporti**.

---

Republic

**REPABLIK, REPABLIKA**

Eg: Sega smenato e mnogu vremeto od koga prvo se naprai **republika**.

---

Respect

m. **RIS'PEKT**

Eg: Treba da imas **rispekt** za roditelite.

---

Roof

m. **RUF, RUFOT**. pl: not encountered

Eg: Ko' ja završija kukata, kladoa drvce na **rufot**.

---

Room

m. **RUM**. Also used odaja and spalna (Mac). **RUMOT**.pl: **RUMOI**

Eg: Ja napraa kukata so golemi **rumoi**.

---

Rostered day off

f. **ROSTA, ROSTATA**. pl: **ROSTI**

Eg: Ke o'ime ko' ke ja imam dolgata **rosta**.

Dobro plakat za **rostite**.

The workers in steelworks do shiftwork and at the end of each rostered period, they have 3-4 days off, usually before the night shift week commences ( night shift is 10.30 pm to 7.30 am).

---

Rumpus room

m. **RAMPASTRUM, RAMPASTRUMOT**. pl: **RAMPASTRUMI**

Eg: Imaat golema kuka so **rampastrum** na dolniot sprat.

---

Sandwich

n and m. **SENVİÇE, SEMİÇ, SENVİÇLJA, SEMİÇLJA**,

Eg: Istoto **senviče** go kupvam za lanč vo aftenumot.

Astraljanicite so **semičija** se ranat.

Note: the standard Macedonian form of this transfer from English is **sendvič**.

## NOUNS



Santa Claus

m. **SANTAKLOS**. pl: not encountered.

Eg: Veke go imame pokaneto **Santaklos** za partite.

---

Scripture

f. **SKRIPČA**.

Eg: Nemaše skripča po makedonski vo našata skoliya .

---

Section

m. **SEKŠION**. **SEKŠIONOT**.

Eg: Vo našiot sekšion se 5 ženi.

---

Security guard

**SEKIRITI**

Eg: Na vlezot na stilvork klado **sekiriti** za da nemoži sekoj eden da vlezi.

---

Set of knives

m. **SET NOŽOI**

Eg: Slednata nagrada vo lotarijata e **set nožoi** podaren od...

---

Shampoo

**ŠAMPU**.

Eg: Treba da kupam **šampu**.

---

Shift

f. **ŠIFTA**. m. **ŠIF**. Also, **DEJŠIF**; **AFTENUM**; **NAJŠIF**. Also used, smeni (Mac).  
**ŠIFTATA** pl: **ŠIFTI**

Eg: Rabotavme na tri šifti sega ne smenaa na dve šifti.  
Nemožev da učam engleski deka rabotav na tri šifti.

---

Shower

f. **ŠAOA**. **ŠAOATA**. pl: not encountered

Eg: Jas ke imam **šaoa** sega (child bilingual).  
Ja iščistiv **šaoata**.

---

## NOUNS

## Shop

m. **ŠOP; ŠAP\*. ŠAPOT; ŠOPOT**.pl: **ŠAPOI; ŠOPOI**

Eg: Tie šo dojdo porano imaat **šapo'i**.

Kupvavme fruta, mleko, sè, od **šopoite** Por-Kembla.

## Derivative:

Tie imaa **frutšop** vo to vreme.

\*First generation who had been in America for a period of years during the period twenties and thirties.

## Shopping

m. **ŠOPIN; ŠOP'IRANJE. ŠOPINGOT**. pl: not appropriate

eg: Sega celiot **šopin** go praimè so karot (adult).

Se vidovme vo **šopingot** (child).

## Sick leave

m. **SIKPEJ. SIKPEJOT**. pl: **SIKPEI. SIKPEITE**

Eg: Neznam kolku **sikpei** imam vo godinata.

Ako ne i izkoristiš **sikpeite**, ne ti i plakaat.

## Single boarders

m. **SINGAL**. Also used stanari (Mac) . **SINGALOT**. pl: **SINGALI**

Eg: **Singali** živea kaj nas. Jas perev, mu prae v jadenje i se poboliv od rabota.

## Sink

m. **SINK. SINKOT**

Eg: Kičinot e skoro gotov; ušte **sinkot** da se namesti.

## Sliced bread

m. **SLAJS. SLAJSOT**. pl: **SLAJSOI**

eg: Lebaro' se nauči po naše. Vikaše "Lebaro!" I nie se naučivme da jadime **slajs**.

## Soccer

f. **SOKA. SOKATA**.

Eg: Najpopularen sport e **sokata**, fudbolot šo e.

## NOUNS

Social (security). Unemployment benefits.

m. **SOCIJAL; DOL. SOCIAL SERVIS. SOCIJALOT.** pl: not appropriate

Eg: Nekom rabotat a nekoj sedat bez rabota i zemat **social**.

Vo Avstralija moiš da ne rabotaš i da živeeš; državata dava **social** servis.

---

Solicitor

m. **SO'LISTER, SOLISTA; SOLICITA** f. **SO'LISTERKA**. Also used, advokat (Mac)  
**.SO'LISTEROT; SOLIS'TERKATA.** pl: **SO'LISTERI**

Eg: Kerka mi raboti za solisteri vo Varavon (Warrawong).

---

Speaker (person and equipment).

f. **SPIKA. SPIKATA. SPIKER,** pl. **SPIKERI. SPIKERITE**

Eg: Nam nē sednaa odma do binata, pokraj **spikerite** i ušte mi svirat ušte.

---

Speech

m. **SPIČ. SPIČOT.**

Eg: Pred da počnat so igranjeto, presedatelot naprai **spič**.

---

Special

m. **SPEŠIAL. SPEŠOL** also adj special as in sale. Also used, na popus (Mac). pl: **SPEŠOLZI**

eg: Go kupiv na **spešol**.

---

Sporting activities

**SPORTOT RABOTI**

Eg: Jas sum aktiv po **sportot raboti**.

---

Steelworks

m. **STILVORK.** Also used, BHP. pl: not encountered

Eg: Sin mi raboti vo **Stilvork**. Porano, ko mravi odevme po toj mostot na pejdej da si ja zemime platata ama sega od kako šo ja dadoa ofata, nema ič luge.

---

Stove

f. **ŠTOFA.** Also used, relna (Mac. dialect) and špore (dialect). **ŠTOFATA.** pl: **ŠTOFI**

Eg: Ovaa **štufa** ja imame 30 godini.

---

## NOUNS

## Street

m. **STRIT**. Also used ulica (Mac). **STRITOT**. pl: **STRITOI**

eg: Kako ne ja znam; živee vo našiot **strit**.

---

## Strike

**STRAJK. STRAJKOT**

Eg: **Strajkot** od koga počna nemame plata.

Redovno vikaa **strajk** togaj.

Note that the standard Macedonian equivalent is **štrajk**.

---

## Supermarket

m. **SUPERMARKET. SAMSERVIS** (This term is a part semantic transfer, based on "self service". Self is literally translated as "sam" and added to the lexical transfer "servis". Also used, shop names, Vulvors (Woolworths), Kajmak, Kajmat (KMart), Kolz (Coles), Frankols (Franklins) and Dzul (Jewel).

Eg: Ednaš nedelata šopvame vo **Kolz**.

Samo vo Wollongong ima **Vulvorz**.

---

## Supervisor

**SUPAVAJZA**

Eg: Ja kladoa edna naša za **supavajza** i gledaše našiot kalendar dali e den ili nešto, i ako imaše žena of kako bolna, sikpejot ne go davaše.

---

## Surfing

m. **SFANJE**. pl: not appropriate

Eg: Nitu rabotat, nitu učit, go pominva celiot den vo sfanje.

---

## Tax

**TEKSA. TEKSATA**

Eg: Nema beganje od **teksata**.

---

## Taxi

**TEKSA TEKSI**

Eg: Stilvork prati **teksa** da me zemi od doma za najšif.

**NOUNS**

Text

**TEKST. TEKSTOT**

Eg: Od tekstot od skoliya šo go predavam programi na učenicite.

---

Thongs

f. **ŠLIPERKA. ŠLIPERKI**. Also used, jadranki (Mac). **ŠLIPERKITE**.

Eg: Dali 'i bendisa šliperkite?

This transfer appears to have been based on the word "slipper".

---

Ticket

m. **TIKET**. Also used, karta (Mac). **TIKETITE**. pl: **TIKETI**

Eg: Kaži odnapred kolku se plaka za tiketot i setne ke rešime.

---

Torch

**TOČ. TOČOT**

Eg: Rabotam so Oksi toč.

---

Tourist

m. **TUR'IS** person on tourist visa present in Australia but trying to obtain permanent residence by marrying an Australian resident. **TUR'ISTOT**. pl: **TUR'ISTI**

Eg: Za turis go omaži čupeto.

Note: the standard Macedonian term is **turist**.

---

Traffic

m. **TRAFIK. TRAFIKOT**.

Eg: Trafikot vo Vulongong (Wollongong) e mnogu loš.

---

Train

m. **TREN**. Also, voz (Mac). **TRENOT**. pl: **TRENOITE**

Eg: Jas odev na rabota so trenot deka živeev vo Torodži (Towradgi).

---

## NOUNS

## Transport

m. **TRANSPOR**. Also used, *prevoz* (Mac). No other form was encountered.

Eg: Našite mislat deka mojata rabota e da gi vozam ovde-onde. Ama jas ne sum za **transpor** - samo ako treba vo nekoj i'megenci.

Compare: standard Macedonian uses **transport**.

## Trouble

m. **TRABOL. TRABOLZI**

Eg: Ne pra'i trabol.  
Dosta mi se trabolzi.

## Truck

m. **TRAK**. Also used, *kamion* (Mac). **TRAKOT**. pl: **TRAKOI**

Eg: Ednaš godišno idi trak vo Wentworth Street so grozje i kupvame nekolku boksi za vino.

Derivative: **trakdrajva**.

## Unemployment

m. **ANEM'PLOJMEN**

Eg: Najgolem problem, ova šo e, **anemplojmen**.

## Union

m. **'UNION. UN'IONOT. JUNJON**. pl. **UN'JONITE. JUNJOTI**

Eg: Od jun'jonot dojde da ni kažva koja kaj ke ne premestat ko ke zatvori fabrikata. Najprvin, tie vo stilvork koi ne bea vo **unionot** bea sekani.

## University

pl. **JUNIVESITI**

Eg: Ne dobi dovolno pointo'i za da vlezi vo **junivesiti**.

## Vacuum cleaner

m. **VAKJUM ; VAKUM . VAKUMOT; VAKJUMOT**. pl: not encountered

Eg: Isčistiv so **vakjumot**.  
Gospo zdravje da mu daj, za svadbata tie mi kupija **vakum** inače ne ke možeš da go dometam karpotot.

## NOUNS

Victa (lawn mower)

f. **VIKTA. VIKTATA**

Eg: **Viktata** ja čuvam vo garadžot.

---

Video as in video recorder and video tape

n. **VIDIO. VIDEO. VIDEOTO.** pl: **VIDIA. VIDEATA**

Eg: Mnogu e dobro so ovie **videava**; site peačite mo'iš da 'i vidiš.

Vo patničkata agencija vo Feri Medo (Fairy Meadow) prodavat makedonski **vidia**.

---

Wages

pl. **VODŽES. VEJDŽES**

Eg: Ako rabotaš za **vodžes**, ne možiš da sajvaš na teksata.

Nema laženje na teksata so **vejdžes**; treba da imaš biznis.

---

Wall unit

m. **VOLJUNIT**. Also used, kredenec (Mac). pl: 'voljunic and vol'junici

Eg: Obično numkoto mu kup'vaa **voljunit** za podarok na zetot i nevestata.

---

Worksheet

**VORKŠIF VORKŠIVO**

Eg: Nema vreme da go potpolnam **vorkšivo** za petokot.

---

Wrong

**RONK**

Eg: Gavramento tuka ima eden **ronk**; ne mu plaka na decata da učit; ako ne rabotaat, i ne učit, dol mu plaka.

---

Yard

m. **JARD**. Also used, dvor; bavča; gradina (Mac) . **'JARDOT**. pl: not encountered.

Eg: Vo Sitnej, kukite ič nemat mesto nazat; tuka imaš **jard**, ima mesto za gradina.

---

Zipper

f. **ZIPA. ZIPATA.** pl. **ZIPI. ZIPITE**

Eg: Kavite možiš da i klaiš so **zipi**.

---

## NOUNS

## VERBS

---

 Adopt
**ADOPTIRA**
 Eg: Ja vidov, beše vo Kemisot, so čupeto šo go ima adoptirano.
 

---

Bid

**BIDA**
 Eg: Kukata e broj 7 ja bidaat sega.
 

---

Blame

**BLAJMA**
 Eg: Nemoj da me blajmaš mene.
 

---

Book

**BUKIRA**
 Eg: Nemožiš da kupiš karti na denot; treba pred vreme da bukiraš.
 

---

Charge

**ČADŽA**
 Eg: Koga si napra'iv račun doma, vidov deka me čadža odpojke.
 

---

Check

**ČEKIRA**
 Eg: Na taa linija 'i čekirame skivite i ako imaat greški mu 'i vrakame nazad.
 

---

Complain

**KOMPLAJNA; KOMPLAJVA**
 Eg: Sviračite ja ima pušteno muzikata kolku šo može a i lugeto pokraj spikerite **komplajna**, ama koj te sluša.

 Toj glavniot od unionot dojde i ni reče ako ne teraat da odime vo drugata fabrika, da **komplajvame** i moži ke ostanime tuka.



Cook

**KUKA**

Eg: Gledam ovaa nešto **kuka** vo tendžereto

It is interesting that this transfer has a different meaning in standard Macedonian of wailing.

---

Cross

**KROSA**

Eg: **Krosaj** kaj lajtoite.

---

Employ

**EMPLOJA**

Eg: Treba biznis da spendet pojče pari, da **emplojat** pojče luge.

---

Encourage

**ENKARIDŽA**

Eg: Sekoj e individualen, ako sakaat da učat makedonski, **ke 'i enkaridžam**.

---

Enjoy

**ENDŽOJNA**

Eg: Mladite odat po diska; **se endžojnat**.

---

Feel

**FILA; SE FILA**

Eg: Ke bidat patriotic za Astralija, znaeš, **se filame** deka e naša nacija sega.  
Ne se **filav** dobro i si sjoidov doma.

---

Help

**HELPA**

Eg: Roditelot **ke 'i helpa** decata kolku šo moži.

---

Join

**SE DŽOJNA**

Eg: Trebat luge da **se džojnat**, so grupi da bidat, oti sami nemožat da go, da se uspešni vo tie raboti.

Mop

**MAPA; IZMAPA**

Eg: Go izmapav patioto.  
Ednaš nedelata treba da mapam .

---

Pack

**PAKOVA**

Eg Ja klado' da pakovat.  
Compare standard Macedonian pakuva.

---

Paint (artist)

**PENTA; PENTUVA**

Eg: Vo slobonoto vreme, dali kempin, ili pentuvam, sliki prirodi, tie raboti.

---

Pass

**PASA**

Eg: Imaše eden, proba da nè pasa ama karot ne mu možeše.

---

Polish

**POLIŠUVA. ISPOLIŠUVA**

Eg: Pred da go klam za prodavanje, ubo go isčistiv i go ispolišav.

---

Promise

**PROMISA**

Eg: Jas ti promisam ke ti go kupam.

---

Race

**RAJSA**

Eg: Vo slobodnoto vreme go rajsam karot.

---

Rent

**RENTA**

Eg: Če napravam kuči i da gi rentam.

---

Represent

**REPREZENTAT**

Eg: A, i to nogu e difficult za našite luge, deka se takvi organisations, ne se, ne gi reprezentat lugeto.

---

Ring

**RINGA**

Eg: Ako ti treba nešto pomoš, ringaj mi.

---

Sack

**SEKA**

Eg: Si zamina vo Makedonija so sikpeite i tri dena olidej za svadbata na dever mu pa ko se vrati, go seka.

---

Save

**SAJVA**

Eg: Togaš beše teško da se sajvat pari deka sekoj mesec prakav vo stariot kraj.

---

Shop

**ŠOPIRA; ŠOPVA**

Eg: Sakam da šopiram.  
Jas šopvam vo naši dukani.

---

Spend

**SPENDA**

Eg: Za Bogoro'ca, ostavavme site raboti, kolku imaše pari, site se spendaa.  
Trebit biznis da rabotat pojče i lugeto da spendat more money.

---

Taste

**TAJSTA**

Eg: Nosot mi e zatnat i ništo ne možam da tajstam.

---

Use

**JUZA**

Eg: Kakvo šampun juzaš?

---

Welt

**VELTA; VELTANJE**

Eg: Rabotam na **veltanje**; **veltam** maici.

## Verbs involving semantic transference

Be (a particular age) - semantic

**E (godini)**

Eg: Jas sum 30 godini.

---

Get into (university)

**VLEZI**

Eg: Imaše dovolno pojntoi da **vlezi** vo junivesiti.

---

Give (a speech)

**DAVA (spič)**

Eg: Na svadba, numkoto treba da **daj spič**.

---

Have (fun)

**IMA FAN**

Eg: Tatkoto e zakopan vo pesokot i decata **imaat fan**.

---

Hit

**UDRI**

Eg: Odi pravo i ko' ke go **udriš** Wentworth Street, svrti levo.

---

Hold (see maintain and keep)

**DRŽI (funkcija)**

Eg: Sekoj vikend **držat** makedonski funkcii kae šo možiš da odiš.

---

Keep (to oneself)

**Se Čuva**

Eg: Site sami **se čuvat**, ne se kako vo Makedonija, po'ek'e open, po'ek'e site se znat, izlagat zaedno.

Kick

**KLOCNI**

Eg: Gledam eden kaj igra soka i ke ja **klocnit** topkata.

---

Look

**GLEDA**

Eg: Toa ne **gleda** težko

---

Make a decision; make a mistake; make trouble; make an apology; make upset.

**PRAVAM DECISION; PRAVAM MISTAJK; PRAVAM TRABOL; PRAVAM POLODŽAJS; PRAVAM APSET**

Eg: -Am, znači golemite pra't site decisions, make all the decisions  
 -Čo'ek golem **mistajk pra'i** vo životot šo ke si rečit, jas ova go znam i po'ek'e ne mi treba  
 -Ne **pra'i trabol**; dosta mi se trabolsi  
 -Mi **napra'i polodžajs** i sega pak sme frendo'i  
 -Nemoj da me **pra'iš apset**

There are many examples of a construction of semantically empty words like make, have or do to which English nouns or transfers are added to form so-called decomposed predicates: **pravam biznis, imam nervous breakdown, imam fan.**

---

Make (bed)

**NAPRAVI (KREVET)**

Eg: Pred da odat decata na skoliya morat krevetite da si 'i **naprat.**

---

Run

**TRČA (ZA PRAJ'MINISTA)**

Eg: Bronwyn Bishop sega **trča** za prajminista.

---

Start

**POČNUVA**

Eg: Karot ne **počnuvaše** i go viknav NRMA.

---

Stay

**STOE**

Eg: Posle vo Melbur **stoevme** za dve tri godini.  
 Ko' bevmе na olidej, **stoevme** so rodnina celoto vreme.

---

Stick (together)

**SE ZALEPUVA**

Eg: Vo ovie vremenja, treba da **se zalepime** zajedno.

---

Teach

**UČI**

Eg: **Učam** engleski jezik vo ajskul, sum učitel.

---

Think (a lot of)

**MISLAM**

Eg: Jas ne **mislam** nogu za kralicata.

---

## Adjectives

---

Active

### AKTIV/AKTIVNA

Eg: Sum **aktiv** vo Illawarra Macedonian Youth Association

Deka jas sum nogu **aktivna** vo nogu raboti...

Both forms used by only one female child bilingual informant.

---

Australian

### AVSTRALSKI/ASTRALSKI

Eg: Na rabota zboruvame po **astralski**.

So nekoj po **astralski**.

---

Christian

### KRISTIANSKA

Eg: .. dobro, ista vera e, **kristianska**.

Note that this transfer may either be influenced by a dialectal form or by English.

---

Different

### DIFEREN

Eg: Nie novi Astraljani ne sme nogu **diferen** ednite od drugite.

---

Expensive

### EKSPENSI; NAJEKSPENSI

Eg: Mojata žena gleda samo kaj što e **najekspensi**.

---

Good

### GUD

Eg: Kako si? Gud sum.

---

Hard

### JAKO

Eg: Ne odam do dvanaestta godina; mnogu e **jako**.

---



Honest

**ANES**

Eg: **Anes**, mnogu ubavo zborva engleski.

---

Jealous

**DŽELAS**

Eg: (Vo filmot) mažot ja ubi ženata deka beše **dželas**.

---

Lazy

**LEJZI**

Eg: Kako nekoi šo se luge **lejzi**, živeat na to i jadat i pijat.

---

Messy

**MESI**

Eg: Sakam da jadam mango ama nogu e **mesi**.

---

Mistaken

**GREŠEN**

Eg: Toj e grešen; nema nikoj tamu.

The Macedonian word means "disturbed."

---

Mixed

**IZMIKSANI**

Eg: Edna pajnca so izmiksani keksi.

---

Normal

**NORMALNIOT**

Eg: Podobro da bidat ako go klavat vo **normalniot** school system.

Ako makedonski beše vo **normalniot** school system polesno će beš, ke bidi za studentite.

Standard Macedonian has the word **normal** but has a wide range of alternatives which are not transfers from English for the same meaning. This adjective is included because it is contended that under the influence of English, the adjective which is borrowed from English is preferred over the other Macedonian alternatives.

Part-time

**PARTAJM**

Eg: Imam **partajm** rabota.

---

Right and wrong

**RAJT EN RONK**

Eg: vo srceto šo mislat tie, šo e **rajt en ronk**.

---

Safe

**SAJFTI**

Eg: Ne e **sajfti** da rabotaš bez naočari tamu i zatoa stilvork ni dade naočari .

The English model for the transfer is obviously 'safety', used as an adjective as in 'safety glasses'.

---

Very nice

**VERI NAJS**

Eg: Radioto kažva informacija, **veri najs** e, gud.

---

volunteer

**VOLONTERSKI**

Eg: Po volonterski što pravam skripča vo Varavon ajskul.

---

Spare

**SPE**

Eg: **Speto** vremeto go trošam vo gradinata.

---

Special

**SPEŠOL**

Eg: Go kupiv na **spešol**.

---

**Adverbs**

Easy

**IZI**Eg: Ovaa kekso možiš nogu **izi** da ja napraiš.

Exact

**ENZAKLI**Eg: Nemam **enzakli** da ti platam; treba čenč.

Non-stop

**NON-STOP**Eg: **Non-stop** ima vesti na radioto

This transfer is also commonly used, in this form, in standard Macedonian.

Perfectly

**PRO'FEK**Eg: Znam engleski **pro'fek** da zborvam

Ready

**REDI**Eg: Ajde, **redi** si?

**Pronouns**

All - semantic change from "entire" to mean universal pronoun all  
**CELI**

Eg: Znam da čitam makedonski ama ne redovno; bukvite i znam celi.

---

**CAUTION, HESITATIONS, EXPRESSIONS, FILL IN WORDS**


---

all right

**OR'AJT**Eg: Kako si? **Orajt** sum.

All for the best

**OI ZA BES**Eg: (As in a toast) **Oi za bes**

Big deal

**BIK DIL**Eg: Ami šo ako si rabotal aftenum; **bik dil!**

Doesn't matter

**DAZEMERA**

Eg: Dazemera

Mate

**MAJT**

Eg: Slušaj majt...

Okay

**OKEJ**Eg: **OKEJ**

So what

**SO VOT**

Eg: Kako so vot!

Jas im velam "učete makedonski" a tie velat "so vot!"

Ta-ta

**TARA**

Eg: Ajde tara; so zdravje.

That's all

**DECOL**


---

**CAUTION, HESITATION, EXPRESSIONS, FILL IN WORDS**

Eg: Ne sakam, drugo; decol.

---

waste of money

**VEJST OV MANI**

Eg: Ovaa slika, vejst ov mani, samo trošenje na bez potreba pari.

---

You know

Eg: **Ju-no.**

---

Yeah

**Je**

Eg: **Je!**

---

Yes

**JES**

Eg: Jes, zatoa oti ne e potrebno.

---

You know

**JU NO**

Eg: **Ju no.**

---

Extracts of transcripts of speech. Some sentences of each of the questionnaire informants and some of the other informants have been selected and are set out below:

sgfd

1. **Well**, vo moeto mesto, samo jas i mojot maž.
2. Sega rabotam vo **Homecare Services**.
3. Imav studirano do **HSC level**.
4. Prvot problem si mislam najgolem šo je, e **unemployment**.
5. Jas sum znaeš **professional**.
6. Prvot problem, pred **unemployment**, **I think**, e defisit treba da go otplaćat, detot na Astralija.
7. Treba da go otplaćat detot na Astralija. Možit ako ne se nogu plateni **poli.. am ovie politicians**, da mu skata (sic) malce platata, da gi klavat pojće vo biznis ili takvi raboti za da emplojat pojće luge.
8. Nie sne druga nacija od Britan i treba da bidime sami, **independent of Britain**.
9. Da živeat so **neighbours**, so drugari.
10. izlagaat celi, sekoj, znaeš **nearly** sekoj večer.
11. Nie nemame tolku mesto, nemame tolku mesto za izlaganje na večer.
12. Po sport si mislam imame **soccer club**, za football da igraat.
13. imaat ovde za igranje folk, **Macedonian folk dancing**.
14. I školoto, **saturday school** vo sabota ima školo otvoreno za da ućat (teach) jazici.
15. (za Veligden) o'ime na crkva sabajle, si mislam, na eden večer o'ime okolu crkvata tri pati so sveći.
16. Za Veligden jas i mažot mi oime vo makedonskata crkva, **orthodox** ili vo negovata katolićnata.
17. Jas, ova e **personal**, so mislam ima nogu geci vo toj **station**.
18. Za dvete praznici.
19. **Newspaper** imame, makedonska kniga.
20. Vo na **ABC** televizija, malce i na **SBS** televizija, kaćvat na vestite vo sekoja nacija šo se stovrat slućai.
21. Najpopularen sport po makedoncite e fudbol, **soccer** i good sport je, **why not**.
22. kako šo mislat e žensko rabota kako za kosa praenje, sekretarki.
23. Pari se važni ama ne po'eće od kako zdravje i **happiness**, veselo.
24. će kupam prvo nekolku **property** ili kući, kako se velat, stanoi.

25. Nekolku ќе klam vo, ќе kupam nekoi **shares** vo **BHP**.
26. ќе go studiram **stock market** i ќе klam pari vo nekolku **company**.
27. Si mislam nekolku, del od parite ќе dam na kako se vikaat, **charity** za tie luge šo nemaat pari ili šo.

---

**sgmc**

1. **High school teacher** po engleski, a po naše, kako se veli... učitel.
  2. **Jes**, mislam deka treba, za da razberat lugeto da mu dajt **identity**.
  3. ... i deka sme pod Engleska, nema veza to za mene, vaka **personally**, samo trebat i Astralija kako Makedonija da e **independent**, jas mislam, da e, sama.
  4. ...izgleda marketot šo prodavaat **vegetables**.
  5. ...životot tuka e po'ek'e sloboden mislam na eden način, lugeto se **sort of easy going**.
  6. ... tie ko nas, šo imaat učeno fakultet ili na **college**...
  7. Na tie šo mu treba ke mu dam kako **donation**.
  8. ...izgleda od pozadi na kuća, vo **backyard**, i deca ima kaj šo igraat vo **cubby house**.
  9. ...zabluden vo decata, nešto si prat **fan**.
- 

**sgmd**

1. Toa e **freelance stage manager**.
  2. ...ama mislam ne se obj... **objective**.
  3. Teška industrija, kako sakaš, **analytical? That's it**.
- 

**ifgf**

1. Taka se vika čupeto šo go ima adoptirano.
  2. Kako zima e deneska, **top tempiča**, tveni van.
  3. A je, na drugi mesta nekoi si odat na **holidej**.
  4. poveketo živea kako **singali**.
  5. So prat **piknici**.
  6. ќе imat igranki i **prezenti** , ќе ima **Krismos parti**.
  7. ќе kažev nešto po šopoite...
- 

**ifgm**

1. Tamu rabotav vo **deparment majn**, na patot šo rabotat.
2. Tamu zemvavme sedumdeset i sedum **dolari** fornajo.
3. Vo **slepjat**, kaj šo rabotam sega.
4. So toč, oksi toč železo škarfav.



5. Po'ečeto **singali** imaše togaš nego familiarni.
6. školoto si počna, na školo decata, nemat olidej da vidiš.
7. Samo to vreme ko dojdov jas, najsetniot den dojde **imigrejšon** čoeck da me praša...
8. šo imaše **timoi** naši.
9. Segarabotam isto vo **Stilvork**, vo istoto mesto, vo **slepjad**.
10. Nekoi pravat igranki, nekoi odat na **piknik**.
11. Si odat po **diska**.
12. Pomladite vo društvata so odat, si densat.
13. Pojke šetat po **bičote**, si odat na **bičot**.

---

isgf

1. Ne znaev engleski duri da odam na skoliya.
  2. (koga studiraše) iljada devetsto osumdeset četiri godina.
  3. **Well**, ič.
  4. Ako e nešto nogu, **like, heavy**, ne go čitam.
  5. **Well**, ako e sega dojden od Makedonija...
  6. So prijatel, engleski, **it depends**.
  7. (čitaš?) **Only skim through the papers**.
  8. Će 'i puštam na skoliya, ovie šo se, **weekend schools, encourage them to take high school Macedonian, university as aside**, ne sakam da bidat **linguists or anything like that**, but da go imat za ekstra.
  9. Gledam soka mač, so eden čoeck sega Će 'a klocnit topkata.
  10. Izgledat kako nekoj od nazad ka'e šo živeat vo **jardot** imat...
  11. Vo sabota gledav televizija, eden smešen **documentary**.
  12. Imam nogu **urgent** rabota.
- 

ifgm

1. **Speto vremeto** go troša vo rabota okolu kućata.
- 

sgfa

1. Na **junivesiti**.
  2. Mladite se vo **services** and postarite se po'ečeto **labourers**.
  3. **Newspaper** beše.
-

**sgma**

1. Mešano, engliški i **Macedonian**.
2. Sekoj, **I don't know**, sekoj nedela imat šo mo'iš da odiš makedonsko.
3. Jas mislam deka... možat starite so mladite sekoj vreme da si imaat, **how can I say**, moabet.
4. Će dam malce na **charity** i vo nešto...

---

**sgmb**

1. Bi trebalo da si čuvame našiot običaj, **you know**, like našiot jazik.
- 

**isgf**

1. Vo Singapor, čisto beše i imaše raz.. **how do you say**, raznoda (interviewer: razonoda?) Je, razonoda.
  2. Bevme kaj nekoj monjument.
  3. Beše vo **January** i podocna vo **Febuary**.
  4. Sakam da odam kaj moreto, Adrinsko more, **don't ask me what it is**.
  5. Bev vo Kičevo i tamu sedev za eden nedela.
  6. ...za dve meseci.
  7. Bevme Skopje.
  8. Nie najmnogu stoevme kaj rodninata.
  9. Prošetavme malce niz gradot ama ne pojdovme kaj storičkite mesta.
  10. Ima eden **strit** šo ima nogu prodavnici.
- 

**sgfb**

1. Kako šo tie tuka, **settled and all that type of thing**, sme tolku **developed differently** kako šo bevme togaš trebame sega da

- imame.. **cut the ties.**
2. Ti koj si, jas koj sum, toj **mentality** sega nemožit po'eće da go imaat.
  3. **Well, Ilinden e golem den za našiot narod .**
  4. Nogu luge neznat oti go slavat Ilinden, **especially** mladite.
  5. Tie nejkat da odat na **dinner.**
  6. Ne se nogu **interested in community** raboti, po'eće po **social** izlegvanje raboti.
  7. A sega mladata **generation...**
  8. I pokraj tie raboti, **Young Achievers.** Ako imame **car wash,** tamu treba da bidam.
  9. Imam na rabota **year eleven students** idat na rabota i jas 'i učam za **business skills.**
  10. Imat formirano **company** sega...
  11. Nogu raboti so nogu **demands** na nogu...
  12. Sum vo **graduate position.**
  13. **praim** **different types of skills that we have to learn,** so nekojpat, oime ekskurzija za eden nedela na nekoj mesto.
  14. Ama, **it's not perfect.**
  15. Učev makedonski od **year 9, year 8 to year 11, macedonian school.**
  16. i toj e drugo **demand on time.**
  17. Jas rabotam vo **BHP for Finance department,** se vika gredjuet **trejning progre**m šo e.
  18. Bev nogu mala, moži eden i pol godini.
  19. problemi se **social.**
  20. Jadenje, kužite, tie se najgolemi **social problems.**
  21. Pojke deka ne **concentration, they don't concentrate on problems** šo se doma, gledat na drugi mesta.
  22. Oime na nekoj mesto.
  23. Ako nemat, **they don't have a closeness in their relationships with people.**
  24. Rabotnicite se **organised** kako golemite i pomalite luge.
  25. Am, znači golemite pra't **decisions, make all the decisions.**
  26. Nemaat, **they don't have input into, am, how things are run.**
  27. Mislam to' po malce smenuvat i **especially** kaj nas \_ rabotam vo **BHP** nogu sakat **idea, ideas** da zemat od lugeto.
  28. Segat imat **accelerated performance evaluation.**

29. Site šo imat pominato **Apex Wave** se vika, **forty percent cost saving** se napra'i vo **site areas**.
30. Moži je samo malce malo **idea**.
31. ...sega, moite roditeli, **as an example**, jas deka sum nogu aktivna....

## fgfd

1. Momentalno studiram engleski so gramatička baza **English**.

## sgfe

1. Rabotam i sum **accounts clerk**.
2. Nemam studirano so učitel ama imam naučeno the **alphabet** so tatko mi.
3. Znam deka ima **classes** samo neznam kade.
4. Si imame se' tuka i ne treba **Queen** da imame pojke.
5. Ovie **dancing groups** šo se, šo ima **dances** po nekogaš.
6. Starite rabotaat vo fabrikite vo **Steelworks**, šnajderani.
7. če napravam kuči za **investment** i da gi **rentam**.
8. Vo **slika edna**, gledam lug'e ko s'imaat sobereno sigurno nekoj rodenden ili **something**.
9. Si davaat **presents**, **happy** se site.
10. **The next one**, gledam **family** s'imaat izlezeno da bidat da imaat **good times**.
11. Vo next slika, s'igraat decata, imaat dobri **toys**, igrački.
12. ...sakaat **fun** da imaat.
13. ...i sega odi na **holiday**.

## sgmc

1. Treba da se **turka** potaka, posilno.
2. a mladite po engleski način imat **trgano**.
3. ... i to mu imat **fateno mozokot**.

## Appendix Q

## QUESTIONNAIRE

## Part A

1. Godina na raganje
2. Kade si roden/a
3. Vo koja godina si roden/a
4. Koga dojde vo Avstralija i dali živeeš vo Illawarra ottogaš. Ako ne, kade imaš živeano
5. Kolku lica živeat vo tvoeto mesto na živeenje i koj se tie
6. Koj jazik go zboruvaš doma i so kogo
7. Dali rabotiš ili studiraš - koja e tvojata rabota ili što studiraš
8. Vo vrska so tvojata rabota, koj jazik go zboruvaš
9. Vo vrska so tvoite studii, koj jazik go zboruvaš
10. Dali imaš učeno makedonski jazik - koga, kade i za kolku vreme
11. Dali znaeš da čitaš makedonski - dali čitaš redovno i što čitaš
12. Dali imaš učeno angliski jazik - koga kade i kolku vreme
13. Dali znaeš da čitaš angliski - dali čitaš redovno i što čitaš
14. Dali znaeš nekoi drugi jazici - koi i kako gi nauči i kolku gi upotrebuvaš
15. Dali slušaš radio na makedonski jazik - ako da, kolku pati nedelata - što misliš za makedonskite programi
16. Kako go pominuvaš slobodnoto vreme - sport, hobi, interesi
17. Koj jazik go zboruvaš vo vrska so tvoite hobi, sport itn
18. Koj jazik go zboruvaš vo vrska so veselbi, praznici, svadbi itn

## Part B

1. Dali misliš deka bi trebalo mladi Makedonci da učit makedonski - zošto
2. Kakvi se uslovite za učenje makedonski
3. Kakvi se uslovite za učenje angliski za tie koi ne go poznavaat dobro
4. Koi se najgolemite problemi na avstraliskata vlada i što bi trebalo da se napravi da se rešat tie problemi
5. Koe e tvoeto mislenje za kralicata i dali misliš treba da se prekinat vrskite so kralicata i Velika Britanija. Zošto
6. Ako si preстојuval(a) vreme vo Makedonija, koi se najvpečatlivi razliki pomegu životot vo Makedonija i životot pomegu Makedoncite vo Illawarra - Ako ne si pominal(a) vreme vo Makedonija, zošto
7. Vo vrska so Makedoncite vo Illawarra:
  - (a) koi merki se zemeni da se začuva kulturata
  - (b) kolku se začuvani verski ili crkovni tradicii
  - (c) koi se najvažnite praznici i kako obično narodot gi slavi pogolemite praznici

- (d) koj e najvažen praznik za tebe i kako go slaviš
  - (e) dali ima dovolno informacii za aktuelnite nastani vo Makedonija i koi se izvorite za tie informacii
  - (f) koi se najpopularnite sportovi megu Makedoncite
  - (g) kako pogolemiot del Makedonci go pominuvaat slobodnoto vreme - dali ima razlika megu mladite i postarite
  - (h) kade rabotat pogolemiot broj Makedonci - dali ima razlika megu mladite i postarite
8. Što e važno za uspeh vo životot
9. Da dobieš na loto utre, što bi napravil(a) so parite

### Part C

Nakratko kaži što pokažuvaat ovie sliki

- Picture 1 Family seated around a food laden table and one guest handing a portable telephone to another
- Picture 2 (a) Family seated near a fire place in pyjamas - one child holding a doll and one playing with a train set;  
(b) Main table at wedding with bridal party
- Picture 3 children playing outdoors near a playhouse, one pushing a wheelbarrow, two others seated near a toy sink washing dishes, another inside with a toy crib
- Picture 4 man facing a computer screen sitting in office above a steel mill line and another on a control panel
- Picture 5 (a) Women harvesting wheat manually with scythes  
(b) Women at a laboratory with test tubes and various flasks and boxes
- Picture 6 (a) Man at a beach standing in front of a battered caravan  
(b) Women selling vegetables at an open air market with old style scales
- Picture 7 (a) Children standing on the road being sprayed by a fire hydrant  
(b) People waving from a car which is driving through high levels of water

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