B(l)inding Wor(l)ds:
Language narratives, genre boundaries and pushing barriers

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an interdisciplinary creative writing and applied linguistics work consisting of a creative artefact and exegesis. The creative artefact is a work of creative nonfiction in the genre of language journalism exploring why Australia persists in perpetuating and prioritising a monolingual English-speaking society despite the nation's claim to a multicultural identity and in spite of a long history as a multilingual society. I examine these themes through investigating my own German heritage and place within Australia's multicultural society, as well as my own experiences of language learning. I also explore the connections between language, landscape and identity and how the intersections between these aspects have shaped, and continue to shape, modern Australian attitudes to languages other than English. In the accompanying exegesis, I use a systemic functional linguistics (SFL) perspective of genre to analyse the genre markers of language journalism and how I used and subverted those attributes in my contribution to the genre, my creative artefact. It also examines the ways in which the creative artefact and exegesis are read as belonging to distinct genres despite sharing some markers of language journalism. The exegesis considers the differences between literary and SFL applications of genre and argues that viewed from an SFL perspective, genre becomes more than a way to label and restrict writers, but a useful tool for creative writers during the writing process.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; 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.

Signed...

Date.................09/10/2020.......................................

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PUBLICATIONS

Creative Work

A previous version of Part I: Language Royalty has been published as:

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Exegesis

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Australia's Monolingual Fantasy in a Multilingual Reality

Creative Work

INTRODUCTION

I am a white Australian woman, despite the fact my name suggests otherwise. I have been referred to as a 'he' on numerous occasions and my non-Anglo name is viewed as an open invitation to probe into my background. The foreign composition must mean I'm not Australian. I get asked all the time. Some people are direct: 'Where are you from?' I tell them: 'Adelaide.' Others are a little more subtle: 'Where does that name come from?' Some try to be exact: 'Is that a Scandinavian name?' Inevitably, whichever line of questioning the person chooses to lead with, the ultimate subtext is the same: That's not an Anglo name, you're not Australian, so, what's your background?

In a southern edge of suburban Adelaide, an undeveloped bushland reserve connects the two houses I grew up in. As a family, we outgrew our house low in the foothills, and so we moved to a bigger home at the top of the hill. When I moved out of home in my early twenties, I moved back into and rented my childhood home. It's possible to walk from one house to the other through the scrub in the reserve, succumbing to roads only at the very end of the trek on either side. Hikers who choose the right path can get lost in the wilderness. There's a spot where the noise pollution from the busy roads bordering the reserve on three sides disappears and the intrusion of the train lines that slice the scrub in half are not yet visible. For those not distracted by thoughts or technology, it's not uncommon to spy koalas in the branches of the gum trees. In twenty-six years of living in those two houses, I never completed the hike between the two. Halfway from one house and halfway from the other, but never both halves together. In summer, the persistent threat of brown snakes deters me; in winter, the cold weather is not conducive to spending a lot of time outside. Winter is not my season. At the first turn of a weakened sun a chill creeps into my bones and nests there as the cold months drag by. But despite the weather, I always liked sitting by the train lines. One line for passengers and one line for freight and The Overland from Melbourne. I used to sit on the rocks beside the train tunnel carved into the hill and imagine that the train lines' stark reminder that I'm

not far from the city doesn't exist. Imagined the city itself doesn't exist and the scrub extends all the way to the ocean. Imagined the hours away, until suburbia called me back.

Growing up, I treated the incessant questioning about my name and background as a minor annoyance. I accepted it as a consequence of having an unusual name. When asked, I reaffirmed I'm Australian and moved on. But in my early twenties, I started working as an English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher and began to reflect more deeply on these seemingly harmless questions. I taught in a metropolitan English language school and my students regularly asked me where I was from. The school worked on a rolling enrolment and graduation basis, with new students starting and leaving each week, so there was a constant rotation of students. At least once a week I would get asked the question, and they couldn't hide their surprise when I claimed to be Australian.

To my students, my name, along with my dark hair, gave me away as European. In their opinion, most likely Italian, Greek or German. As one student blatantly pointed out to me, my features don't replicate the stereotype of an Aussie blonde surfer. On the occasions the conversation reached the point where my students openly and insistently questioned my claim to be Australian, I would admit to the German heritage on my father's side of the family. I then felt the need to clarify that it is not a recent heritage. My father was Australian-born, as was my grandfather, while it was my great-grandfather who migrated to Australia. The language was not passed down through the family and this heritage always felt so far removed from my experience growing up as Australian that it feels unwarranted to claim these German roots as mine.

These instances have led me to question what I actually mean when I say that I'm Australian. It is scrutiny I already feel from the person questioning me. They are not satisfied with my answer of Australian, despite my native Australian accent. They see my name as a clear marker of family roots from a far-flung land and they are determined to uncover my true heritage and reveal my place in Australian society. They do not trust that when I say I am Australian, I mean that I am Australian-born, my parents are Australian-born and my grandparents were Australian-born.

When I reveal the German heritage, whoever is questioning me is finally satisfied, as though they have uncovered one of the world's great, unsolved mysteries. Yet in the sentence it takes me to explain the German connection, they are then endowed with as much knowledge about my heritage as I myself know. The presumption is that my name is a German name (my surname is, but my first name is not). I am subjected to this scrutiny as a white Australian with an unusual name but that pales in comparison to the everyday scrutiny non-white Australians traipse through.

Comedian Michael Hing created a documentary series for SBS titled *Where Are You Really From?* that explores the backgrounds of all Australians, and not just Australians who exhibit a non-Anglo trait.[1] Hing himself is a fifth generation Australian, yet he is constantly questioned about his background because of his Asian appearance. The series aired its third season in 2020 and Hing's aim with the series is to demonstrate the diversity in the cultural backgrounds of all Australians, not only Australians who have visible non-Anglo characteristics. Australia's diversity is not limited to those Australians with a seemingly visible marker of an existence outside of the continent's borders.

It is easy to brush off the questioning as well-meaning curiosity, but it is not everyone who is open to this scrutiny. Only those who exhibit some trait or attribute not aligned with white Australia are immediately open to interrogation. It is the insistence that sometimes follows that crosses the line from genuine curiosity and interest to interrogation, and, subsequently, judgement: once my background is revealed, the interrogator has the information they need to make an informed decision about my level of "Australianness". They can position me in the appropriate category within the nation's multicultural society. When I worked in retail, I had to wear a name badge, and a customer came through my check-out at work one day and held up the line while she extracted answers out of me. This happened despite the nation's claim to a multicultural identity, or perhaps in spite of it. In a multicultural nation, it should not be a surprise to regularly interact with people from different cultural backgrounds, or with names not steeped in the British tradition. Yet

[1] *Where Are You Really From?* (SBS, 2020) <https://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/program/where-are-you-really-from> [accessed 11 July 2020].

those Australians who do not exhibit traditionally British attributes of what it means to be Australian constantly have their right to their Australian citizenship on trial.

Australian writer and activist Yassmin Abdel-Magied was ostracised for a tweet she made on ANZAC Day in 2017:

> LEST. WE. FORGET.
>
> (Manus, Nauru, Syria, Palestine...)[2]

The tweet implied that while remembering our own fallen soldiers, Australians also need to look into their own backyards and remember the humans our government is subjecting to torture in off-shore detention centres. Abdel-Magied was vilified in the media and on social media for her stance, with commenters demanding she be deported from the country and return to 'where she came from'. Abdel-Magied was born in Sudan but has lived in Australia since the age of two.[3] She is Australian. The backlash she received from the tweet became so intense that she chose to move to London to escape the bullying.[4] Abdel-Magied's cultural background leaves her open to attacks that white, Australian-born Australians are exempt from, no matter what comments they might publicly make.

One year after Abdel-Magied's, tweet, on ANZAC Day in 2018, writer and comedian Catherine Deveny tweeted her own strong views against ANZAC Day. She called the day 'bogan Halloween' and argued that using the term 'serve' to describe the work of veterans fetishises

[2] Nick Whigham, '"Absolutely Disgraceful": Yassmin Courts Controversy with Remembrance Day Tweet', *News.Com.Au*, 11 November 2017 <https://www.news.com.au/technology/online/social/absolutely-disgraceful-yasmin-courts-controversy-with-remembrance-day-tweet/news-story/79cbff9007c44977e03671edc43296af> [accessed 5 August 2018]; Melissa Fyfe, 'Yassmin Abdel-Magied on Becoming "Australia's Most Publicly Hated Muslim"', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 August 2017 <https://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/yassmin-abdelmagied-on-becoming-australias-most-publicly-hated-muslim-20170816-gxxb7d.html> [accessed 21 June 2020].
[3] Fyfe; Yassmin Abdel-Magied, *Yassmin's Story* (Penguin Random House, 2016).
[4] Shams Al-Shakarchi, '"I Came to Heal": Yassmin Abdel-Magied on Starting Again in London', *The New Arab*, 28 September 2018 <https://english.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2018/9/28/yassmin-abdel-magied-on-starting-again-in-london> [accessed 21 June 2020].

violence.[5] While there was a backlash against Deveny's comments, she was not subjected to the intense public attacks in the media that Abdel-Magied was subjected to a year earlier, despite the fact Deveny's comments are arguably much more disrespectful towards ANZAC Day than Abdel-Magied's tweet. Deveny is a white Australian and therefore was not held to the same account or scrutiny as Abdel-Magied.

Despite politicians proudly and publicly lauding Australia's multicultural narrative, the country is yet to shake the British tradition that federated the nation in 1901. It was not until Prime Minister Gough Whitlam introduced Australia's first multicultural policy in 1973 that a push began to recognise Australia as a multicultural nation.[6] This identity is accepted with varying degrees across different demographics of Australian society, and it is accepted with a caveat: so long as you speak English, you will be accepted into our multicultural fold. Undeniably, people who live in Australia need to speak English. Not *should*, but *need* to. It is a difficult and frustrating experience to get by in a country where you do not speak the national language and few others speak your language. But culture is not just food, customs and dress. Languages, among other aspects, are a major part of culture too, and they need to be prioritised in a multicultural society.

The term 'multiculturalism' is difficult to define, as it is used differently in different contexts. Broadly applied to the Australian context, multiculturalism is used to describe and legislate for the different cultural groups who live side by side in Australia. The very notion of multiculturalism as a societal construct is contested by many academics and politicians, and, during John Howard's term as Australia's Prime Minister, the term was not a popular way of describing Australia. Between 2010 and 2011, German chancellor Angela Merkel, British Prime Minister

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[5] 'Comedian Catherine Deveny Received "Rape Threats" Over ANZAC Day Tweets', *Pedestrian TV*, 25 April 2018, section News <https://www.pedestrian.tv/news/catherine-deveney-threatened-rape-anzac-day/> [accessed 28 June 2018].

[6] Parliament of Australia, 'Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements and Recent Debates in Australia and Overseas', *Parliament of Australia*, 2010, Australia <https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06#_Toc275248118> [accessed 28 June 2020].

David Cameron and French president Nicolas Sarkozy all denounced multiculturalism.[7] Yet during this same period, in 2011, former Australian prime minister Julia Gillard reaffirmed Australia's stance on multiculturalism with a new multicultural policy titled 'The People of Australia'.[8] According to the policy, 'Australia's multicultural composition is at the heart of [Australia's] national identity and is intrinsic to [Australia's] history and character'.[9] It also states that 'Australia is and will remain a multicultural society'.[10] The strength of Australia's multiculturalism is a view shared by Australia's politicians, with former prime minister Malcolm Turnbull declaring in 2016 that Australia is a successful multicultural society.[11]

If we accept that Australia is a multicultural society, there is one oversight within that multiculturalism: the role that languages other than English play within this multicultural community. Multilingualism, the ability of an individual or community to speak more than three languages, is a key but dismissed aspect of Australia's multiculturalism. There is a presumption among some Australians that if a person is heard speaking a language other than English, the person does not speak English at all. But speaking another language and speaking English are not mutually exclusive. It is not only possible, but exceedingly common, to speak other languages and also have the capability to speak English.

An incident on Australia Day in 2016 demonstrates this view. January 26th each year brings with it fierce debate. The chosen day for a national celebration commemorates European settlement, seemingly ignoring or dismissing the fact that for the country's First Nations population that date is

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[7] Sev Ozdowski, 'Australian Multiculturalism: The Roots of Its Success' (presented at the Third International Conference on Human Rights Education: Promating Change in Times of Transition and Crisis, Krakow, Poland, 2012) <https://www.westernsydney.edu.au/equity_diversity/equity_and_diversity/tools_and_resources/reportsandpubs/australian_multiculturalism_the_roots_of_its_success> [accessed 3 February 2017].

[8] Australian Government, 'The People of Australia: Australia's Multicultural Policy', 2011, <https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/12_2013/people-of-australia-multicultural-policy-booklet.pdf> [Accessed 9 October 2016].

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Lenore Taylor, 'Malcolm Turnbull: Multiculturalism and Tolerance Will Combat Terrorism', *The Guardian*, 23 March 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/mar/23/malcolm-turnbull-multiculturalism-and-tolerance-will-combat-terrorism> [accessed 10 October 2016].

a day of mourning, not one of celebration.[12] Each year, Australians vehemently defend their right to either celebrate the day or offer lengthy justifications for why they refuse to take part in a day which is not representative of all Australians.[13] The subsequent rebuttals to both arguments are often equally vehement. It is a day where, like it or not, Australians must face the sombre history upon which modern Australia was built.

On Australia Day in 2016, Anangu woman Elizabeth Close was shopping at an Adelaide shopping centre (unnamed in reports) with her young daughter. Close was speaking with her daughter in her language, Pitjantjatjara, when a young woman walked past and reportedly told her, 'It's Australia Day. We speak English in Australia.'[14] Close was so shocked, she said pardon, and the woman repeated what she'd said, speaking more slowly the second time around. Close was vilified for daring to pollute the air with words that were not English. Ironically, Close spoke words that were genuinely native to Australia. The incident was reported in many media outlets around Australia, and Close was understandably shaken and saddened by the encounter. The incident itself is bad enough, but the comments beneath one online report of the incident showed that the young woman's hostile remark is a line of thinking shared by many. A number of commenters questioned the authenticity of the story, with one writing 'Doubt whether this really happened. Good story though [sic]', while another responded to a comment with 'you are assuming it actually happened?', and a further comment wondered if there were witnesses to authenticate the story.[15] Other commenters used the opportunity to state their view on Australians who speak other languages: 'Speak whatever language you like, I say. Just don't expect the government to provide translation services for you if you cannot be bothered or are unwilling to learn the national language.'[16]

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[12] 'Australia Day', *Australia Day* <https://australiaday.org.au/about-australia-day/history/> [accessed 28 June 2020].
[13] 'Q&A: Australia Day and Families Divided', *Q&A* (Sydney: ABC Australia, 2017) <https://www.abc.net.au/qanda/australia-day-and-families-divided/10650458> [accessed 28 June 2020].
[14] Ken McGregor, 'Mother Who Spoke Indigenous Language to Toddler Daughter Told To Speak English on Australia Day', *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 28 January 2016) <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/news/south-australia/mother-who-spoke-indigenous-language-to-toddler-daughter-told-to-speak-english-on-aus-day/news-story/c0e0363da8b19fc10d40c9f603c7f686> [accessed 4 April 2016].
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

Another commenter responded to point out that Close does in fact speak English in addition to her native tongue, and many commenters did defend Close.[17] Even so, it was no one's business but Close's that she was speaking to her daughter in her language. What possessed the young woman to confront Close? What was it about seeing and hearing Close communicate with her daughter in a language that was not English that irritated the young woman to the point of speaking up about it?

Another similar scenario occurred in November 2015, when telecommunications company Optus put up advertisements in Casula Mall in Sydney. The advertisements were in Arabic and displayed the weekend following terrorist attacks in Paris where 137 people were killed.[18] The Arabic campaign appalled many in the community for its seemed condoning of the recent terrorist attacks in Paris and for appearing to support terrorism. The backlash reached the point where workers in the shopping centre's Optus store were threatened and Optus chose to remove the advertisements to ensure the safety of their staff.[19] Optus explained that the Arabic on the advertisement was simply advising Arabic speakers that there was an Arabic speaking staff member at the Optus store to help should they feel more comfortable negotiating a phone or internet plan in their native language.[20] Optus again made the news in April 2018 for a job advertisement listed on Seek, which stated it 'preferred' candidates 'who are Anglo Saxon'.[21] Optus conducted an internal investigation into the incident.[22]

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[17] Ibid.
[18] Kerrie Armstrong, 'Staff Threatened over Arabic Optus Ads', *SBS News*, 17 November 2015 <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/staff-threatened-over-arabic-optus-ads> [accessed 30 November 2015]; 'Paris Attacks: What Happened on the Night', *BBC News*, 9 December 2015 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994> [accessed 15 August 2016].
[19] Armstrong.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Jennifer Duke, 'Optus Posts Job Ad Asking for Anglo-Saxon Applicants', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 April 2018 <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/optus-posts-job-ad-asking-for-anglo-saxon-applicants-20180413-p4z9f8.html> [accessed 28 June 2018].
[22] Frank Chung, '"What Were They Thinking?"', *News.Com.Au*, 13 April 2018 <https://www.news.com.au/finance/work/careers/optus-launches-investigation-after-job-ad-calls-for-anglo-saxon-candidates-for-neutral-bay-store/news-story/1441c7d93ee9d2581c9ae1bdb0f5d6f3#.hx810> [accessed 15 April 2018].

These incidents and attitudes can only be explained by fear. A fear of foreign languages is a too simplistic explanation. What, exactly, is this fear, and where does it stem from? In the Arabic advertisement example, terrorist attacks around the world have meant that people now associate the Arabic language with acts of terror. Even in the form of an Optus advertisement, the foreign tongue elicits a fear which has been deeply rooted in people since the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City. In this scenario, there is some understanding of a knee-jerk reaction to seeing the language unexpectedly. But why, after the knee-jerk reaction has subsided, does rationality not prevail? It could have been logically deduced that the Arabic on the Optus advertisement was completely harmless; as harmless as the Chinese and Japanese characters sharing signage with English at Tullamarine Airport in Melbourne. Why did the public react as though this was a betrayal of Australia? The fear is even more difficult to pinpoint in Close's case. The young woman went out of her way to let Close know that she couldn't get away with that awful thing she was doing, speaking a language that was not English in Australia, and that by doing so she was somehow less Australian. How can it be that in a country that prides itself on multiculturalism, speaking a language that is not English in public exposes people to abuse and bullying?

Perhaps it is a fear of losing the identity of what it means to be Australian. In a multicultural society, what cultural attributes bind a nation together? Multiculturalism itself is rejected by many academics and politicians around the world, who claim that a truly multicultural society is not achievable.[23] If multiculturalism means complete inclusivity, tolerance and harmony in living side by side with people from many different cultural backgrounds, Australia is yet to achieve it. In a society where many different cultures live side by side, is English a tool with which people measure Australianness and their own Australian identity? Is language, and a language which is not native to the land at that, one subconsciously agreed upon marker which plays a large role in the Australian identity; within this multicultural landscape is what binds the nation together in harmony the

[23] Ozdowski.

fantasy that all its residents speak English exclusively? That myth is shattered when other languages are freely spoken out in public, polluting Australian air with foreign words and fear all in the same breath and, in the eyes of some, tarnishing what it means to be Australian. When English is a marker of identity in a young nation such as Australia which is still forging its character, foreign words which don't contribute to this part of the country's identity can be perceived as rocking an already unstable foundation. Thus fear sets in.

This fear, however, is not an excuse. If English speakers are given enough respect to be able to use their language in public overseas without being bullied it is not a difficult or unreasonable request to extend that same respect to speakers of other languages on English speaking shores. People who immigrate to Australia will still make every possible effort to learn English if they do not already speak it. Those who have lived in a country where they don't know the language will understand just how challenging it is to live in a place and not know the local language. It is isolating, frustrating and, at times, humiliating. People want to learn the language. But learning a language is hard work and takes time. It will not happen overnight. If Australia's identity is bound up in being a multicultural country, languages are part of the deal. A language cannot be removed from its culture just as a culture cannot be removed from its language. They go together. Separate the two, and both are watered down to a version that is removed from context and makes little sense. In the Australian context, while English is the national language, Australia's politicians have outrightly stated that the nation's cultural identity has shifted from British to multicultural. Languages other than English must form part of Australian culture if the nation wishes to claim a multicultural identity. Furthermore, Australia's multiculturalism should not be contingent on those Australians whose grandparents or parents were born elsewhere, or on Australians born elsewhere themselves. Australians like myself whose foreign ancestry is a few more generations back should also consider themselves part of Australia's multiculturalism.

In August 2017, this very issue came to the forefront, thanks to seven politicians serving in the Australian Senate. To run as a candidate for Federal Parliament in Australia, a person cannot be

a dual citizen and foreign citizenship must be renounced before running as a candidate.[24] Yet in 2017, seven Federal candidates revealed that they had discovered they hold dual citizenship, mostly by descent. Deputy prime minister at the time, Barnaby Joyce, was caught up in the issue given his inherited New Zealand citizenship. The cases were referred to the High Court to rule on whether the candidates had breached the condition of running for parliament.[25] Despite the government's confidence that the High Court would rule in favour of the candidates, the High Court determined that five of the seven candidates had been ineligible to run for Federal Parliament. In total, fifteen members of parliament resigned due to their dual citizenship.[26] The case raised many questions about the condition itself, and whether, given Australia's multicultural society, the condition is still relevant. At the time of writing, the stipulation remains unchanged. It is interesting to note that the majority of the candidates caught up in the case were white Australians who failed to interrogate their own histories and their own stories of how they came to be Australian.

I grew up as a monolingual (a person who speaks only one language) English speaker. I started learning German in high school and have continued to dabble in and study the language ever since. The further I continued in my German studies, and the more questions I continued to field about my name and heritage, the more curious I became about my great-grandfather and German heritage. Yes, I am Australian. But as an Australian, where does my own cultural background fit into Australia's multiculturalism? How and why did the German language get lost down the generations? What is the story that goes along with my obviously European surname? Not only my great-grandfather's story, but the story of German in Australia? Australia has always been and will

[24] Parliament of Australia, 'Section 44 of the Constitution', *Parliament of Australia*, 2004, Australia <https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/archive/Section44> [accessed 20 April 2017].

[25] Elizabeth Byrne, 'Here's How the High Court Ruled on Each of the Citizenship Seven's Cases', *ABC News Online*, 27 October 2017 <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-10-27/how-did-the-high-court-rule-on-each-of-the-citizenship-cases/9094676> [accessed 28 November 2019].

[26] Adam Baidawi, 'Australia's Dual-Citizenship Contagion Claims 5 More Politicians', *The New York Times*, 9 May 2018 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/09/world/australia/australia-dual-citizenship-politician-resign-crisis.html> [accessed 21 June 2018].

always be a multilingual nation. The stories of these languages and their impact on the country lace the nation, unheard.

The interrogation into my background I endure because of my name does not erase the fact that I am a white, native English speaking Australian. Growing up as a monolingual English speaker affords me privileges in this country. As much as I mutter to myself in English beside the train line in the reserve, English is a foreign language there, and I am sitting on stolen land. The Kaurna language of the Kaurna people is the native tongue and when I sit by the train line, I am sitting on Kaurna country. The Kaurna language is only one of hundreds of First Nations languages native to the continent. English is a foreign language on Australian soil.

A country built on multilingual foundations has reached a point where merely displaying a sign in a language that is not English evokes vehement outrage and backlash. Pockets of communities who speak languages other than English are deeply entrenched in, and contribute to, Australian society, yet the role these communities and their languages play in the nation is not only ignored, but openly mocked. How does a multicultural, multilingual country develop such a fear of foreign languages? What stories and histories are hidden beneath this fear?

PART 1: LANGUAGE ROYALTY

'…English has perused other languages down alleyways to beat them unconscious and rifle their pockets for new vocabulary.'

- James D. Nicoll [27]

We must begin with English.[28]

The irony of constructing a work interrogating and examining multilingual Australia in English is not lost on me. But neither is the reality: English is my native language and the dominant language of Australian society. Even if I had the capacity to pen such a work in another tongue, wisdom would advise strongly against making such a choice. English is prized in Australia, and, if I want these words to be widely read, English is the obvious candidate. Besides, it is the English speakers who need to read it. I am sitting in an English-speaking suburb in an English-speaking city in an English-speaking country. The muted television in front of me scrolls English across the news bar. English letters adorn the spines of books and magazines stacked beneath the coffee table. I am surrounded, and even if I was far from my English-speaking bubble and found myself instead surrounded by Cantonese or Czech, I could be fairly certain that, without too much effort on my part, I could open my mouth and spurt out English and find my way to my request. If an issue did arise, it would not be my problem: the burden of communication rests with the non-native English speaker. We must begin with English, because, like a weed undeterred for which there is no poison, English has wrestled its way around the globe, infiltrating the farthest corners, constricting other

[27] Peter Zilahy, 'Quotation from "Eddy Peters"', 2010 <http://lists.project-wombat.org/pipermail/project-wombat-project-wombat.org/2010-April/002646.html> [accessed 19 September 2020].
[28] A previous version of this chapter has been published as: Raelke Grimmer, 'Sentenced to Discrimination: Language As a Weapon of State', *Griffith Review*, 61, 2018, 277–84.

languages in its path. We must begin with English, because, without English and the role it plays on the global stage, the language would not sit so proudly atop Australia's language hierarchy.

Contrary to popular belief, Australia's multilingualism didn't begin in the 1970s with the introduction of Gough Whitlam's multicultural policies. Long before white invasion, Australia existed as a multicultural, multilingual land for thousands of years. Invasion attempted to massacre multilingualism out of the continent, and when that failed the country colonised under the pretence of English monolingual rule, legislated under the White Australia Policy from Federation in 1901. English is the common language used to bind Australia's multicultural society together. An Australian National University (ANU) poll conducted in 2015 shows that Australians see speaking English as more important than birthplace or citizenship in identifying as Australian.[29] A common tongue for all citizens is common sense, yet when a common tongue is confused to mean the *only* tongue, or used as a tool to actively discriminate against who qualifies to call a nation home, that language becomes a weapon in political, cultural and social warfare.

English's hold on Australian society is in part due to the language's status as the global language. Knowledge of English can greatly expand or limit a person's economic and social opportunities, both within Australia and globally. English is not only a symbol of cultural identity, but an economic commodity. Pierre Bourdieu describes this role of language as a measure of 'cultural capital', in that language and, in our globalised world, English, plays a role in determining access to public resources and income.[30] Social Work lecturer Dr Gai Harrison writes that in Australia, English is 'a highly valued linguistic resource through its dominance in education, employment and economic affairs.'[31] Not only speaking English, but speaking a certain *type* of

[29] Centre for Social Research & Methods, 'Australian Attitudes towards National Identity', *ANU Centre for Social Research & Methods* (The Australian National University, 2015) <https://csrm.cass.anu.edu.au/research/publications/australian-attitudes-towards-national-identity> [accessed 5 September 2016].

[30] Pierre Bourdieu and John B. Thompson, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

[31] G. Harrison, '"Oh, You've Got Such a Strong Accent": Language Identity Intersecting with Professional Identity in the Human Services in Australia', *International Migration*, 51.5 (2013), 192–204 <https://doi.org/doi: 10.1111/imig.12005>.

English, affords opportunities that those without the right kind of English are unable to access. Furthermore, native English speakers acquire the language's cultural capital and the advantages that come with it with almost no effort on their part. As more people choose, or are required to, learn English, even more economic and social opportunities open for native English speakers.[32]

In Australia's multicultural society, English holds cultural capital and is also a symbol of identity, despite the fact the language is not Australia's official language. Rather, English is designated as the country's national language.[33] The distinction between an official language and a national language is one of approaches to language management, rather than language use.[34] By law, an official language must be used in government and legal proceedings of that country, while national language status affords that language only the *right* to be used in government and legal proceedings. It is not compulsory. English is sometimes referred to as a 'de facto official language' in these countries, because the language undertakes the role of an official language without being designated as such.[35]

It is unclear why English is a national language, rather than an official language, in Australia. Linguist David Crystal explains that the most likely reason for English not holding official status in the UK or the USA is due to the dominance of English in these regions at the time of unification: 'None of the conflicts which arose were capable of threatening the status of English; consequently, there was no need for rulings.'[36] This is also the likely explanation for there being no mention of the role of English or its status in the Australian constitution or other government documents. At the time of Federation, it was merely assumed by the English-speaking officials that

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Chapter - Population Composition: Languages Spoken in Australia', *Australian Social Trends 1999* (Bureau of Statistics, 1999) <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/2f762f95845417aeca25706c00834efa/d67b7c95e0e8a733ca2570ec001117a2!OpenDocument> [accessed 5 July 2020].
[34] Lucie Lecomte, *Official Languages or National Languages? Canada's Decision* (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 2015) <https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en_CA/ResearchPublications/201481E> [accessed 4 August 2016].
[35] Ibid.
[36] David Crystal, *English as a Global Language* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 84.

given the status of English in Australia, English would be the official language of the nation. They therefore did not specify the role of English in the documentation. Conversations surrounding formalising the status of a language as an official language arise when conflicts threaten a language.[37] In more than thirty states in the USA, English is recognised as an official language.[38] Yet the federal government does not designate a national official language, despite many attempts over the years to legislate English as the official language under the 'English Language Unity Act'.[39] Hawaii and Alaska chose to legislate English as an official language to also give official language status to the indigenous languages in the regions, while other states chose to do so due to a perceived threat from the increasing number of Spanish speakers.[40]

In New Zealand's case, according to several government websites, New Zealand has three official languages: English, New Zealand Sign Language and Maori.[41] Even so, Ghil'ad Zuckermann, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Adelaide, queried the New Zealand government over their categorising English as an official language, when no legislation had been written designating the language as such. Zuckermann posted their reply online, which stated that:

> …there is no legislation that specifically acknowledges English as an official language of New Zealand. For a language to be official it can exist in government policy and practice by virtue of customary use and does not necessarily have to be set out in legislation.[42]

New Zealand considers English an official language through use, not legislation. This suggests that in the case of English in Australia, the USA and the UK, English is also an official

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Hunter Schwarz, 'States Where English Is the Official Language', *Washington Post* (Washington, 13 August 2014) <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/govbeat/wp/2014/08/12/states-where-english-is-the-official-language/> [accessed 7 July 2020].

[39] Steve King, *Text - H.R.997 - 115th Congress (2017-2018): English Language Unity Act of 2017*, 2017 <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/997/text> [accessed 7 July 2020].

[40] John Misachi, 'What Is the Official Language of the United States?', *WorldAtlas*, 5 September 2018 <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-is-the-official-language-of-the-united-states.html> [accessed 3 October 2020].

[41] NZ Human Rights, 'Human Rights Commission: New Zealands Official Languages', *NZ Human Rights*, 2020 <https://www.hrc.co.nz/enquiries-and-complaints/faqs/new-zealands-official-languages/> [accessed 7 July 2020].

[42] Professor Ghil'ad Zuckermann, Letter from New Zealand Government, August 14, 2017 (Facebook post). <https://www.facebook.com/ProfessorZuckermann/posts/1282526958524889> [accessed 20 August 2017]

language simply because it is the dominant language used in official proceedings. New Zealand legislated for Maori and New Zealand Sign Language to become official languages to give those languages equal status alongside English.[43] Assigning languages as official is a legislative process to protect languages.

In Australia, legislating official languages could become a way of protecting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, and ensuring First Nations peoples have the same opportunities to have their voices heard. In December 2015, Northern Territory Minister Bess Price was admonished by Northern Territory Speaker Kezia Purick for disorderly conduct in parliament after Price interjected in a debate in her native language, Walpiri.[44] English is the language of parliament in Australia, yet Price argued that she can express herself most clearly in Walpiri, and three quarters of the members in her electorate speak Walpiri as their native language, so therefore she should be allowed to use the language in parliament. Members of the Northern Territory Parliament can speak in language, so long as they firstly ask for permission from the Speaker. They must also speak an English translation first and provide a written English translation.[45]

But Speaker Purick acknowledged that translators cannot be provided on demand, which means that if a minister asked for permission to use their language, it is unlikely to be granted if a translator is not available. Purick defended her actions towards Price by arguing that 'The official language in Australia is English, and so by nature the official language of every parliament is English. It's not about whether a Member of Parliament can speak in another language or not, it's about maintaining order', despite the fact Australia does not have an official language and that a

[43] NZ Human Rights.

[44] Natasha Robinson, 'Aboriginal Minister Bess Price Denied Request to Speak Indigenous Language in NT Parliament', *ABC News Online*, 18 February 2016 <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-02-18/nt-warlpiri-minister-denied-request-to-speak-indigenous-language/7178298> [accessed 3 March 2016].

[45] Legislative Assembly of the Northern Territory, 'Standing Orders' (Parliament of the Northen Territory, 2016) <https://parliament.nt.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/377789/Standing-Orders-21-April-2016.pdf> [accessed 7 July 2019].

quarter of Northern Territory residents do not speak English as their first language.[46] Therefore, being required to present the residents' views in English does not always adequately communicate their concerns. Still, legislating First Nations languages as official languages in Australia is complicated due to the many different Indigenous languages still spoken and the varying degrees to which they are spoken.

It is a difficult, although not impossible, situation to manage. In South Africa, there are eleven official languages: Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho saLeboa, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga.[47] Before 1996, only English and Afrikaans held official status in the country, but under the 1996 constitution nine more languages were added to the list. The eleven official languages do not cover all of the indigenous tongues spoken in the country.[48] Not all eleven languages are required to be used at all times; rather, ‘Every national department, national public entity and national public enterprise must adopt a language policy regarding its use of official languages for government purposes’.[49] They must choose at least three official languages to use for official purposes, based on the linguistic composition of their respective regions.

Despite the complexities, there are signs Australia is starting to explore designating First Nations languages as official languages. In June 2020, South Australia’s Aboriginal Lands Parliamentary Standing Committee completed a report on the state of South Australia’s Aboriginal

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[46] Robinson; Australian Bureau of Statistics, ‘2016 Census QuickStats: Northern Territory’, 2017 <https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/7?opendocument> [accessed 30 October 2019].

[47] South Africa Gateway, ‘The 11 Languages of South Africa’, *South Africa Gateway*, 2020 <https://southafrica-info.com/arts-culture/11-languages-south-africa/> [accessed 7 July 2020].

[48] South Africa Gateway.

[49] Republic of South Africa, *Use of Official Languages Act 12*, 2012 <https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/35742gon8010.pdf>.

languages. One of the recommendations from the report is to legislate South Australian Aboriginal languages as official languages of the state.[50]

While English does not hold official status in Australia, it is Australia's national language within a multicultural society comprised of residents who collectively speak more than 300 languages, and therefore knowledge of English holds cultural capital. Professor Zuckermann is the founder and convenor of the Adelaide Language Festival. During his opening address at the festival in November 2017, he stated: 'When someone speaks English with a foreign accent in Australia, it is viewed as a disability. But it means they speak *at least* one other language.'[51] Zuckermann spoke in his own accented English, a language he speaks from his repertoire of fluency in eleven languages (he also has varying levels of competency in an additional eleven languages).[52]

Research undertaken by Harrison supports Zuckermann's views. Harrison interviewed bilingual social workers working in Queensland about the impact their linguistic skillset has had on their work.[53] One of the common themes that emerged from the participants was that, despite their qualifications and experience, their accented English deterred employers from hiring them. One participant shared that she was interviewed for a position where people from a diverse background were specifically sought, and then in the interview the interviewer commented on the participant's strong accent. The applicant did not get the job.

Another participant who was working as a social worker had to make a call on a client's behalf, and the receiver of the call assumed the participant was an interpreter, not a social worker. The participants of the study also commented on how their accented English was not considered to

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[50] Stephanie Richards, 'Parliament to Consider Official Recognition for SA's Aboriginal Languages', *InDaily* (Adelaide, 19 June 2020) <https://indaily.com.au/news/2020/06/19/parliament-to-consider-official-recognition-for-sas-aboriginal-languages/> [accessed 15 August 2020].
[51] Ghil'ad Zuckermann, 'Opening Address: Adelaide Language Festival, 2017' (presented at the Adelaide Language Festival, The University of Adelaide, 2017).
[52] Anna Goldsworthy, 'Voices of the Land', *The Monthly*, 1 September 2014 <https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2014/september/1409493600/anna-goldsworthy/voices-land> [accessed 19 May 2017].
[53] Harrison.

be an educated way of speaking, and therefore others made assumptions on their intelligence based on their ability in English. Furthermore, their accented English was often blamed for miscommunications in the workplace.[54] In Australia, speaking English without a native speaker accent is often perceived as an improper form of English and can be a disadvantage.

I have greatly benefitted from the cultural capital that comes with speaking English as a native language. Even so, I have a love-hate relationship with my mother tongue. In equal parts, I admire the resilience of the English language, which rose from the threat of extinction, and I also resent the linguicide (language killing) that has occurred at the hands of the language and that continues to occur with English's global dominance.[55] I am advantaged because I am a native English speaker, but that also makes me complicit in upholding an English-centric worldview. This very narrative is about languages in Australia, and yet out of necessity and because English is Australia's dominant language, I am writing in English. No matter how many perspectives I consider, I am constructing those perspectives through English and as a native English-speaking Australian.

A long and complicated history has morphed the English language into its modern form. Arguably, it is no longer one language, but a collection of dialects, with significantly distinct ways of speaking and using the tongue in different regions across the globe. To me, English is not an effortlessly beautiful language the way lyrical languages such as Spanish or Italian are often lauded. The language masquerades as belonging to the Romance language family, thanks to the massive borrowings English has helped itself to from Romance languages over the years. But English is a Germanic language and, while the sound of English is perhaps softer compared to the guttural sounds of German, to my ears the language does not naturally settle into melodic patterns. It takes

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Ghil'ad Zuckermann, 'Stope, Revive, Survive', *The Australian*, 6 June 2012 <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/opinion/stop-revive-and-survive/news-story/b73e6b6f4af08cf453eff7034e58b404> [accessed 4 March 2016].

the magic of a writer, poet, or lyricist to organise and manipulate English into a language of beauty. With a lexicon of hundreds of thousands of words to choose from, the task is not a simple one.

The surety that comes with wandering the globe as a native English speaker is palpable. I have felt utter relief that English is my native language on many occasions. I once spent three months in the Czech Republic on a Schengen visa, and halfway through my stay the visa rules changed. Originally, I was allowed three months in the country, and had booked my flights based off three months to the day. The changes limited me to 90 days in the Schengen Zone, and I had been in the country for 93 days. The customs officer I handed my passport to at the airport took his job seriously. He maintained a stony expression as he flicked his eyes to mine in a cursory glance and peeled open my passport. He took his time deciding I matched my photo. As he reached for the stamp to sign me through, I could see him mentally calculating dates. The stamp returned to the ink pad, unused. The official picked up the phone and fired rapid Czech into the receiver, before putting the phone down and returning his steely expression to me. I was relieved to hear him address me in curt English and I tried to explain the situation. A second official joined us and they shared a quick word in Czech. They told me to wait while they made a phone call. It seemed that the rules were so new even they weren't sure what to do in such a case. After a nervous wait, they let me through with no penalties. Navigating the situation without the aid of English would have been a much more stressful task.

At other times, English is a nuisance. As an exchange student in Germany, I always took the opportunity to practice German whenever I was out. However, the Germans in the small country town I stayed in took every opportunity to practice English whenever I opened my mouth and they heard Australian-accented German on my tongue. Every single time, without exception, the shopkeeper or waitress caught the foreignness in the way I spoke their language and accommodated me by switching to English. It was no doubt a kind gesture from the staff, but frustrating when I was in the country for the sole purpose of improving my ability to speak the language. These are the advantages and pitfalls of speaking a tongue that has risen to become the world's language. Even

so, the advantages far outweigh the pitfalls. English's status as the world's lingua franca raises the cultural capital of English speakers.

English is not the language with the most native speakers in the world. That title belongs to Mandarin, with more than one billion speakers.[56] But English is this century's global language, spoken by more non-native speakers (898 million) than native speakers (369 million).[57] Even so, English did not always enjoy the dominance it does today.

While English now dwarfs many other languages (it is spoken in more than 145 countries), once upon a time, English itself was dwarfed by languages much more powerful and dominant than it.[58] The language was once a tongue reserved mainly as a common language used in England.[59] Latin held the status as the official language of the royal courts, while English was used as a second language in the courts and as the language of the people. In 1066, England's Kind Edward had promised two different dukes secession to the throne. When King Edward died, William, Duke of Normandy, travelled to England to challenge English Duke Harold Godwinson for the crown.[60] William was the victor and became the King of England, and the Normans invaded the country. Norman-French replaced English as the second official language of the English courts after Latin.[61]

For three hundred years, England was ruled by French-speaking Kings, and Norman-French was quickly adopted as a second language amongst the English, as it was regarded more highly than English.[62] English faced the possibility of extinction during the reign of the Normans yet was saved in part because it continued to be spoken alongside French and thus French vocabulary was adopted

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[56] David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fenning, 'Chinese, Mandarin', *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (Dallas, Texas: SIL International, 2020) <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/cmn> [accessed 7 July 2020].
[57] David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fenning, 'English', *Ethnologue:Languages of the World* (Dallas, Texas: SIL International, 2020) <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/eng> [accessed 7 July 2020].
[58] Melvyn Bragg, *The Adventure of English: 500 AD to 2000 ; the Biography of a Language* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2003), p. 33.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Jean-Benoit Nadeau and Julie Barlow, *The Story of French: The Language That Travelled the World* (UK: Portio Books, 2006), p. 30.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Nadeau and Barlow; Bragg.

into English alongside English terms.[63] English author and broadcaster Melvyn Bragg describes the scenario as such:

> [Foreign words] were pile-driven into the vocabulary and needed to be denied, defeated or somehow to become “our” “English” words, otherwise French would certainly depress, effectively eliminate English and overrule any claim it had to primacy.[64]

This is one reason why English appears to more closely resemble Romance languages despite being a Germanic language. Many examples of words which came into English through French include words to do with war: ‘army’ (armée), ‘archer’ (archer) and ‘guard’ (garde).[65] Another example is the words for meat: beef, pork, mutton and veal. These words are derived from the French equivalents and were used alongside the English words for the animals when referring to meat: the French upper class used the French words, as they could afford to consume the animals for dinner, while the English labourers who worked the animals in the field continued to use the English terms.[66] So all the terms survived into English as we know it today. The first English King to speak English as a mother tongue after Norman rule was King Henry IV, who ruled from 1399- 1413, and his successor was the first king to write official documents in English.[67]

From there, English’s global growth can be largely attributed to Britain’s colonisation of many regions of the world. Wherever the British landed, English followed.[68] In the case of the British invasion of Australia in 1788, English displaced more than 250 Indigenous languages and 800 language varieties.[69] Britain was also responsible for many new developments, such as the

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[63] Bragg, p. 40.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., p. 37
[66] Bragg, p. 51.
[67] Nadeau and Barlow, p. 31.
[68] Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, p. 29.
[69] ‘Indigenous Australian Languages’, *Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies*, 2015 <https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/indigenous-australian-languages> [accessed 21 February 2020]; Doug Marmion and others, *Community, Identity, Wellbeing: The Report of the Second National Indigenous Languages Survey* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2014) <https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/products/report_research_outputs/2014-report-of-the-2nd-national-indigenous-languages-survey.pdf> [accessed 21 February 2020].

harnessing of coal, during the Industrial Revolution in the 1800s. At the time, the British economy was the fastest growing in the world.[70] As these developments grew out of an English-speaking society, they contributed thousands of new words to the English language. Those living abroad who wished to learn about these new developments therefore needed to learn English in order to do so.[71]

English continued to grow throughout the 1900s, largely due to the technological revolution and, specifically, the internet. As the internet is a US invention, the language of the internet from the very beginning was English. Furthermore, the way the internet was originally coded was based on a Latin character set to accommodate English and so originally, characters occurring in some languages were unable to be transmitted online.[72] To this day, the majority of information published and exchanged on the internet is transmitted in English, although the dominance of English on the internet is falling. In 2006, 80% of content on the internet was written in English, while in 2016 only 45% of the internet was in English. These statistics only reflect websites indexed by search engines, and social media sites are not included in the estimates.[73] The gap between English and the next most-used language on the internet, Mandarin, continues to decrease.

English's dominance on the global stage underpins the role of English in Australia. Despite the nation's history as a multilingual land, from Federation in 1901, English was the chosen weapon for cultivating a white English-speaking nation. The weapon was wielded through the Immigration Restriction Act 1901.

The Act consolidated the individual colonies' selective migration policies into an overarching policy and imposed the Dictation Test on anyone wishing to migrate to or enter Australia.[74] The policy ensured language remained a way in which Australia determined eligibility for

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[70] Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, p. 80.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., pp. 116-17.
[73] Leanna Garfield, 'English is losing its status as the universal language of the internet', *Business Insider*, 3 January 2016 <http://www.businessinsider.com/english-is-losing-its-status-as-the-universal-language-of-the-internet-heres-why-thats-a-good-thing-2015-12?IR=T> [Accessed 12 October 2016].
[74] *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1901A00017> [accessed 7 July 2016].

entering Australian territory. Potential non-European immigrants were played a 50-word passage in a language chosen by the immigration official and required to write out what they heard. While the test was originally mandated to take place in English, it was decided that this would give an advantage to Chinese and Japanese applicants, so officials decided the test could take place in any European language. In 1905 the Act was amended to replace 'an European language' with 'any prescribed language' due to pressure from the Japanese. In practice, however, it was understood that despite the change in wording, 'any prescribed language' still referred to European languages.[75] Applicants deemed unsuitable to migrate to Australia were administered a test in a language they did not know, after the applicant's language skills were determined in a pre-test interview. The test could be administered any time within a year of a person's arrival in Australia, and those who failed the test were either deported or refused entry. The test was designed to be failed, as is clear from correspondence between the Commonwealth Home and Territories Department and the Collector of Customs at Fremantle in 1927:

> The test, when applied to an immigrant, is intended to serve as an absolute bar to such a person's entry into Australia, or as a means of depriving him of the right to remain in the Commonwealth if he has landed. The test should therefore be applied in a language in which the immigrant is not sufficiently acquainted to be able to write out at dictation.[76]

The choice of language rested solely with customs officials, who were advised to take due care when selecting the language:

> The question has been raised as to whether it would be allowable to abandon the application of a dictation test before completing the fifty words and to choose a fresh passage in another language, in any case where an immigrant, after admitting his inability to write in the language first chosen, commences to write in such a manner as to indicate the likelihood of his passing the test. The Crown Law authorities, however, definitely advise that once the test has been started it should be gone on and carried to completion. It is therefore desirable that

[75] Kel Robertson, Jessie Hohmann, and Iain Stewart, 'Dictating to One of "Us": The Migration of Mrs Freer', *Macquarie Law Journal*, 5 (2005), 241–75 (p. 245).

[76] Tim Mcnamara, '21st Century Shibboleth: Language Tests, Identity and Intergroup Conflict', *Language Policy*, 4.4 (2005), 351–70 (p. 358) <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-005-2886-0>.

> every possible precaution should be taken to ascertain whether the person concerned is likely to be able to write in the language chosen.[77]

The test used English and European languages to selectively decide who had the right to set foot on, or remain on, Australian soil, despite the nation's multicultural and multilingual society. While the test was abolished in 1958 as part of the 25-year long process, beginning in 1943, of dismantling the White Australia Policy, the hangover of the racist test can still be seen in Australia today.

While at the time of writing there is no English test for migrants who wish to immigrate to Australia, there is a points-based system for skilled migrants who wish to move to Australia. The better an applicant's English skills are, the more points they are awarded.[78] The minimum English requirement depends on the visa subclass the applicant is applying for, but generally applicants must prove at least 'competent English' by holding a passport from the UK, USA, New Zealand, Canada or the Republic of Ireland and being a citizen of one of those countries, or by achieving a minimum standard in an internationally recognised English exam, such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) or the Cambridge English: Advanced test.[79] Applicants receive no points towards their application for possessing competent English skills, but receive ten points for 'proficient English', or twenty points for 'superior English'.[80]

Yet there are increasing demands to reintroduce English language testing as grounds for the right to Australian citizenship. In April 2017, the Australian government, under prime minister Malcolm Turnbull, proposed the introduction of a compulsory English language test as part of the application process of becoming an Australian citizen. Applicants would be required to achieve a minimum Band 6 in the general IELTS test to achieve citizenship.[81] The IELTS bands range from 0

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[77] Ibid.

[78] Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 'Skilled Independent Visa: Subclass 189', *Department of Immigration and Border Protection*, 2016 <https://www.border.gov.au/Trav/Visa-1/189> [accessed 4 August 2019].

[79] Ibid.

[80] Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 'How can I prove I have proficient English?', *Australian Government*, n.d, < https://www.border.gov.au/Lega/Lega/Form/Immi-FAQs/how-can-i-prove-i-have-proficient-english > [Accessed 30 October 2016].

[81] Misty Adoniou, 'Could You Pass the Proposed English Test for Australian Citizenship?', *The Conversation*, 13 June 2017 <http://theconversation.com/could-you-pass-the-proposed-english-test-for-australian-citizenship-79269> [accessed 15 June 2017].

(for someone who does not show up for the test) to 9 (native-level fluency). Band 6 falls in the mid- to high- range and indicates a competent language user.

Requiring an applicant to demonstrate language skills to be eligible for citizenship is not controversial in and of itself. Most countries in Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Asia require applicants to demonstrate ability in an official or national language in some way. Some countries require a formal language certification, while others assess the applicant's basic language skills. There are some notable exceptions, including Japan, Hungary, Ireland, Sweden and China.[82] Of the countries that do not require a language assessment, many do require a citizenship test, administered in the national or official language. Australia requires such a test, and therefore applicants need at least a basic understanding of English to pass the test. While Australia is in the minority in not mandating a language test for citizenship, the proposal of an IELTS Band 6 is a high level to require of potential citizens and goes beyond the level of English required to function with day-to-day activities in society. Furthermore, given Australia's language diversity and mix of Indigenous and community languages alongside English, requiring such a high language component is in direct opposition to the multiculturalism Australia promotes.

The Turnbull government's proposed changes to citizenship did not pass through the Senate, and in October 2017, the changes were revised. One of the revisions was to drop the English language requirement from a Band 6 to a Band 5 score in the general IELTS test. The government planned to implement the new requirements from July 2018, but the revisions also did not pass through the Senate.[83] Debates surrounding a language test for citizenship are ongoing. If the new citizenship eligibility requirements are implemented in the future, ability in English will officially be legislated as a prized attribute of Australian citizens, guarding the gate to acceptance within our multicultural society. The danger with introducing a compulsory English test for

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[82]San Domenico di Fiesole: Global Citizenship Observatory, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, and European University Institute, *Global Database on Modes of Acquisition of Citizenship, Version 1.0.* (European University Institute, 2017) <http://globalcit.eu/acquisition-citizenship/> [accessed 19 September 2020].

[83] Mosiqi Acharya, 'Australian Citizenship: Migrants to Face Tougher English Language Test', *SBS Your Language*, 3 July 2018 <https://www.sbs.com.au/language/english/australian-citizenship-migrants-to-face-tougher-english-language-test> [accessed 8 July 2018].

citizenship also lies in the opportunities for the test to be misused for political purposes, as occurred with the Dictation Test.

One of the most famous cases of the misuse of the Dictation Test involved Czechoslovakian Jewish writer Egon Kisch. In November 1934, Kisch was due to arrive in Australia to speak at the Anti-War Congress in Melbourne. As he was a communist, and had been banned from entering the UK, the Australian government did not want Kisch entering Australia.[84] Upon his arrival in Fremantle, officials were waiting for him, and searched his belongings hoping to find material to justify his deportation from Australia. While they found nothing, his passport and return ticket were taken from him and he was not allowed to leave the ship.[85] Kisch had been planning to catch the train from Perth across the country, and the delay meant that Kisch would miss the congress in Melbourne.

The Society of Australian Authors began the first in a string of protests that publicised Kisch's case.[86] Kisch was to remain a prisoner of the *Strathhaird*, the ship he'd sailed to Fremantle on, as the ship continued on to Melbourne and then Sydney via Adelaide. When the ship docked in Melbourne, Kisch jumped from the ship, landing on the dock and breaking his leg in the process. Despite his need of medical attention, officials forced him back onto the ship to continue on to Sydney, where he was to take the next ship back to Europe.[87]

After initial attempts to deport Kisch based on his communist views failed, the government chose to invoke the Dictation Test in order to legally deport Kisch from the country. Given his proficiency in several European languages, Kisch was given the test in Scottish Gaelic, which he failed.[88] Kisch subsequently challenged the decision to administer the test in Scottish Gaelic in

[84] Heidi Zogbaum, *Kisch in Australia: The Untold Story* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2004).
[85] Zogbaum, pp. 39–40.
[86] Ibid., p. 40
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., pp. 60-61.

court.[89] His first challenge was unsuccessful, but Kisch then took the challenge to the High Court, where he was successful on the basis that Scottish Gaelic is not a European language.[90]

This decision, in turn, angered some Scottish Australians, who wrote to *The Sydney Morning Herald* to voice their anger.[91] Sir Mungo MacCallum, chancellor of the University of Sydney at the time, wrote a letter using the pen name Columbinus. MacCallum questions whether the court took issue with Scottish Gaelic not being European, 'If Gaelic is not European, what is it? It cannot be described as Asiatic, African, American, or Australian', or whether the issue was with the court considering Scottish Gaelic to be a dialect, rather than a language: 'perhaps… [the court] were denying that Gaelic was more than a dialect, but a dialect of what?'[92] The decision of the High Court further reflects Australia's attitudes to languages other than English at the time, as it refused to acknowledge Scottish Gaelic as a legitimate language. After ongoing legal proceedings, the charges against Kisch were eventually dropped and he returned to Europe.

Australia's history of using English to selectively cultivate the nation's collective identity, and the renewed calls for English tests to determine citizenship eligibility, support the narrative that Australia is a nation with a monolingual mindset. Australian linguist Michael Clyne characterised Australia as possessing such a way of thinking. He describes the monolingual mindset as such:

> The greatest impediment to recognising, valuing and utilising our language potential is a persistent monolingual mindset. Such a mindset sees everything in terms of monolingualism being the norm, even though there are more bi- and multilinguals in the world and in spite of our own multiculturalism. It views multilingualism as outside the possible experience of "real Australians" or even in the too-hard basket… [The monolingual mindset] sometimes

[89] Hon Keith Mason QC, 'The Saga of Egon Kisch and the White Australia Policy', *Bar News: The Journal of the New South Wales Bar Association*, 2014 Summer.64 (2014), 64–67 (p. 66).
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Columbinus, 'Gaelic and the High Court', *Sydney Morning Herald* (NSW, 27 December 1934) <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article17135234> [accessed 8 July 2016].

believes that using another language is an indication of inability or unwillingness to speak English at all.[93]

A monolingual mindset sees speaking one language as the norm, and speaking multiple languages as unusual, even though most of the world's population is at least bilingual.[94] A monolingual mindset is not compatible with multiculturalism, because it favours an English-centric view of the world. This is a detriment in a multicultural society which needs to legislate for different linguistic and cultural groups. How can people with experience in only one language and culture do this effectively? Language learning in Australia is prioritised only for those Australians who do not speak English. In Australian schools, only ten per cent of students in their final year of school study a foreign language.[95] The nation is preoccupied with English.

There are practical reasons for the emphasis on English in Australian society. As the dominant language of the nation, it is difficult to get by without speaking English. Living in Australia and not speaking English prevents a person from participating fully in society, and it is lonely to live in a country without speaking the language. The argument is not that people who live in Australia should not learn English. English is an important skill to possess to take part in Australian society. The question is why do those English skills have to come at the expense of other languages?

There are actions that suggest languages other than English have been embraced alongside the national language. The SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) was founded in 1975 as a multicultural and multilingual broadcaster, providing radio and television programming in many different languages and about many different cultures.[96] Currently, the service offers radio programs

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[93] Michael G. Clyne, *Australia's Language Potential* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2005), p. xi.
[94] *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, ed. by Colin Baker and Sylvia Prys Jones (Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1998).
[95] Tim Mayfield, 'Australia's "Spectacular" Failure in Languages', *Pursuit*, 6 July 2017 <https://pursuit.unimelb.edu.au/articles/australia-s-spectacular-failure-in-languages> [accessed 9 November 2017].
[96] SBS, 'Our History', *SBS Corporate*, 2020 <https://www.sbs.com.au/aboutus/our-history> [accessed 8 July 2020].

in sixty-eight languages and television programs in more than fifty languages.[97] The offered languages are reviewed after each Census, to ensure the programs reflect the linguistic diversity of the nation.

Apart from a multilingual broadcaster, essential services and information are offered in many different languages and, for those languages that are not immediately available, the Translating and Interpreting Service (TIS National) is a 24-hour, seven days a week service available to anyone who requires the assistance of an interpreter.[98] This service grew from a Commonwealth translation service that began in 1947 due to migration following World War II, and by 1973 a free telephone interpreting service became available to the general public.[99] Services such as SBS and TIS National indicate an understanding on the government's behalf of the importance of making multilingual services available for those Australians who do not speak English as a first language. The need for such services was highlighted during the tumultuous events in Australia in 2020, during the bushfires and COVID-19 lockdowns. People required access to emergency information in a language they could clearly understand, and these services, along with community-led initiatives, played an important role in this space. While there is an understanding of the need for transition and interpreting services in these contexts, this understanding is confined to these specific areas and does not translate into a broader understanding of multilingualism within Australia's multiculturalism.

When language is considered within multiculturalism, it is the English aspect of multiculturalism, such as the English language proficiency of migrants, or the lack of English literacy skills in the country's Indigenous population, that receives the most attention, especially in the media. In February 2018, Federal finance minister, Mathias Corman, became acting prime minister for a week. Corman was born in Belgium, and an article published on SBS online

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[97] SBS, 'FAQs', *SBS Corporate*, 2020 <https://www.sbs.com.au/aboutus/faqs> [accessed 8 July 2020].
[98] Department of Home Affairs, 'About TIS' (Department of Home Affairs – Translating and Interpreting Services Online) <https://www.tisnational.gov.au/en/About-TIS-National> [accessed 8 July 2020].
[99] Ibid.

emphasised the feat of his achievement in relation to his language skills, '…the temporary post is a major step for someone who while fluent in German, French and Flemish, couldn't speak English until age 23.'[100] Corman's fluency in three other languages is brushed off as meaningless without his fluency in English. Granted, he would not have worked his way into Australian politics without his strong English language skills, but his fluency in three other languages is an asset to his role in Australian politics, not a detriment.

In another article published on SBS, Laura Morelli wrote about Yolŋu rapper Baker Boy, who raps both in his native language, Yolŋu Matha, and English. Baker Boy broke into the Australian mainstream music scene in 2017. The caption NITV decided to run with their Facebook post sharing the article read 'How Baker Boy went from no English to becoming one of Australia's biggest rising music stars'.[101] The article itself notes, 'English is not Baker Boy's first language and just a few years ago, even a basic English sentence was a challenge for him.'[102] This statement is contextualised by how Baker Boy overcame the challenge of English to find success, yet both of the statements emphasise the negative aspect of not speaking English and do not embrace Baker Boy's ability in his native language, despite the fact his success is, in part, because he raps in language. Conversations and discussion around migrants and Australians who do not speak English as their first language are framed with regards to their knowledge of English, and ignore their proficiency in other languages.

In 2013, I spent three months travelling Europe with my husband. Despite my husband's native fluency in Czech and my ability to get by in German, we dragged English across the continent. We stepped onto Czech trams, awash in a sea of Czech. Voices, advertisements plastered

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[100] Rashida Yosufzai, 'Mathias Cormann: The Belgian Migrant to Be Australia's Acting PM', *SBS News*, 19 February 2018 <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/mathias-cormann-the-belgian-migrant-to-be-australia-s-acting-pm> [accessed 23 April 2018].

[101] NITV, How Baker Boy went from no English to becoming one of Australia's biggest rising music stars, March 1 2018 (Facebook Post) <https://m.facebook.com/NITVAustralia/posts/10155399226982005> [accessed 14 March 2020]

[102] Laura Morelli, 'How Baker Boy Rose to Australian Music Fame', *NITV*, 28 February 2018 <https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/nitv-news/article/2018/02/28/how-baker-boy-rose-australian-music-fame> [accessed 30 September 2018].

above the tram's windows, the stop announcements over the loudspeaker. Even the back of my paper ticket, larger than the easily lost rectangular scrap I was used to back home, was smattered with Czech. As the tram rolled from Brno's outskirts towards the city centre, my husband and I conversed in English. We were ignored. I was mindful that the majority of the tram's occupants could probably understand us if they chose to listen. Not that our conversation was worth eavesdropping on. My husband was telling me how much he missed riding the trams he remembered from childhood; how the sound of the wheels squeaking through the streets sends him straight back to his existence in this city which had evolved, but not to a point of unrecognition, since he left at the age of eleven. Our English continued to fill the tram as our line intersected with six or seven others in the city's main precinct. We dragged our language off the tram with us and scattered it through the city streets as we spent the day wandering. No one bothered us as we polluted the air with foreign words. When we finally tired of the city and reboarded a tram back to our accommodation, no one blinked twice at the two English speakers chattering away up the back of the tram.

The above scenario replayed itself again and again as we perused Europe: Prague, Vienna, Munich, Zurich. We dragged English with us, without burden. It is difficult to envision a scenario where English speakers are vilified for speaking their language in a non-English speaking country, with the possible exception of France, whose population has the reputation of turning their noses up at English speakers who do not even attempt a *bonjour* upon entering a shop. I cannot verify or deny those claims as I have only heard second-hand stories, usually passed down with a roll of the eyes at how uptight the French are with their language. But it is not only the French who are precious about hearing their beloved tongue spoken on their shores, and speakers of other languages are certainly not afforded the same freedom with their native words in English-speaking countries as English speakers enjoy in non-English speaking countries.

In Australia, non-native English speakers carry the weight of their mother tongues, abused on public transport or judged for their accent-tinged English. Anything but a native Australian (or

British, New Zealand or US) accent is treated with suspicion, and the task of proving 'Australianness' lies with the accented speaker. This suspicion comes from a fear of the unknown, and in turn transforms to a fear of foreign languages.

This fear holds a strong place in Australia's history, as demonstrated by the Dictation Test and the linguicide of the land's Indigenous languages. In modern times, the fear has been exacerbated by two World Wars and acts of terrorism. It is not the languages themselves that people are afraid of; rather, it is the associations people make with particular languages that drives the fear. In Australia, during World War I and World War II, the German language became the mark of the enemy. Speaking German was forbidden, as the language was symbolic of the enemy.[103] In 2001, when terrorists hijacked two planes and flew them into the Twin Towers in New York City, sending the towers tumbling and ushering in a new kind of war, Arabic become the language that drives fear into the hearts of Westerners, even when the language is overheard on a balmy Sunday afternoon train ride, or seen on a telco advertisement at the local shopping centre.[104] There is no logical reason to be afraid, but the associations of the language in the media have conditioned such a response. Arabic has become the symbol of terrorism, violence and destruction. The fear itself is understandable if it is fleeting and passes once the logical brain takes over. It is when the fear trumps all other emotions and that fear spills over into hate against particular groups within society that it becomes damaging and unnecessarily hurtful.

In 2017, an SBS documentary entitled *Is Australia Racist*? aired on television. The documentary was based on a survey conducted by researchers at the University of Western Sydney commissioned by SBS for the documentary.[105] Just over 6,000 Australians completed the online survey, which asked respondents to strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with

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[103] Peter Monteath, Mandy Paul, and Rebecca Martin, *Interned: Torrens Island 1914 - 1915* (Mile End: Wakefield Press, 2014).
[104] Armstrong.
[105] K. Blair and others, *Challenging Racism Project 2015-16 National Survey Report* (Penrith, N.S.W: Western Sydney University, 2017) <https://doi.org/10.4225/35/58cb62d270392>.

statements relating to their views on Australia's cultural diversity. The documentary itself then tested the results of the survey through several real-life experiments. The most confronting of these experiments was one where they sent an African woman to public places along with two actors whose job it was to racially abuse her.[106] In the survey, 76% of respondents claimed they would step in if they witnessed such abuse, and the experiment aimed to see how many people would actually step in.[107] It was confronting to watch. In a scenario at a bus stop, bystanders were clearly uncomfortable at the abuse, yet of three onlookers, no one spoke up in the victim's defence. At a different bus stop and at a train station, two onlookers stood up for the victim, with one woman rebuking the abusers for tarnishing Australia. In a fourth scenario, the woman sat on a wide set of concrete steps. Many other people sat around her. In this situation, the actors who were hired to abuse the woman asked, 'Is your name…?' followed by a string of clicks. A bystander chose to stand up for the woman by telling the actors, 'It's clear she doesn't speak your language. What's the point?'

The context in which this statement was used was not unpacked by the makers of the documentary. Firstly, the bystander made a huge assumption based on the way the woman was dressed and the colour of her skin: because she looked and dressed differently to what is considered an Australian way of dressing, he assumed she did not speak English. Secondly, the comment did not directly call out the abusers for racially discriminating against the woman, but rather, suggested they direct their comments elsewhere due to the fact the woman couldn't even understand. It is possible that the bystander was uncomfortable with the situation and wished to defuse it but did not want to get into a confrontation with the abusers. He therefore called them out on what they were saying but did not go as far as to say that the abusers were racially discriminating against the victim.

[106] 'Is Australia Racist?' (Australia: SBS, 2016) <https://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/video/875663427897/is-australia-racist> [accessed 24 May 2017].
[107] Ibid.

While the documentary examined the results of the study, the role of language in racism was not explored.

This omission is an oversight, given the fact that language is a visible marker exposing people to racial discrimination. Along with a fear of languages comes the alienation of entire communities of people. The alienated group differs depending on the decade. In 1850s Australia, it was the Chinese.[108] In the late 1800s and early 1900s, it was the Middle Eastern population.[109] After the World Wars, it was the Germans.[110] Post the 9/11 attacks in New York City, it was Muslims, and refugees and asylum seekers who are fleeing their war-torn countries in the hope of finding a safe place to live.[111] Now, in the midst of 2020's COVID-19 pandemic, Asian Australians are again being ostracised and blamed for the pandemic, as the virus was first detected in Wuhan, China.[112]

There is a fear that migrants will not assimilate and rather try and replicate their previous lives in Australia, and in doing so reject Australian values and not contribute to Australian society. A measure which is used to pick on this idea is that of the English language proficiency of migrants. It is an easy one to choose as it is a conspicuous marker with which to judge if migrants are assimilating or not.

Uttering words out in public that are not English leaves people open to abuse, as illustrated by many racist attacks on Australia's public transport system.[113] In 2012, a French woman was singing in French on a bus in Melbourne, when a fellow passenger yelled at her to 'speak English or die, motherfucker'.[114] People using a foreign language in public are viewed as foreigners, no matter

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[108] John Fitzgerald, *Big White Lie: Chinese Australians in White Australia* (Sydney, NSW: University of New South Wales Press, 2007).
[109] Nahid A Kabir, 'The Economic Plight of the Afghans in Australia', *Islamic Studies*, 44.2 (2005), 229–50.
[110] Monteath, Paul, and Martin.
[111] Mark Isaacs, *The Undesirables: Inside Nauru* (Hardie Grant Books, 2014); Al-Shakarchi.
[112] Osmond Chu, *COVID-19 Coronavirus Racism Incident Report* (Asian Australian Alliance, 2020) <http://diversityarts.org.au/app/uploads/COVID19-racism-incident-report-Preliminary-Official.pdf>.
[113] 'Is Australia Racist?'
[114] Adrian Lowe, 'Racist Rants Mar Suburban Bus Ride', *The Age*, 21 November 2012 <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/racist-rants-mar-suburban-bus-ride-20121121-29p2r.html> [accessed 4 August 2019].

how many years they have called Australia home. When people hear a language they cannot understand spoken around them, fear and insecurity immediately kick in. There is an assumption that the people are talking about the others in their vicinity, or something top secret that shouldn't be overheard; otherwise, why would they speak in a language that isn't English? Writer Nirvana Bhandary illustrates this paranoia in her satirical piece titled 'How to Be a More Confident Migrant':

> And if you want to make some uptight white people really uncomfortable just for the hell of it, throw some random, potentially confronting sounding words from your language into a sentence. For example: 'It really pisses me off when these *kharbuja ghoolbedas* kill *samachar bujena* terrorism. I mean, c'mon!' Translation: 'It really pisses me off when these watermelon tomatoes kill news don't know about terrorism. I mean, c'mon!' Apply liberally, and enjoy the results.[115]

Bhandary further makes the point that in most cases, when people are overheard using a language that is not English, they are likely talking about something completely insignificant, such as a shopping list or their work day. Yet merely the act of using words that are not English out in public infuriates people. The argument put forward is that if someone can speak English, then why not just use English?

In May 2018, Strathfield City Council in Sydney proposed the following changes to shop signs in the area, which are commonly written in two or three languages:

> All signage is to be displayed in the English language, with a direct or near direct translation into another language using smaller letters or characters … [which] must not exceed more than 30% of the overall size of the English language text.[116]

[115] Nirvana Bhandary, 'How to Be a More Confident Migrant', in *Dialect*, ed. by Kat Muscat (Melbourne: Express Media, 2014), pp. 98–101 (p. 100).
[116] Alice Chik and Philip Benson, 'Council Wants "English First" Policy on Shop Signs – What Does It Mean for Multicultural Australia?', *The Conversation*, 16 May 2018 <http://theconversation.com/council-wants-english-first-policy-on-shop-signs-what-does-it-mean-for-multicultural-australia-95777> [accessed 10 June 2018].

The stipulation is laughable for many reasons, but mostly because English signs are in abundance in many non-English speaking nations around the world. As English speakers, we *expect* the comfort of English signs to guide us through foreign lands. It is another example of the prevalent monolingual mindset in Australia, despite our multiculturalism.

The disassociation between multilingualism and multiculturalism is also embedded in the way multiculturalism is spoken about by our politicians and represented in our media, perpetuating particular ideas about multiculturalism to the public. I was out shopping one afternoon and a sales assistant in the store struck up small talk. It was a weekday afternoon, and the assistant asked me about my plans for the rest of the day. I took a moment before responding to decide if I would play along for small talk's sake or share what I planned to do that afternoon. I chose the latter and explained that I needed to go home and work on the manuscript I was writing. The sales assistant then asked me what I was writing about, and I told her I was writing about multiculturalism in Australia.

'Oh, interesting!' The sales assistant said. 'Does that mean you get to taste all the multicultural food as part of your research, or dress up in different national costumes?' She actually said this, word for word. It took me a moment to process her reply. I didn't know how to respond. Thankfully, she didn't appear to require an answer and handed me the bag with my purchase. When people think of multiculturalism, they don't think of languages. They think of food and national dress.

I experienced a similar incident a couple of years earlier, when a journalist for a local paper called me to talk about a project I was working on involving different languages. The purpose of the project was to illustrate how language is very much a part of multiculturalism and that multiculturalism is more than food and national dress. The journalist began discussing his ideas for a photo to accompany the article: 'Well, I know that your project is about celebrating languages as part of multiculturalism, and that it's more than food and dress, but national costumes are really

colourful and look good in a photo, so I was thinking the photo should be lots of people dressed up in their national dress.' His idea illustrated how little the journalist actually understood about the purpose of my project. The article did not go ahead in the end. But the experience also highlights how the perception of multiculturalism as little more than costumes and food gets perpetuated by the media. Despite the linguistic diversity in Australia and despite the nation's multiculturalism, languages other than English are not considered an important aspect of cultivating the country's multiculturalism.

But more than fear, it is perhaps through the English language that we, as Australians, prove that we are Australian. If we migrated here and we took up the challenge to learn the language, we have earned the right to be Australian. In a multicultural society, what other markers do we have by which to determine our Australianness? Our English accent is unique; a mixture of the different Englishes spoken on these shores. There are values which are deemed to be Australian, but determining whether someone shares these values or not takes more time and effort than evaluating whether they speak English to a level that qualifies them to be Australian.

A poll conducted by the Pew Research Centre supports this idea. Their research looked at which factors respondents considered to be the most important in being able to identify as a national of their respective countries. Fifteen countries took part in the poll. On average, across all fifteen nations, speaking the national language was considered to be the most important factor. Language polled more highly than even birthplace.[117] These results are mirrored in the 2015 ANU poll, where Australians rated speaking English more highly than birthplace or citizenship as an identifier of being Australian.[118]

The question then becomes if insistence on learning the local language is also placed upon English speakers who choose to live in a non-English speaking nation. There are large English-

[117] Bruce Stokes, 'How Countries Around the World View National Identity', *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project*, 2017 <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2017/02/01/what-it-takes-to-truly-be-one-of-us/> [accessed 5 December 2017].
[118] Centre for Social Research & Methods.

speaking expat communities in many countries in the world. There are expat groups, where people get together after spending the day at their English-speaking jobs, to speak English together. This occurs in much the same way that there are community cultural clubs in cities all over Australia, for as many different nations as you can think of. It is rarely an expectation that an English speaker living in a non-English speaking country must learn the language. It is welcome, of course; but they are not discriminated against if they choose not to. In an article published on *Overland* in March 2018, Australian writer Gabrielle Innes wrote about the shame of having lived in Berlin for three years and still not learned German.[119] She acknowledges that she attempted to learn the language, and yet just couldn't find the motivation to continue with it, when she could get by perfectly well in English. She also admits that this is a common thread amongst her expat Berlin friends.

Furthermore, the *Wall Street Journal* explored the use of the term expatriate in Hong Kong, and how it applies only to people from Western countries.[120] A follow-up article in *The Guardian* identified the same trend in Europe, in that workers from Africa are not referred to as expats in Europe, but immigrants.[121] The fact that people from Western countries who move to another country for work are referred to as expats rather than immigrants could be another reason why they are not expected to learn the language. Expat connotes a fleeting residence, and therefore they are excused from committing themselves to the local language.

American journalist and writer Lauren Collins writes about her experience of being an expat in her memoir *When in French*.[122] Collins and her French-speaking husband end up moving from London to Geneva, Switzerland, and Collins finds herself unable to get by with only English in their community. She eventually decides to learn French out of a fear that she will not be able to

[119] Gabrielle Innes, 'The Shame of Not Learning a Language', *Overland Literary Journal*, 26 March 2018 <https://overland.org.au/2018/03/the-shame-of-not-learning-a-language/> [accessed 16 January 2019].
[120] Christopher DeWolf, 'In Hong Kong, Just Who Is an Expat, Anyway?', *Wall Street Journal*, 30 December 2014 <https://blogs.wsj.com/expat/2014/12/29/in-hong-kong-just-who-is-an-expat-anyway/> [accessed 8 August 2017].
[121] Mawauna Remarque Koutonin, 'Why Are White People Expats When the Rest of Us Are Immigrants?', *The Guardian*, 13 March 2015 <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/mar/13/white-people-expats-immigrants-migration> [accessed 8 July 2017].
[122] Lauren Collins, *When in French: Love in a Second Language* (Great Britain: HarperCollins, 2017).

communicate with her own children. Although they spend many years living in Geneva, Collins never refers to herself as an immigrant, and her purpose in learning French, at least to begin with, was to ensure she could communicate with her future children, rather than out of communicative need within her community.

As a former ESL teacher, my students often told me how lucky I am to already know English. I usually responded by telling them they're luckier, as most of them speak at least two languages. They fervently disagreed with me on this point. Learning English, for many of my students, was not a joyous, extracurricular pursuit, in order to add an extra language to their repertoire. It is a skill they require, in order to travel, to find better work in their countries or even to access information on the internet. It is a skill they require to be accepted into their new countries. I have also had students ask me why I bothered to learn another language when, in their eyes, it is not strictly necessary, given I speak English. Moving through the world with only English exerts the privilege of not needing to confront these politics of language.

The dominance of English has many implications for our global society. Both literally and figuratively, English is language royalty. It may not be the most beautiful language, but knowledge of English creates many more opportunities in a globalised world. When the language is the currency of communication, speakers of English are privileged in a way those who do not speak English are not. To speak English is to be able to travel almost anywhere in the world with communicative ease. To speak English is to have access to most content found on the internet, and access to the global business world. To speak English is to have access to, and be published within, the international academic community. As a writer, to write in English is to have the ability to reach billions of readers all over the globe without requiring translation into another tongue. The world we live in is skewed towards an English-speaking perspective, and it is a disadvantage to not speak English.

Non-English speaking nations are aware of the importance of their citizens speaking English and English plays a large role in education systems around the world. In 24 of the 32 EU member states, more than 90% of upper primary school students were learning English in 2014.[123] English is taught in every country in the world, and many tertiary institutions in non-English speaking countries offer courses and qualifications in English. These aspects in themselves are not negative outcomes of English being the world language. Learning a foreign language is a good skill to possess and offering qualifications in other languages helps universities to attract international students. But in some cases, teaching in English is to the detriment of the students.

In 2015, a group of secondary school students from Zanzibar made a short film called *Present Tense* for a competition in the UK.[124] The film explores the reasons why these students will most likely fail their final high school exams. English is an important language to learn in order to gain employment within Zanzibar's tourism industry, yet for these students, their entire primary school education was in Swahili. Upon entering high school, the law required secondary education to be taught in English, and the students were expected to follow their lessons with no prior knowledge of the language.[125] The law was originally created to provide students from rural areas with the same opportunities as students from the cities, but the implementation of the policy has seen the students become further disadvantaged. This is one example where the influence of English is creating situations where English is seen to be important above all else, and yet such a view can have life changing negative consequences. Soon after the video was created, the Zanzibar

[123] Eurostat, 'Foreign Languages Learnt per Pupil in Upper Secondary Education (General), 2009 and 2014', *Eurostat: Statistics Explained*, 2016 <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Foreign_languages_learnt_per_pupil_in_upper_secondary_education_(general),_2009_and_2014_(%C2%B9)_(%25)_YB16-II.png> [accessed 1 October 2016].
[124] Gregory Warner, 'Teens Make Film In Broken English To Explain Why They'll Fail English', *NPR*, 2015 <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2015/06/25/417174187/teens-make-film-in-broken-english-to-explain-why-theyll-fail-english> [accessed 8 July 2015].
[125] Ibid.

government announced that they would reinstate Swahili as the language of instruction and teach English as a foreign language.[126]

English vocabulary is also seen as an unwelcome intruder in some languages, and many languages have designated academies designed to monitor the use of the language. The most well-known of these academies is *L'Academic d' Francais* (the French Academy), and it is infamous for the belief that the role of the academy is to protect the French language and shield the language from foreign influence.[127] This myth is perpetrated by English language media, who report on instances such as the French designating their own word to use in place of the English word email, *courriel*.[128] While the French Academy did make this ruling, in cases such as this the rulings are symbolic, rather than reflective of the way the language is actually used. In practice, the French use the word 'email'.[129] The real role of the academy is to define the language, and write the official French dictionary, as is the case with other language academies around the world.[130] English is in the minority as one of the only languages which does not have such a body advocating for it.

Despite the misconceptions about the role of language academies, there are concerns about the influence English is having on other languages. Similar to the French, the German Language Academy, *Verein Deutsche Sprache* (VDS), releases lists of anglicisms which have crept into German, along with the appointed German word to be adopted instead.[131] Some recent suggestions include using *Anhänger* instead of 'follower' and *Direkt-Datenstrom* instead of 'livestream'. A spokesperson of the VDS, Holger Klatte, rationalises that as English is now the language of science and technology, German vocabulary is not keeping up with the influx of new words and therefore

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[126] Ibid.
[127] Nadeau and Barlow, p. 392.
[128] Henry Samuel, 'France's Académie Française Battles to Protect Language from English - Telegraph', *The Telegraph*, 10 November 2011 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/8820304/Frances-Academie-francaise-battles-to-protect-language-from-English.html> [accessed 7 August 2016].
[129] Nadeau and Barlow, p. 391.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Helen Pidd, 'Mind Your Language: German Linguists Oppose Influx of English Words', *The Guardian*, 15 March 2011 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/14/german-language-anglicisms-challenge> [accessed 8 July 2016].

some Germans are being shut out of developments in these areas. Klatte gives the example of marketing (*Das Marketing* in German) as an industry which relies on English in Germany.[132]

Even so, not every German agrees that the German language is in danger because of anglicisms. Andrea-Eva Ewels is the managing director of the Society of the German Language (*Gesellschaft für Desutche Sprache*), an organisation in opposition to the VDS, and claims that less than 5% of the German language is made up of anglicisms. Despite this, a survey conducted by the society showed that 39% of respondents were unhappy with anglicisms in their language.[133]

Another complication is the pressure some nations feel to adopt English as an official language in their countries. In 2016, Czech journalist Marek Švehla wrote an article outlining the reasons why the Czech Republic should consider adopting English as an official language alongside Czech.[134] The Czech Republic is a small Czech-speaking nation of 10 million. The Czech language is spoken only by Czechs and can also be understood by Slovakians. Švehla argues that adding English as an official language would bring huge economic benefit to the small nation.[135] Yet the idea is not popular amongst the Czech public, as they see affording English official status alongside Czech as undermining their language and culture.

History shows that there has always been a need for a common tongue. Cross-country and cross-cultural communication is essential for trade and business and, ultimately, survival. Yet English playing that role, at this point in history, is met with resistance not only because of the way in which the language came to dominate the globe (displacing Indigenous cultures), but because the dominance of English is like that of no language before it. There is a fear that there is a real

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[132] Ibid.

[133] Helen Pidd, 'Mind Your Language: German Linguists Oppose Influx of English Words', *The Guardian*, 2011 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/14/german-language-anglicisms-challenge>.

[134] Marek Švehla, 'Zaveďme Angličtinu Jako Úřední Jazyk', *Týdeník Respekt*, 6 November 2016 <https://www.respekt.cz/tydenik/2016/24/zavedme-anglictinu-jako-uredni-jazyk> [accessed 11 August 2016].

[135] Dave Park, 'Should Czechia Adopt English as Official Language?', *Expats.Cz*, 20 June 2016, section In the News <https://news.expats.cz/weekly-czech-news/should-czech-republic-adopt-english-as-official-language/> [accessed 8 July 2018].

possibility that the dominance of a language on this scale cannot be stopped, and that it can have irreversible repercussions for other languages.

The situation is exacerbated by native English speakers who are born into a world where their language is, conveniently, the world language. Therefore, their language is not at risk, and there is no immediate need to learn an additional language unless they choose to. Japanese writer Minae Mizumura describes this situation in regards to English language writers. Mizumura writes that these writers are 'not compelled' to think about language the same way as writers of other languages are. She clarifies that that is not to say that English writers don't think about it, but that they are not *compelled* to.[136] The language of their work is not something they must consider before beginning to write.

Mizumura moved to New York from Tokyo at the age of twelve and, although she completed her schooling and a degree in English, she never felt at home in her adopted country or language and returned to Japan to be a writer in the Japanese language. Malaysian writer Yz Chin also wrote about the process of choosing to write in English, despite speaking three languages, and the complexities involved in choosing to use a 'colonizer's' language for her work.[137] Language considerations play a large role for multilingual writers. Yet for native or monolingual English writers, it is not a choice they must consider before sitting down to write.

While Mizumura refers specifically to writers, this idea translates to other aspects of being an English speaker. Whenever I log on to the internet to undertake some research, I rarely consider that the information I am looking for may not be available in my language. There is an assumption that it will be. If I do happen to come across a site in a foreign language or use foreign versions of Google to bring up results that the Australian Google would hide beneath pages of other results, my eyes instantly sweep the top of the page in search of the British flag to switch the page to English.

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[136] Minae Mizumura, *The Fall of Language in the Age of English*, trans. by Mari Yoshihara and Juliet Winter Carpenter (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).
[137] Yz Chin, 'How I Learned to Claim Space as a Multilingual Author', *Literary Hub*, 14 May 2018 <https://lithub.com/how-i-learned-to-claim-space-as-a-multilingual-author/> [accessed 5 September 2018].

Nine times out of ten, it is there. The rare occasion the English flag does not appear, it is disconcerting, for a few seconds at least. While researching this very chapter, I found myself on the website of the *L'Academic d'Francais*, which is written in French. I searched the page for the comfort of a British flag and found none. No German flag, either. My year of university French would have to do. I trawled through the site and found my way to the pages I needed for the information I wanted to find. It was a slow, cumbersome process. I waded uncertainly through the text as my brain retrieved my French from a storage box filed away beneath layers of other long abandoned learnings. I couldn't help but long for English as I grappled with the French, and in the end I searched for other, English sources to back up what I thought I had understood from the website. I was not compelled to consider the information I needed would not be in my language until I was faced with that very predicament. Yet for many non-English speakers, this is a dilemma they regularly face.

When Britain voted to leave the European Union (EU) in June 2016, EU officials stated that, under the current language policy of the EU, English would no longer be an official language of the EU.[138] Each member state may nominate one language to become an official EU language and, while Ireland and Malta both have English as an official language, they nominated Gaelic and Maltese respectively for EU languages. Therefore, no other remaining EU member state has nominated English as their EU language, and, strictly speaking, the language should no longer hold official EU status.[139] English speaking news outlets jumped on the story, defending English's role within the EU. It is difficult to imagine the removal of any other EU official language causing the media storm that the potential removal of English created. Initial drafts of the proposed EU budget

[138] Francesco Gaurascio, 'Au Revoir Anglais? EU Could Drop English as Official Tongue after Brexit', *Reuters*, 28 June 2016 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-language-idUSKCN0ZD2AC> [accessed 8 August 2016].
[139] Ibid.

for 2021-2027 confirm that the EU does not intend to remove English as one of the three official working languages (French, German and English).[140]

English is undoubtedly, for now at least, the world's language. But while it functions as a world language, English is also the mother tongue of some 500 million people worldwide, each of whom learn not a global version of English, but the English of their country or region. Millions of these speakers reside in Australia, thousands of kilometres away from the language's place of origin, a nation where English arrived 230 years ago. A nation that still falls under the rule of the British crown, and where the language is used to hold together a self-proclaimed multicultural nation that is twice the size of Europe in land mass with less than five percent of Europe's population. A nation where English perches atop the throne of a language kingdom consisting of more than 300 different tongues; a kingdom built upon the ashes of the dormant languages in its wake.

English guards the gates of our multicultural utopia. But learning a language is not something that happens overnight. It takes years of hard work, and there is little understanding of the obstacles a person faces in learning a new tongue, particularly in adulthood. A documentary produced in England in 2013 called 'Why Don't You Speak English?' explored the reasons why immigrants to the UK struggled to learn the language.[141] Four immigrants with limited English spent one week with an English family, in an attempt to immerse themselves in English. One participant explained that she struggled to learn English because she was isolated at home with her baby daughter while her husband worked long hours. She was unable to attend English lessons because she needed to look after her daughter. Because she had such little English she did not like to go out by herself without her husband. Her isolation made it near impossible for her to learn the language.

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[140] Jennifer Rankin, 'EU Has No Plans to Downgrade Use of English after Brexit', *The Guardian*, 4 May 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/may/04/eu-has-no-plans-to-downgrade-use-of-english-after-brexit> [accessed 21 August 2019].
[141] 'Why Don't You Speak English?' (United Kingdom: Channel 4 Television Corporation, 2013).

The Australian Government offers new migrants up to 510 hours of free English tuition through the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP).[142] The program is offered in different modes, including classroom settings, online lessons and home tuition. Free baby-sitting services are offered to those who need it in order to attend the lessons, but 510 hours is not long enough to gain a high level of fluency in the language. It provides only a starting point. In August 2020, the Australian government acknowledged these limitations of the program and announced changes to improve the program's effectiveness, including lifting the cap on the number of hours offered.[143]

In order to stem a fear of languages, we stifle or ban the languages we are afraid of. Where there are too many to ban them all, as is the case in multicultural societies such as Australia, we discriminate against those who possess skills in additional languages. We happily accept those aspects of multiculturalism that suit us, such as a variety of food from different cultures, different cultural festivals and events, and improved economic prosperity, yet we refuse to acknowledge the importance of language as part of our multiculturalism.[144] Language skills are in high demand in a globalised century. For Australia to continue its economic growth, the nation must conquer its fear of languages and understand the importance of mining these skills for the future of our nation. Instead of embracing this linguistic diversity, we are holding people hostage to their ability to communicate in English. To want to spend time speaking a language other than English is un-Australian, because it is an outward acknowledgment of a person's love and allegiance to a culture and nation that is not Australia. But yet again, the two are not mutually exclusive. In a nation developing with a policy of multiculturalism, we cannot deny residents those aspects of themselves

[142] Department of Home Affairs, 'About the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP)', *Immigration and Citizenship*, 2020 <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/settling-in-australia/amep/about-the-program> [accessed 8 July 2020].

[143] Mostafa Rachwani, 'Australia's English Language Program for Migrants Set for Overhaul amid Concerns over Its Effectiveness', *The Guardian*, 28 August 2020 <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2020/aug/28/australias-english-language-program-for-migrants-set-for-overhaul-amid-concerns-over-its-effectiveness> [accessed 20 September 2020].

[144] George Megalogenis, *Australia's Second Chance: What Our History Tells Us about Our Future* (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 2015).

that contribute to and enrich our multicultural society. Australia cannot progress as both a multicultural nation and a nation scared of foreign languages.

English is Australia's national language and has been the dominant language of the land for more than 200 years. Beneath this veneer of English, however, lies a mosaic of more than 300 other languages which are spoken within Australian communities. Furthermore, for more than 60,000 years prior to the British invasion of Australia, and prior to the term multiculturalism being officially applied to the country, Indigenous Australians occupied the land as multilingual, multicultural inhabitants living side by side. Since the mid-1950s, migration to Australia increased exponentially, further expanding the nation's linguistic diversity. While English monolingualism is considered normal within a multicultural Australia of the twenty-first century, the narrative of this nation's history, and the histories of Australians, paints a picture of multilingualism, not monolingualism. This multilingual history is not only reserved for First Nations peoples or migrants, but for Australians whose migrant stories are buried more than a couple of generations back.

Australia's brand of multiculturalism supports a narrative of 'them' versus 'us'. There are the First Nations peoples, who are the traditional landowners, and then there are the white British Australians, the founders of modern Australia, and also the 'multicultural' Australians, who helped to develop and shape the nation into what it is today. There is a distinct subtext that when we refer to multicultural Australia, we refer to those without British ancestry. Those with skin of any shade but white; those with names that grate across the tongue; those who have a national dress to unveil on Multicultural Day. Those are the ones who inhabit multicultural Australia; the ones who we tolerate and accept because they have enriched the culinary palate of the land, yet who white Australians see themselves as different from. We are the ones who are welcoming, accepting and tolerant of sharing 'our' land. But if we dare to look a little deeper, we all, save for Indigenous Australians, have migration stories embedded in our histories and our individual narratives of how we came to call Australia home.

PART II: ERBESPRACHEN

‘Die Grenzen meiner Sprachen bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt’

The limits of my language mean the limits of my world

- Ludwig Wittgenstein[145]

I grew up on the edge of the Adelaide Hills, in the last Hills suburb to maintain a good train connection into the CBD.[146] The last suburb south of the city to sit so close to the edges of suburbia that it (just) counts as suburban; the last frontier before gum trees start sharing land with vineyards. Koalas curled up in the branches of our towering gum trees and brown snakes frequented our backyard scrub. Once a brown snake nested in the hole in our cement driveway for two years before we saw the creature and called the snake catcher to remove it. The size of the reptile and its aggression at being uprooted surprised the snake catcher and he told us the animal must have resided there for a couple of years. Kookaburras laughed us awake each morning and possums hid behind the striped op shop couch on our balcony to escape the blistering heat of a high summer’s day. When my parents bought the house it came on a half-acre lot that sloped down a hillside and housed two pet kangaroos contained by chicken wire fencing. My brother and I tried to coerce my parents into keeping the animals, but they did not sway. I grew up on the edge of the Adelaide Hills in the midst of Australian stereotypes. Only twenty kilometres up the road, the native landscape with English and Aboriginal place names are punctured by German: Hahndorf, Lobethal. Their difference is easy to overlook in the clusters of English settlements that circle these two towns.

[145] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1922), p. 144.

[146] A previous version of this chapter has been published as: Raelke Grimmer, ‘Südaustralien’, *Westerly Online Special Issue: South Australia*, 6 (2018), 24–31.

Hahndorf is known for its German character that oscillates between authentic and kitsch along the tourist town's main street, while Lobethal is most famous for the extravagant Christmas lights display erected each December. These towns symbolise two South Australian traditions: if a German friend comes to visit, you are obliged to take them to Hahndorf (without first asking if they would like to go), and December necessitates an annual pilgrimage to the Lobethal lights display. While Hahndorf and Lobethal are two clear signs that remain of Adelaide's German history, it is a history that sweeps the Adelaide Hills all the way to the Barossa Valley, where the remnants of the region's German heritage are in the process of being revived.

South Australia was founded in 1836, and German migration began in 1838. Some migrants from the Prussian region were prosecuted for continuing to practice their Lutheran religion against the orders of Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III, and so Lutheran congregations sought religious freedoms elsewhere.[147] German settlers played a large role in settling the Barossa Valley, and the first German settlement of Bethany (originally Bethanien) was formed in 1842.[148]

South Australia's heritage mirrors aspects of my own. My name gives away that my heritage is not infinitely steeped in a British tradition. My father and grandfather were both born and raised in Adelaide, firmly in suburbia, only ten minutes from my own wilder upbringing. It was my great-grandfather who arrived on Australian shores at the age of twenty, and it is his heritage that colours my surname. My brother and I learned of our German great-grandfather, who passed away long before we were born, as a mythical figure: he was mentioned occasionally, without detail. A titbit soaring in the breeze between the gum trees. We didn't even know his first name. My paternal grandfather died before I was born, and my father died before I was old enough to ask questions that mattered. Growing up, I knew nothing of my great-grandfather's story.

[147] Noris Ioannou, *Barossa Journeys: Into a Valley of Tradition* (Adelaide: Paringa Press, 1997), pp. 9–11.
[148] Ibid, p. 16.

Although I grew up on the same plains my German great-grandfather walked, the Scottish heritage on my mother's side is more familiar to me. My upbringing on the edge of the Adelaide Hills was marked by frequent trips across the border to Victoria. My mother grew up on a farm in the Mallee before she and her family moved to Geelong when she was a teenager. While my mother defected across to South Australia, the majority of her family remained in Victoria and so school holidays and Christmas meant trips east. We drove almost every time. We'd pack up the car and leave early, navigating the Princes Highway as the sun rose on the horizon. My mother always avoided the highway passing through Bordertown. She preferred the scenic drive that wove through the vineyards of Naracoorte and Penola, before crossing the state line and driving through Casterton and Hamilton, finally arriving at my grandmother's house in Geelong in the late afternoon. On some trips, we'd detour through country Victoria on the way home, visiting places of my mother's childhood. She took us to the family farm she grew up on in the tiny town of Kenmare, and showed us the schoolhouse where she had attended primary school, but had now been closed for years. I heard stories about my maternal family history at family gatherings, and pieces of information dropped into conversations. The details eluded me, yet the heritage was never shrouded in mystery the way my German great-grandfather's was. But before I even began to find out more about my great-grandfather's story, I needed to explore the story of the land.

As English and German settlers lay claim to plots of land across South Australia, the Kaurna, Peramangk and Ngadjuri people were some of the first Aboriginal people in South Australia forced to leave their land. Kaurna Country stretches across the Adelaide Plains, while Peramangk Country and Ngadjuri Country sprawl through the Adelaide Hills and Barossa Valley.[149] There is ongoing contention over the boundaries of Aboriginal country.[150] According to one source the boundary between Peramangk and Ngadjuri country sits in Tanunda, in the heart of the Barossa

[149] Ibid, p. 3.
[150] Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 'AIATSIS Map of Indigenous Australia', *Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies*, 2015 <https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/aiatsis-map-indigenous-australia> [accessed 11 September 2019].

Valley.[151] Another source writes that the Peramangk people lived from east of Mount Barker in the Adelaide Hills, to south of Strathalbyn and north through to Angaston.[152] The Peramangk people are known as the Fire Makers and Red Ochre Peoples, due to their access to red ochre and flint. There were approximately 2,000 Peramangk people at the time of British invasion, but disease swept through the community, and they were forced off their land due to British and German intrusion.[153]

Ngadjuri country north of Adelaide stretches from Gawler and Angaston past Clare and Peterborough to the mid-north of South Australia.[154] It is not known how many Ngadjuri people there were before the 1830s when the British forced the people from their land. As with the Peramangk, disease spread through the communities, many Ngadjuri died and those who survived had no choice but to leave their land. Some moved to the Point Pearce mission on the Yorke Peninsula, while other groups moved further north or east and joined other Aboriginal communities.

The Aboriginal communities around Adelaide were forced off their land despite the fact that in the founding document that established South Australia in 1836, King William IV granted rights to the Aboriginal peoples of South Australia:

> Always that nothing in those our Letters Patent contained shall affect or be construed to affect the rights of any Aboriginal Natives of the said Province to the actual occupation or enjoyment of their own Persons or in the Persons of descendants of any Lands therein now actually occupied or enjoyed by such Natives.[155]

[151] Robin Coles and Richard Hunter, *The Ochre Warriors: Peramangk Culture and Rock Art in the Mount Lofty Ranges* (South Australia: Axiom, 2010), p. 13.
[152] Ian Copley, 'Story of the Peramangk People', *Ukaria*, 2015 <http://www.ukaria.com/uploads/editor/Story%20of%20the%20Peramangk%20People073802.pdf> [accessed 23 January 2018].
[153] Ibid.
[154] *Ngadjuri: Aboriginal People of the Mid North Region of South Australia*, ed. by Fred Warrior, South Australian Studies of Society and Environment Council, and Ngadjuri Walpa Juri Lands and Heritage Association (Prospect Hill: SASOSE Council Inc, 2005).
[155] King William IV, 'Letters Patent Establishing the Province of South Australia' (South Australia) <https://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/sa2_doc_1836.pdf> [accessed 9 November 2018].

They were the first rights granted to Australia's Aboriginal people, but in practice those rights were ignored by the colonists, and the development of the Barossa Valley region at the hands of the British and German settlers permanently removed the Peramangk and Ngadjuri from their land.

As I began to unravel the layers of South Australia's German history, and the role German settlers played in the takeover of the land, I began to wonder where my enigmatic great-grandfather fit into the state's heritage, and by extension my own story of being a South Australian. My surname is much more common than I had anticipated, and Google searches and online heritage databases proved fruitless in my attempts to uncover precise information about my great-grandfather. As I didn't know my great-grandfather's first name, I had to rely on my grandfather's name in the hope of uncovering a birth record that revealed the name of my great-grandfather. But my searches returned nothing, and I abandoned my attempts.

A few weeks later, I was at my mother's house for dinner, and I mentioned I had started looking into my great-grandfather's history. I had forgotten that my mother had a family tree of my father's side of the family filed away, and she dug it out for me. Suddenly, I had dates and names. I returned to the internet. This time, I found proof of my great-grandfather's existence in an online newspaper database. My heart rate quickened as I stared at the screen. There were two articles, both published in 1917, containing my great-grandfather's name. The two articles were each slightly different versions of the same event, covered by different Adelaide newspapers. One headline read 'A Saxon Prosecuted- Failed to Report' and was published in *The Journal* on July 31st 1917.[156] *The Observer* reported 'A Saxon Prosecuted' on August 4th of the same year.[157] The Saxon was my great-grandfather.

At the age of thirteen, I carried my German surname into my first German lesson in high school. I chose the language because my brother had chosen it when he started high school the year

[156] 'A Saxon Prosecuted- Failed to Report', *The Journal* (Adelaide, SA, 31 July 1917), p. 1.
[157] 'A Saxon Prosecuted', *Observer* (Adelaide, SA, 4 August 1917), p. 11.

before: he had had the foresight to choose it from the five languages on offer because of our German heritage. I was oblivious, and obliged to choose a language, so copied my brother. My great-grandfather's mythical status in my family meant that I did not feel the German connection was mine to claim, and besides, other students in my class had more claim to a German heritage than I did. Their heritage was more recent and more visible through their possession of remnants of the German language beyond the ability of the non-German background students, myself included, in our class. Even so, I felt an instant affinity with the language, and my German classes became my favourite.

The Barossa Valley still retains its German character, and in the early 1900s, language anchored the Barossa Valley community, with English and German entwined on street corners. Barossa Deutsch is the name given to the variety of German that used to be widely spoken in the area. The language is named for the region, but also for the distinct way the language developed in isolation from the German spoken in Europe. In linguistics, the technical term for this phenomenon is a *Sprachinsel*, or a language island, and describes a language community surrounded by another language or other languages.[158] In the case of Barossa Deutsch, there are variations in both the vocabulary and grammar from standard German, but these differences do not make the language unintelligible with standard German. Linguistics lecturer Dr Peter Mickan, from the University of Adelaide, explains some of the differences in language with an example his own parents experienced when they returned to Germany after many years in the Barossa. His parents were asked how they got to Germany, and they responded by saying a '*Luftschiff*'- an airship- because they didn't know the term '*Flugzeug*' for airplane.[159]

Yet other differences between Barossa Deutsch and standard German seem to have occurred because of the different landscape the language was being used in. During my research, I

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[158] David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Language*, 2nd ed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 361–62.
[159] Simon Royal, 'Keeping SA's Barossa Deutsch Alive over Kaffee Und Kuchen', *ABC News*, 26 March 2017 <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-03-26/keeping-south-australias-barossa-deutsch-alive/8375988> [accessed 11 September 2019].

interviewed Marie Heinrich, a German-speaking Tanunda resident, who explained that the word '*die Strasse'* (street or road) in standard German was not used in early Barossa Deutsch. Rather, they used the term '*die Roade'*. Marie explained that this difference was not because the German speakers forgot the word for street, but because the roads in the Barossa at the time were nothing like the streets they had left behind in Germany. Therefore, they were not '*Strassen*' but '*Roaden*'. Some aspects of the language changed not due to distance, but to adapt to the different context the language was spoken in.

While German was once spoken throughout the community on a daily basis, World War I saw the decline of the language in the region. During the war, German nationals had to register as 'enemy aliens' at their local police stations, and many people of German descent were imprisoned in internment camps.[160] Speaking German was banned, and German schools and newspapers were shut down across the state. To be heard speaking German became a sign of allegiance to the enemy. Families stopped using the language publicly, and some even privately, to further distance themselves from their German heritage. Friends became enemies.

I downloaded the articles I'd uncovered containing my great-grandfather's name. It was 1917, nearing the end of World War I. The articles revealed that between January and June 1917, my great-grandfather had failed to report himself as an 'alien' to the police station.[161] In April of that year, he was stopped on Grote Street in the Adelaide CBD by a police officer and questioned about his nationality. My great-grandfather admitted he was born in Saxony, in Germany, but believed he had received Australian naturalisation papers upon his arrival in Melbourne in 1889. The police officer told him to secure new papers and, in the meantime, report himself to his local police station. My great-grandfather failed to do either of these things. In July, he was fined fifty

[160] Monteath, Paul, and Martin, p. 36.
[161] 'A Saxon Prosecuted- Failed to Report'.

pounds (roughly $4000 in today's currency) and given one month to pay. If he did not pay, he was to be imprisoned for three months.[162]

I read the articles carefully, taking in each miniscule detail I could extract from the texts. The articles make a point to note my great-grandfather's strong accent. As I read about my great-grandfather's fine and threat of imprisonment, my German heritage suddenly didn't seem so distant. Only one hundred years ago, my family was not welcome in Australia.

But my great-grandfather was one of the lucky ones. He was not interned on Torres Island in the middle of Adelaide's Port River, where men classified as 'enemy aliens' were imprisoned during the war. That camp was opened in October 1914, and four hundred men, the majority with German heritage, were imprisoned until the camp's closure in August 1915. The camp was known as the 'German Concentration Camp'.[163] The scars of two World Wars still mark South Australia's German heritage, but as time continues to pass, the scars are beginning to heal and the state's German roots are unfurling again.

There are two possible ways to reach the Barossa from where I used to live: a scenic drive through the Adelaide Hills, or a traffic-choked trek through Adelaide's concrete centre. Google insists the city route is the quicker option, and this is the route I choose to follow. The drive takes me along the length of three-quarters of South Road, a road that stretches the entire city from north to south. They built South Road along the track that the Kaurna people of the Adelaide plains used to get from one side of their land to the other.[164] They had pinpointed the most direct route, and so the colonists built Adelaide's vein along it. Eventually, South Road gives way to Port Wakefield Road, where road trains heading for Northern Australia trap vehicles in the city longer than is strictly necessary. Then finally, the turn-off for the North-Eastern Expressway guides the remainder of the journey. Industrialism gives way to greenery, paddocks and vineyards. I am sure that part of

[162] Ibid.
[163] Monteath, Paul, and Martin, p. 84.
[164] Dylan McDonald, *Buckskin* (Adelaide, SA: Chili Films Production Company, 2013).

the magic of the Barossa is the skin people are forced to shed as the bustle of the city drops away; only to willingly climb back into that skin upon returning home at the end of the day. It is a slow transformation. Without first driving through the most industrial parts of Adelaide, it would be impossible to fully appreciate the Barossa and all it has to offer. Beyond the vineyards and behind the cellar doors the region is famous for, the community's German heritage is re-emerging from the ashes.

South Australia's Barossa Valley region needs little introduction. The name is synonymous with fine wine, as the region is renowned as one of the best wine regions in the world. Thousands of visitors descend upon the Barossa's rolling hills and country towns each year, most eager to experience the vineyards the region is famous for. The Barossa's cultural heritage is not as famous as the cellar doors, and yet visitors do not need to look far to find tell-tale signs of the influence of the German settlers who built their lives in the region.

The Barossa Valley is made up of a collection of small towns. The largest are Nuriootpa, Tanunda, Angaston, Williamstown and Lyndoch, and the region has a total population of approximately 25,000 people.[165] Tanunda greets visitors with an arch stretching over the road, announcing the name of the town in wide black letters. The road entering the town slopes upwards, and flower-beds and stone walls adorn each side of the street. On a first visit it feels very luxe, and reminiscent of the fame of the region. Then all of a sudden, the road levels out, and the stone walls and flower beds disappear. The main street, like one found in any country town, fills the windscreen. Shops and parking spaces line both sides of the road. This feels familiar, although I didn't follow the main street for long. I took a left down a side street, and then a right, and pulled into the car park at the old Lutheran Church. A large cemetery sits behind the church itself, and a newer community centre adjoins the older church building. This new addition was my destination. I

[165] The Barossa Council, 'The Barossa Council Area', *The Barossa Council Social Atlas*, 2016 <https://atlas.id.com.au/barossa/> [accessed 2 November 2017].

rolled a few German words over my tongue as I walked across the carpark. *Hallo. Guten Tag. Wie geht es Ihnen?*

On the last Monday afternoon of each month, the community centre at Tanunda's Lutheran Church becomes a snapshot of the Barossa community of the past. German-speaking Barossa residents gather to speak German together in the tradition of *Kaffee und Kuchen* (coffee and cake). The German tradition dates back to the seventeenth century.[166] People would invite friends or family over for an afternoon to catch up on news over coffee and cake. The tradition remains to this day, often taking place in a café rather than in someone's home. Tanunda's *Kaffee und Kuchen* lasts for roughly two hours. The first hour is dedicated to a formal presentation from a German speaker within the Barossa or Adelaide community, or a German-speaking visitor from overseas. The second hour is for a casual catch-up over coffee and cake. The members who gather all have different stories, and varying levels of German, but they gather together for the common purpose of immersing themselves in their common tongue, a tongue that was once widely spoken on the Barossa's streets.

Barossa Deutsch is only one example of the many community languages which are spoken throughout Australia. According to Australian linguist Michael Clyne, the term 'community languages' itself has been used in Australia since the 1970s. Clyne explains that in an Australian context, community languages are languages other than English that are spoken in Australia, apart from Indigenous languages, as Indigenous communities prefer to 'emphasise their unique and special status in Australia'.[167] The term community language is preferred over 'foreign language' given the breadth of the role such languages have in the lives of many Australians. There are more than 180 community languages in Australia, including Italian, Greek and Mandarin.

[166] Gail Winfree, 'Germany's Kaffee Und Kuchen Tradition', *Stripes Europe*, 28 September 2020, section Lifestyle <https://europe.stripes.com/lifestyle/germanys-kaffee-und-kuchen-tradition> [accessed 6 October 2020].
[167] Clyne, p. 5.

While not as prominent as it once was from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s, German is one of South Australia's heritage and community languages. It was once a major community language in Australia, and the sixth most spoken language other than English in Australia in 1986. It rose to fifth position in 1991, before dropping to ninth and then tenth in the 2001 and 2011 censuses respectively.[168] This is despite increasing by 4,000 speakers between the 2001 and 2011 surveys. The 2016 census results reveal that German is no longer one of the top ten most spoken languages in Australia, despite only decreasing by 1,000 speakers from 80,366 to 79,352 between the 2011 and 2016 surveys.[169]

Even so, German's continuing importance as a heritage language in Australia, and particularly in South Australia, cannot be ignored. The language was widely used not only in the Barossa Valley, but also in the Adelaide Hills. Many of the towns in the Adelaide Hills originally had German names, but in an attempt to remove the heritage of the region during World War I, the names of sixty-nine towns were changed. Hahndorf became Ambleside, and Lobethal became Tweedvale. The original names of both of these towns were restored in 1935, but forty-nine of the original sixty-nine names that were changed were never restored, including that of Birdwood (originally Blumberg).[170] In 1911, South Australia had the second highest population of German born residents, proportionate to the state's total population, behind only Queensland.[171] At this time, German-born Australians were the largest group of overseas-born Australians from Europe, excluding UK-born Australians. German missionaries also played an important role in documenting Aboriginal languages, and they were the first to set up bilingual education in Aboriginal

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[168] Maria Karidakis and Dharma Arunachalam, 'Shift in the Use of Migrant Community Languages in Australia', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 37.1 (2016), 1–22 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2015.1023808>.
[169] id community, 'Language Spoken at Home Australia', *Id Community* <https://profile.id.com.au/australia/language> [accessed 7 July 2020].
[170] Nathan Davies, 'Push to Revive South Australian Towns with German Names Lost under WWI Act of Parliament', *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 10 November 2013) <https://www.adelaidenow.com.au/news/south-australia/push-to-revive-south-australian-towns-with-german-names-lost-under-wwi-act-of-parliament/news-story/2714315c7f071f494a645453e41de51f> [accessed 11 September 2019].
[171] G.H. Knibbs, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia: Part II. Birthplaces* (State for Home Affairs, 1911), p. 282 <https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/0354DDBB061331F2CA2578390011E1AF/$File/1911%20Census%20-%20Volume%20II%20-%20Part%20II%20Birthplaces.pdf> [accessed 9 November 2019].

communities.[172] While their ultimate goal was to educate the communities in order to convert them to Lutheranism, without their work documenting the languages many more Indigenous languages would be lost with no records of their vocabulary and grammar systems.[173] South Australia's modern history is built on both German and English heritage. Recreating a community around residents who still know the German language enables the heritage of the region to be revived and maintained as an integral part of the state's history.

When I entered the community centre at Tanunda's Lutheran Church, many people, mostly in their 50s and older, had already gathered. German chatter filled the room. A large semicircle of chairs filled the space, and a desk with a single chair behind it completed the open side of the arc. Behind the circle, an opening in the wall revealed the kitchen area, and a table laden with glad-wrapped plates of home-baked cakes and slices stood in front of the opening. By ten past one, most of the chairs had been filled, and the convenor, Dr Peter Mickan, took his place in the chair behind the desk at the front of the circle. The German chatter died down, and Peter began that month's Kaffee und Kuchen gathering of the Barossa Valley's German speakers.

I continued studying German in high school even after it was no longer compulsory and the numbers in my class drastically decreased from close to thirty, to sixteen, to six and, by Year Twelve, three. In the summer between Years Eleven and Twelve, I took part in an exchange trip to Bavaria in southern Germany and sacrificed sand, sea and sleep-ins for snow, mountains and waking up in the dark for school. I was a seventeen-year-old with a badly cut fringe who actively avoided school trips and camps. I had never spent more than a weekend away from my mother. But I boarded a plane with eighty other students from across South Australia, the only student from my school, and flew fourteen thousand kilometres to spend eight and a half weeks with a family on the other side of the world.

[172] Peter Monteath and Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, 'German Missionaries and Australian Anthropology', *Anthropological Forum*, 27.3 (2017), 197–208 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2017.1365687>.
[173] See Part III: Erbesprachen (p. 93) for a more detailed discussion of this idea.

We flew through Singapore and London. In London, our group of eighty students split between those flying to Hamburg, those flying to Frankfurt and those flying to Munich. I was on the Munich flight. Two teachers had accompanied us on our journey, and they were allocated to the Hamburg and Frankfurt flights. Less than twenty of us were flying to Munich, so we were on our own. We had to run through Heathrow Airport to make our connecting flights, slowed down by having to remove our shoes to get through security. I didn't draw a breath until I was safely in my seat on the correct British Airways flight. We were greeted at Munich Airport with lost luggage. Somewhere along the chain of flights our suitcases couldn't keep up. We ignored our first opportunity to test out our rudimentary German, alerting airport staff in English instead. After filling out lost luggage forms (in English) we bade farewell to each other and peeled off to various corners of the airport carpark with our host families. I breathed in the cold Munich air. The day was grey and steeped in fog. To me it was freezing, but still too warm for any chance of snow. My host parents and host sister led me to their red BMW: a luxury car by Australian standards, but a common fare for German families. I only got a quick glimpse of the city as we left the skyline behind for the country. The freeways narrowed to winding roads through frost-hardened fields, built within a millimetre of the exact amount of space required to allow two cars to pass each other without hitting. I remembered a stretch of road on trips to Geelong as a kid which was not quite wide enough for two cars to safely pass. The protocol was that each car moved two wheels off the road to make enough room. I expected this same courtesy on the drive from Munich airport, but neither car ever acquiesced, and neither did they hit one another, and we made it safely to Schwindegg, the tiny hometown of my host family.

The Kaffee und Kuchen group was an initiative of Peter Mickan, and the beginning of the creation of the Barossa German Language Association (BGLA), as a way to bring the Barossa's German community together again. The gatherings are strictly a German speaking occasion, although when absolutely necessary, English is tolerated. At times the group has English speaking guests in attendance, and on those occasions, the person sitting beside such a visitor takes it upon

themselves to whisper translations of the most pertinent points. The members of the Kaffee und Kuchen group welcomed me into their fold, although I broke the German language rule a few times myself. I could understand everything being said, but my confidence in my own spoken German faltered, and I reverted to a perfect English out of fear of producing an imperfect German.

With the new information I had extracted about my great-grandfather from the newspaper articles, I continued to dig, and discovered a digitised copy of my great-grandfather's Australian naturalisation papers.[174] The papers confirm that the man I found in the newspaper articles is my great-grandfather. He became a naturalised Australian in 1924 at the age of fifty-six, after living in the country for thirty-five years. In the papers, he renounces his ties to Germany, declares his allegiance to Britain and is subjected to an interview where his character, allegiance to Britain and competency in English were all assessed. His English was evaluated as 'reads fairly, writes poorly' and 'speaks, understands well'.[175] The papers also mention the fine he received for not reporting at a police station in 1917 and note that his reason for not doing so was 'apparently through carelessness.'[176] There is a note on the file that his wife is Australian and that the eight children are being raised in the British tradition. My grandfather was the youngest of all the children and only two years old at the time of my great-grandfather's naturalisation. The naturalisation papers revealed inconsistencies between the information on my family tree and in the papers. In the papers, the name my great-grandfather listed as his father's name is different to the name on my family tree. My family tree notes that his father was born in Germany, yet my great-grandfather listed his father's nationality as Danish. The year of my great-grandfather's birth is also one year different between the two documents. This is where the German heritage in my family begins and ends. It was a torturous thing to be German and living in Australia through the First World War. My great-

[174] Commonwealth of Australia Home and Territories Department, 'Commonwealth of Australia Home and Territories Department, File of Papers: Subject: T. R. Grimmer, Naturalization.' (Commonwealth of Australia Home and Territories Department, 1924) <https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/ViewImage.aspx?B=1617105> [accessed 16 September 2016].
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

grandfather survived by severing ties to Germany, so that two generations later, the surname of his two great-grandchildren is the only remnant that remains.

Schwindegg is a traditional and stereotypical Bavarian country town, boasting its own castle. The year I was there, the moat around the castle froze for the first time in seven years, and my host sister and I spent an afternoon ice-skating around the castle until we could no longer feel our toes. The Bavarian and Austrian Alps lie not far down the road, and I discovered that the thick pine tree forests I'd only ever read about in fairy tales actually existed. Snow-capped mountain ranges edged the horizon, as though deliberately and strategically placed by an interior designer seeking balance and contrast to create a majestic atmosphere in a double height entry room. I couldn't have been further from the abstract scattering of gum trees and jagged rockfaces that marked my surroundings back home.

I clutched tightly to my mother tongue for those first few days in Germany, but my host parents spoke hardly any English, and so I was gently coaxed away from using English and into using German in my first week. My host sister had stayed with my family in Adelaide at the beginning of that same year, and she had no such luxury. She had no choice but to use English from the very beginning, and our clipped Australian accents were foreign to the British accent she'd been taught. She had to acclimatise to an English that no longer mirrored manicured and well-groomed landscapes, but followed the contours of the rugged bushland.

I attended school with my host sister in Dorfen, a larger town ten minutes from Schwindegg, where I was joined by two other exchange students from Adelaide. The three of us had mutual friends back home, and we quickly found and formed close friendships with the other English speaking exchange students at the school: five from Victoria and one from New Zealand. On the welcome notice board at the front of the school, our exchange coordinator posted a picture of us, along with text, written in German, encouraging students to welcome us, but cautioning that our

German was not good, and so proceed with care. We were slightly offended, but the exchange coordinator had a point: we froze when confronted with unanticipated German shot in our direction.

We became each other's lifelines as we navigated a school system foreign to our Australian experiences and tried to make sense of the everyday habits of our German host families. For the first time, we became aware of our own habits that appeared to be uniquely Australian. It is stereotypical, but every stereotype begins in an ounce of truth, and we were more rough around the edges than the German teenagers at our school. Our host sisters and brothers did not take kindly to us wearing track pants to school or even the local supermarket. To our minds, it made perfect sense: we were free from the burden of a school uniform, and the weather was so cold track pants demanded to be worn. We were perplexed when we heard that one of the exchange student's host mothers had vacuumed the curtains in the house, and none of us expected the stringent and collective traditions that accompanied a German Christmas. My tree trimming skills did not pass the test, and my host sister fixed up my efforts for me. We did enjoy baking different varieties of *Plätzchen* (Christmas cookies) with our families, but we struggled to answer our host parents' questions about Australian Christmas traditions because, well, each family to their own. It was a relief to be able to share our experiences with each other in our own language in breaks between classes.

As I negotiated my new cultural space and climate, I thought of my great-grandfather in passing a couple of times, but even then, firmly rooted in his land, his existence to me was something of a legend, and a legend with core details missing at that. I couldn't easily see a connection and I subconsciously chose not to look for it.

In the early Kaffee und Kuchen sessions, the beginning of each gathering began with each member introducing themselves to the whole group. We would go around the circle and introduce ourselves and why we were there. This was for the benefit of the new participants who arrived each week, and to welcome them into the group. As the group grew, it began to take up too much time

for everyone to introduce themselves each week, so now only new members are given the opportunity to introduce themselves and tell the group a little bit about their background.

I regularly attended the monthly gatherings throughout 2015 and 2016. During this period, the German community was really starting to grow and the BGLA had started to coordinate German activities and events outside of the Kaffee und Kuchen. At the gathering in May 2016, for one reason or another, a much smaller group than usual had assembled for the meeting. The weather was already starting to turn towards winter, and a dusting of raindrops littered the carpark. Inside, the heater was turned up high, but it always took time for the room to warm up, and we left our coats and jackets on as we took our seats. There was no formal presentation scheduled for the session, but the newly recruited president of the BGLA, Deborah Frame, introduced herself as former president Susan Witt's replacement. Susan's husband had found work interstate, and so the family moved away. Deborah gave the group an overview of the activities the BGLA was currently working on, including the ongoing production of the monthly bilingual German-English newsletter, the *Monatsblatt* (which has since become a quarterly newsletter called *Das Blatt*).[177] She also mentioned the plans for the upcoming Laternenlauf (lantern walk) and the status of the local German language school for both kids and adults, which is run in conjunction with the German school at Adelaide's German Club, and the German Spielgruppe (playgroup). At this stage, the BGLA had also started a program in Barossa nursing homes, where members of the BGLA would visit elderly German speakers and sing songs, read stories and speak to the residents in German. As Deborah discussed the continued activities of the association, one member said how proud they were that everything that was happening with the German community in the Barossa had all started with the Kaffee und Kuchen group. The members in the room were some of the first to be part of returning the Barossa to its German roots, and they are immensely proud to have been the catalyst for the revival.

[177] Barossa German Language Association, 'Das Blatt', *Barossa German Language Association Inc.* <http://barossagerman.com.au/das-blatt/> [accessed 23 February 2020].

The following month, winter had well and truly arrived and the gathering was a welcome escape from the pouring rain outside. Two German exchange students who were attending Nuriootpa High School at the time came to speak to the group. Lena and Jaro spoke to us in rapid-fire German, telling us about their experiences in the Barossa so far and their hometowns in Germany. Lena lived in a small town in Germany, and so the Barossa was not that different from home for her. Jaro had more trouble adapting to the country lifestyle, as he was from a larger city. The members of the group hung on the teenagers' every word, and their colloquial German contrasted with the careful, proper German spoken by the community members.

I spoke with members of the Kaffee und Kuchen group about my research into monolingualism and multiculturalism in Australia. They were genuinely interested in my topic, and a few opened up about some of their own experiences. One member began to share with me an experience they had as a child. They grew up in the Barossa, and at school one day spoke a sentence of German. They got beaten for daring to speak the language. After the member confessed this experience, they immediately changed the topic of conversation and wished me all the best for my research. The emotion of speaking German again is very raw for some members who lived through the public ban on the German language. They were ostracised and shamed in their own land, for speaking their own language. They were Australian-born, bilingual German-English speakers, forced to suppress part of their identity.

In June 2015, Peter Mickan invited me to present at the Kaffee und Kuchen gathering about my research into my own family heritage. That meant presenting in German. As I drove up from Adelaide mid-morning on that Monday, I eyed the piece of paper with what I planned to say meticulously typed out. I had spent a late night trawling the pieces of German left in my mind with a little help from my dictionary and Google translate along the way. I knew my page was riddled with mistakes, but I tried to convince myself that that didn't matter. I rolled German words around on my tongue as I took the turn off for Tanunda. *Leipzig*. *Ich* (pronouncing 'ch' properly has always been my German Achilles heel). *Stammbaum.* The words stuck in my mouth.

Before I started attending the Kaffee und Kuchen in 2015, it had been three years since I had regularly engaged in the German language. After high school, I didn't continue with the language at university, but I continued to study it at language schools and in small group classes to maintain my level. It was a surprise to me when, at the first Kaffee und Kuchen session, I understood almost everything that was spoken. More surprising was how comforted I felt slipping back into the language. It felt familiar, and right, despite the fact I learned the language as a teenager, and not as a child. I watched the other members engage with each other in their language and was reminded of my time as an exchange student in Germany, where it was a relief to get back to school each Monday morning, after an entire sixty hours spent in the German language with our host families, to reunite with the other exchange students and our Australian English. English was our lifeline during those two months of culture shock. In a world of unfamiliarity, our language was a welcome reminder of home. I was away from my language for only two months. But what of being separated from it for two, or twenty, years, and risking prosecution if daring to speak in it?

The first order of business at that month's *Kaffee und Kuchen* was a look at a draft logo for the BGLA. Another member of the group showed us a centuries old German manuscript bound in worn velvet he'd bought in Salzburg. The German script inside was written in intricate calligraphy and he had brought the book along to seek help from the group in deciphering the meaning of the words inside. Then it was my turn.

Peter introduced me and I sat at the front of the room and unfolded my pieces of paper. I started to read.

'You'll have to speak louder than that!'

I raised my voice and proceeded to mispronounce 'Leipzig'. It was a rookie mistake and I lost all confidence in my German from that moment onwards, but I carried on regardless. Despite my mispronunciations, it felt good to be speaking German again.

After the formal part of the gathering, one of the gentlemen in the group came up to me.

‘I just wanted to thank you for your presentation,’ he said in English. ‘My German is not so good and sometimes I have trouble understanding other members in the group, but I found you really easy to understand.’

‘That’s because of my Australian accent,’ I replied.

‘Yes, you do speak German with an Australian accent, but I really enjoyed listening to it and being able to understand. So thank you.’

On the drive back to Adelaide, I pondered this. My German had been far from perfect, but I was still able to communicate. Furthermore, some speakers appreciated a German that was easier to listen to. Apart from that, the community is a safe space in which to practice German, no matter how imperfect. Everyone was encouraged to use German, no matter how basic. This encouragement provided a safe environment for everyone there to experiment with their language skills and to learn from those who were more advanced. It is a safe space to reconnect with language, culture and heritage lost, and there is an understanding about the laborious process of learning a language that can only come from a bi or multilingual or from someone who has gone through the process of learning a language. It is a tolerance rarely afforded by the general Australian public, but a common experience of most community language speakers is that of acquiring an unfamiliar tongue.

The life cycle of community languages depends on cycles of migration, and on passing the languages on to the younger generations. The number of German speakers in Australia has dropped by roughly 30,000 speakers between 1986, when data on languages spoken in the home began to be collected in the Census, and 2016.[178] Despite German no longer being one of the ten most spoken languages in Australia, it is still seventh in the list of the ten most common ancestries at the 2016 Census.[179] This suggests that the German language has not been passed down through the

[178] Australian Bureau of Statistics, ‘Main Features - Cultural Diversity’, 2017 <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/2024.0Main%20Features22016> [accessed 11 November 2018].
[179] Ibid.

generations. After the results of the 2016 Census, SBS radio reconsidered the scheduling of their language programs, as they do after each Census to ensure they are serving Australia's multilingual population as best they can. Some languages are cut altogether, while others are added, and some languages have their programming rescheduled. After the 2016 Census, the number of German language programs broadcast each week was cut from seven hours per week to five hours per week, reflecting the diminishing number of German speakers in Australian society.[180]

Marie Heinrich was one of the first members I met at the Kaffee und Kuchen group. She is softly-spoken, and speaks in a measured way, choosing each word carefully so as not to waste time on extraneous words that do not contribute to the meaning of her sentences. She sought me out each time we were both at the monthly gathering, to catch up on my progress with my research. Marie was born in Australia and grew up in the Barossa Valley, yet she spoke German as her native tongue, and has maintained a strong connection to the language ever since. She agreed to speak to me about what it was like growing up as a German speaker in the Barossa Valley in the aftermath of two world wars.

For Marie, German was very much the language of her childhood, despite the fact she grew up in Australia. There are ongoing debates in bilingualism about whether or not the ways in which a language is acquired affects a person's ability to retain that language.[181] While research into the area continues, bilingualism scholars agree on the following point:

> The language that was used in parent-child interactions, that is linked with the earliest memories, and that was acquired at the same time that other important early cognitive developments took place, is unique in that it is irrevocably tied into fundamental aspects of a speaker's personality and memory in complex ways.[182]

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[180] Hannah Sinclair, 'SBS Radio Announces New Schedule', *SBS*, 2017 <https://www.sbs.com.au/language/english/sbs-radio-announces-new-schedule> [accessed 30 November 2017].

[181] Monika S. Schmid, Barbara Köpke, and Kees de Bot, 'Language Attrition as a Complex, Non-Linear Development', *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 17.6 (2013), 675–82 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006912454619>.

[182] Ibid, pp. 675-76.

The authors of the paper give the example of a thirteen-year-old German-Jewish migrant who was sent to England in 1939, while the rest of her family remained behind. She then discovered that the rest of her family had all died in concentration camps, and thus she associated the German language with the trauma she had experienced. She could no longer tolerate hearing or using the language, until she became a mother and grandmother. At this time, she began using the language again, and sang the same songs in German to her children and grandchildren that her own parents had sung to her. This example illustrates the strong emotional connection that people have to their mother tongues. It is a connection not easily broken by living in a different land and using a different language in every day interactions.

The day I arranged to meet Marie was the first day that broke the curse of a marathon winter. Close to thirty degrees was forecast, and bright sunlight lit my drive to the Barossa Valley, illuminating the green fields and teasing with a taste of the upcoming summer. I arrived in Tanunda half an hour before we had agreed to meet and I wandered into the visitor's centre to pass the time. As I browsed through the information, two young women hauling packed backpacks stepped up to the information desk. They began chatting with the woman behind the counter. After a moment, I realised the trio were speaking German. The woman was showing the backpackers a map and giving them directions in fluent German. I had been regularly visiting the town for more than a year, and it was the first time I had heard German spoken in the town, outside of the Kaffee und Kuchen group.

Marie greeted me as warmly as the day's sunshine with her kind smile and welcoming eyes. We strolled along the main street, and found a café. We bought cups of tea, and chose a spot outside on a picnic table in the sunshine, amidst the steady bustle of people coming and going. As I set up my voice recorder, Marie chatted to me, in German, about the weather. I peeled my tongue from the

roof of my mouth and uttered some German words in reply, before pressing ‘record’ on the recorder and beginning, in English:[183]

‘So, firstly, I’d love to know a little about your background and where you were born…’

‘Auf Deutsch?’ Marie asked. *In German?*

‘Auf Englisch,’ I requested. Marie didn’t hesitate as she switched to English and began to tell me about her life.

Marie explained that she has lived in the Barossa for most of her life. She was born in 1939, on the brink of World War II, and grew up in Nuriootpa. Her parents were of German descent, but both her mother and her father were born in Australia, not in Germany.

‘I learned German before I learned English,’ Marie told me. ‘Because that is what was spoken by most people in the district. They were early settlers, and most spoke German, but most people spoke English too. Church services were conducted in German, and the local shop owners were all German speaking.’ But soon after Marie was born, the German language began to disappear from public use.

‘World War II started, and we still spoke German in our house and with aunties and uncles. It was still all German and I can remember it very well, but as far as the community, they were told not to speak or use German.’ During the First World War, teaching German in schools was banned, as was preaching and public prayer.[184] The Langmeil School in Tanunda was founded in 1845, and was a bilingual school teaching in both German and English.[185] The school was forced to close in 1917 due to anti-German sentiments in World War I, but reopened as an English medium school twenty-one years later as the Tanunda Lutheran School in 1938.[186] While the school was English-

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[183] Ethics approval for the interviews conducted as part of this research was sought from and granted by Flinders University’s Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee, project number 7115.
[184] Ioannou.
[185] Don Ross, ‘Our History’, *Langmeil Church*, 2013 <https://www.langmeilchurch.com.au/im-new/our-history/> [accessed 7 November 2016].
[186] Ross.

medium upon reopening, religion was taught in German, and the students were also taught to read and write German.[187] However, as the Second World War broke out, the school made the decision to stop teaching German, in the interest of the wellbeing of the students and school community.[188]

‘As soon as my brother and sister and I went to school, we spoke English,’ Marie explained. ‘I went to Nuriootpa Primary School and Nuriootpa High School. After that, we spoke a lot of English. My mother spoke a lot of German to us, and then we’d answer in English. That’s how it was.’ This phenomenon is common in children who grow up bilingually. While the children will acquire both languages, often when the children start school in the language of wider society, they can no longer see the relevance of their other language outside of the home, and the dominant language of the wider community begins to take over.[189]

Marie’s father died when Marie was only five years old, leaving her mother to run their farm and raise three children on her own. Despite the hardships, Marie’s mother ensured Marie stayed on at school until she had completed her Intermediate, which was her third year of high school. Marie then left home at the age of seventeen to do nursing. It was at this stage that Marie stopped using German so much. ‘I nursed at Tanunda hospital, the Royal Adelaide Hospital, in Melbourne and then I went back to Adelaide and then to Naracoorte [a small town three and a half hours south east of Adelaide] for a while, and then back to Tanunda.’

When Marie returned to Tanunda, she met her future husband Ron, but shortly afterwards she travelled to New Guinea to work as a nurse. ‘My sister and I found out they were short in hospital missions, so we went. My sister stayed for four years, but I came home because I had Ron. We got engaged and then married.’

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[187] Tanunda Lutheran School, ‘TLS History Snippets by Tanunda Lutheran School - Issuu’, 2013 <https://issuu.com/tanundalutheranschool/docs/tls_history_snippets> [accessed 8 April 2016].
[188] Ibid.
[189] Monika S. Schmid, ‘First Language Attrition’, *Language Teaching*, 49.2 (2016), 186–212 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444815000476>.

Marie and Ron lived on a farm outside of Tanunda, and Marie often helped out at the local hospital. They raised two sons together but sadly, Ron passed away in 1998. Ron's father was also German, but his family didn't speak much German at home. 'His mother could understand German, but Ron only knew the bad words!' Marie laughed. 'As I went further into nursing I didn't speak German so much, and you do get out of it.'

The ability to speak a language can disappear if contact with the language is not maintained and the language is not used, even if a person is a native speaker of a language.[190] Marie credits her ability to still speak German after not using the language much for many years to a number of different factors. Firstly, when she worked as a nurse in New Guinea, there was a German doctor and some German nurses there. One of the German nurses had a subscription to a German fashion magazine, and when Marie returned to Australia she decided to subscribe to the magazine too. 'These books came along every month and they were all German of course, and I could sew from them. So I made all my clothes, all my boys' clothes, but they did have an English supplement. Even so, I know my German really improved reading the instructions and everything.'

Marie then worked with a German nurse in a hospital, and they used to speak German with each other. She also visited Germany for almost two months in the early 2000s. While there, she met up with some friends she had known as a child, and she continues to keep in touch with them using German.

At this point in our conversation, Marie pulled out some books to show me. They were small children's board books of some traditional German stories. We had been speaking entirely in English up until this point, but as Marie showed me the books, she slipped into German, as though she couldn't help it: 'And I did actually bring a few things to show you. A few little books and, *es hat wirklich, wirklich gut gefallen…*' Marie set four books out on the table. The books sent Marie seven and a half weeksback to her own childhood, and therefore back to the German language.

[190] Ibid.

Instead of defaulting back to English, I followed Marie's lead as I browsed through the books: 'Die Bücher sind super. Sehr süß,' I offered. *The books are wonderful; very sweet.* Marie's eyes lit up at my German.

'Ganz super. Es war eine Freude für mir nach Deustchland,' Marie replied. *Really wonderful. It was a joy for me after Germany.*

'Wann war dir in Deustchland?'[191] I continued. *When were you in Germany*?

'In 2002, für siebeneinhalb Wochen.' *In 2002, for seven and a half weeks.*

'Ah, perfekt!' I said. 'Eine gute Zeit für die Sprache zu besseren.' *A good amount of time to improve the language.*

I could not bring myself to steer the conversation back to English, and I could not convince myself that there was a good enough reason to do so. We were in Tanunda, a former German speaking community. I was interviewing Marie about her German background, and we could both communicate in German to some extent. Given the context, German *demanded* to be used. For the rest of the interview, we spoke mostly German, except when the language failed us both, in the tradition of German and English settlers who used to live side by side in the bilingual Barossa Valley. Most often, I was the one who bluntly interrupted our German with English, but we accommodated each other: Marie briefly misplaced the German word for 'exchange' in her mind, and I supplied the word: '*austausch*', a word I knew well after my *Schüleraustausch* (school exchange) to Germany. I reverted to English whenever my questions became too complicated for me to ad lib into German and Marie not once batted an eyelid, listening to my English and then continuing in German as though we were still speaking the same language.

[191] Errors in German grammar/expression are transcribed exactly as spoken and are errors made in speech at the time of the interview.

‘You know what’s funny?’ Marie continued after we had finished looking at the books together. ‘When I was in Germany, my friends and I always spoke in German. It was only after I returned to Australia that I found out that they could speak English!’

Marie became aware of the Kaffee und Kuchen group after she was interviewed by a PhD student about the differences between standard German and Barossa Deutsch. The student explained that they wanted to start a community group for speakers of German, and Marie attended the group from the very beginning. ‘I really enjoy the Kaffee und Kuchen group,’ Marie told me. ‘I like the people a lot. I like hearing their stories; those with German heritage and those who arrived later, after the 1950s. They all have stories to tell.’ Marie relishes every opportunity to speak the language of her childhood and takes joy out of surrounding herself with German films, books and music. She particularly enjoys watching *Kommissar Rex* (Inspector Rex), an Austrian television series about a German Shepard police dog, Rex, who works with a homicide team to solve crimes. I told Marie how much I loved the show too: we used to watch episodes in our German lessons at school. While Marie relishes being surrounded by the language, she does not lament things lost to the past. ‘You know, people who are my age, the ones I went to school with, I think they can’t speak German anymore. A word here and there, but they can’t speak it.’

‘That’s really sad,’ I said.

‘Yes it is, but it also is what it is. You can’t turn the clock back.’

She is also astutely aware that there has been language loss beyond her own experiences. When I asked Marie whether or not she sees Australia as a multicultural nation, she took a moment to think before responding.

‘I have to say, it wasn’t a multicultural nation. It was English from England, and German from Germany. Since the 1950s, it has become more multicultural. And of course, before everyone else there were the Aboriginal people, which so many people forget. They were here first.’

In 2015, Peramangk custodian Isobelle Campbell was invited back on Peramangk land to meet with one of the Barossa Valley's founding families, at a celebration of 200 years since the birth of William Jacob. Jacob assisted William Light in surveying the Barossa region in 1839, and the Jacob's Creek wine region was founded by Jacob and his brother.[192] It was the first time the Permangk had been invited back to their country in 180 years.

I asked Marie if she speaks languages apart from German and English, and she told me that when she was working as a nurse in Melbourne, she learned enough Greek and Italian from her patients to be able to take patient histories in both languages. She also learned Pidgin English while she lived in New Guinea, and she and her sister still speak the language together. 'I believe that people who live in Australia need to speak English, but English is not enough. Everyone should speak two languages.' Despite this assertion, Marie did not pass German on to her two sons, although they both know a little bit. 'They know all the bad words!'

Marie's experiences are that of only one member of the Kaffee und Kuchen group, and of only one person in the Barossa language community. Yet Marie's story is typical of many German speaking Barossa Valley residents during the 1900s, where language was used to ostracise and other. As languages such as Barossa Deutsch are starting to become more visible in the community again, wider Australian society continues to push back against such efforts, claiming that they are a waste of time in what is an English speaking society.

Yet Australia's English above all other languages sentiment does not reflect the multilingual history of the land. Indigenous and community languages are not foreign to this land, but are an integral part of it. Languages other than English are not only the domain of migrants. There are many Australians, like Marie, who are born in this country and grow up bilingual. It is history that cannot be removed by demanding English above all else, as language is tied to more than a physical

[192] 'The Reunion of Two Tribes | The Leader Newspaper', *The Leader* (Barossa Valley, 16 April 2015) <https://barossaleader.com/the-reunion-of-two-tribes/> [accessed 8 April 2016].

place: it is also tied to a person's emotional memory. Language and culture are steeped in centuries, or, in the case of Indigenous Australians, millennia. Remnants remain in the memory of the landscape, and are also carried within those who spoke or still speak the tongues. Those who walk the land with eyes wide open will find the remnants there. Heritage remains embedded in a person's soul for eternity, travelling with them to whichever land they step upon. Or, as Marie put it: 'Our home belongs to us and we will never forget it.'

Despite the fact German is not as widely spoken as it once was, it remains an important heritage language not only for South Australia, but for the nation. The German settlers played a role in shaping the development of the nation alongside English settlers, and the treatment of people living in Australia during the World Wars is a dark period of history that needs to be acknowledged. It is through community groups such as the BGLA that the tradition of using the German language can continue, thus preserving the heritage of the land, and the history of the nation.

I no longer live on the edge of the Adelaide Hills, in the last Hills suburb to maintain a good train connection into the CBD. Before I moved interstate, I found the threads of my great-grandfather's story, scattered in pieces across internet databases. My heritage is a tiny piece of South Australia's German history, one thread of a wider tapestry of stories that reveal the ostracisation of those with German connections in the first half of the 1900s. As the decades have passed, the hostility has faded, and the fragments of the history and its stories that remain are slowly being collected and embraced again.

On the surface, my newfound information does not change much. People who pass me on the street will not see my newly gained knowledge; they will not be able to tell by looking at me that my great-grandfather was a nineteenth century boat person. My heritage will continue to be buried beneath my white skin and undeniable Australian accent; unquestioned until a stranger learns my name. But these are the narratives that are just as important as modern migrant tales. Now, when someone interrogates me about my background, I hesitate before affirming I am Australian.

Depending on the situation, I am more likely to throw in the fact my great-grandfather was German, but I still feel obliged to mention it is not a recent heritage. I do not want to inadvertently claim something that is not mine to claim. But now when I mention it is not a recent heritage, I am specific on the year: 1889. I am much more grateful for choosing German over French or Italian in high school, and that I have something of my heritage to hang on to. These narratives encourage all Australians to scrutinise their heritage, their paths to becoming Australians and how their own stories intertwine with modern, multicultural Australia.

In high school for German class, we went on school excursions to Hahndorf and the German Club in the city, where the waiting staff were instructed not to serve us unless we ordered in German. After one and a half years of lessons, it should have been easy to rattle off three words: *eine Limonade, bitte.* But we lined up, nervous that we would not be understood, yet knowing we could revert to English if it all became too challenging. I wonder if my great-grandfather knew any English before he journeyed to Australia. Learned in school, perhaps? Picked up during his three months in London before boarding the ship for Australia? I don't know if he ever returned to his motherland. More enigmatic than my great-grandfather are the relatives we supposedly still have in Leipzig. A cousin once or twice removed; rumoured to be called Helmut, a suitably German name. It is just as possible that these relatives have moved on to other places the way my great-grandfather did, or that the family line has died out the way it is on the cusp of doing in my own family line.

These questions didn't matter to me when I was a high school student in German lessons, focused on the next test or exam. They matter to me now, but I don't know why. Is it a way to justify my foreign sounding name or my right to the German language? A way to find any deeper connection to my father than I was able to form when I was child? Perhaps it is all of these things, and none. I am a writer; a linguist. I love a good story, and one involving language at that. Perhaps it is just my writerly curiosity getting the better of me, making me find connections where before none existed. Or maybe it is to clear my family's name: to be sure what role my family played in the destruction and development of Australia, and to be certain of their place. I have never

questioned my Australianness or my right to be Australian, yet many Australians question that very notion every day. My great-grandfather questioned that, and his children were to grow up strictly British. To be from anywhere else was to not be Australian.

I know why it matters. It matters because the layers of history have tried to bury the crimes against different races across generations, and each new attack erases the old. It matters, because it acknowledges and makes visible the non-English history of this country.

PART III: LANGUAGES OF THE LAND

‘I was born on *Ngurambang*- can you hear it?- *Ngu-ram-bang*. If you say it right it hits the back of your mouth and you should taste blood in your words. Every person should learn the word for *country* in the old language, the first language- because that is the way to all time, to time travel! You can go all the way back.’

– Tara June Winch[193]

The small theatre darkened, lulling the audience to silence. The stage lights brightened, and we found ourselves completing the curve of a circle around a campfire stacked in the middle of the stage. Moments later, unfamiliar words pierced the silence, filling the intimate space. Tiwi. Yolŋu. At first, our brains scrambled for meaning, rebelling against incomprehension, before relinquishing the task to our ears, hearts and souls. We ascertained meaning through expression, tone and movement. After a time, it no longer mattered whether we understood the meaning of each individual word or not. On the contrary, we understood much more by listening to the native tongues than we could have hoped to understand, in this context, through English.

I walked out of the theatre an hour and a half later, and even the shock of Darwin’s humidity after strong air conditioning wouldn’t lower the goose bumps raised on my arms. Darwin Fringe Festival’s 2017 program was the first I’d heard about Treasure Language Storytelling, now called Language Party, an initiative that creates storytelling events to celebrate and share local languages.

The initiative developed from the Aikuma Project, coordinated by Professor Steven Bird, an academic at Charles Darwin University, and University of Berkeley graduate Robyn Perry, and is dedicated to sustaining ‘thousands of living languages’.[194] Under the name Treasure Languages, the organisation held performances in San Francisco, Melbourne and Darwin, in various Indigenous

[193] Tara June Winch, *The Yield* (Sydney: Penguin Books, 2019), p. 1.
[194] The Aikuma Project, ‘About’, *Aikuma* <http://www.aikuma.org/about.html> [accessed 21 February 2020].

languages. It was a performance, not a reading: the storytellers recreated the traditional Aboriginal way of telling stories, gathered together around a campfire, and invited the audience in to be part of that experience. The stories were first told in language, and then translated into English. Inside the small theatre, we were in another world, oblivious to the city beyond the theatre's walls. The atmosphere was electric as the storytellers shared their languages and cultures with us, and gave us a glimpse into the silenced history of the land through language.

I'm typing these words in my adopted home on Larrakia Country as another thunderstorm rolls out to sea. It's ten pm, but thirty-three degrees and 90% humidity. I'm sitting outside on the balcony relishing the cool breeze that cuts through the humid air, illuminated by only my laptop screen in an effort to keep insects away. Larrakia Country is a country of extremes: stifling heat and bucketing rain; gale-force winds and, over the summer months, the ever-present possibility of a cyclone. I grew up on Kaurna Country, where the climate is much more placid, a suffocatingly hot day here and there in summer, and chillingly cold days every so often in winter, but the rotation of the seasons evens the occasional extreme days out. On Larrakia Country, the days of intense weather dance in tandem with days of calm. My husband and I left the Kaurna plains in 2016 and arrived on Larrakia Country, welcomed by a swell of humidity creeping in through the cracks in the air bridge as we walked off the plane. Balanda like me living on Larrakia land recognise two seasons; or, at a stretch, three: the dry, the build-up and the wet. The Larrakia recognise seven: dalay (monsoon), mayilema (spear grass and goose egg time), damibila (barramundi and bush egg season), dinigjangama (heavy dew time), gurrulwa guligi (big wind season), dalirrgang (build up) and balnba (rainy season).[195] The changes in seasons are not dictated by dates or months, but by shifts in the climate and wildlife; shifts that those not intimately connected to the land through language and culture may not recognise. The Larrakia language sees this land in ways English is

[195] Lorraine Williams and others, 'Gulumoerrgin Seasons (Calendar): Larrakia, Darwin', *CSIRO Ecosystems Sciences*, 2012 <https://www.csiro.au/en/Research/Environment/Land-management/Indigenous/Indigenous-calendars/Gulumoerrgin> [accessed 21 February 2020].

blinded to. The language has thousands of years' head start on making sense of the landscape, and English can't hope to keep up.

Knowledge is encoded within language. When a language is lost, it is not only identities and cultures that are decimated, but entire knowledge systems. Australia's hundreds of Indigenous languages partly encode knowledge of the land in songlines. In Tara June Winch's novel *The Yield,* protagonist Albert Gondiwindi, a Wiradjuri man, writes a dictionary of his language to preserve the tongue for emerging generations and defines songlines:

> **Songlines-** ***yarang gudhi-dhuray*** [sic] Means song having line and ***birrang-dhuray-gudhi*** [sic] means journey having song. These lines are our early map-making. They measure our places, our impossible distances and they are passed down through story songs and dances.[196]

Songlines use language, song and dance to record creation stories and navigational information, across both land and sky, in memory to be passed down through the generations.[197] They hold essential survival information for those journeying across the vast continent, revealing the location of mountains, waterholes and other landmarks along the way, to guide travellers on their journeys. Songlines were also used to share information with different communities across the country, creating paths for information and news to traverse the continent.[198] The songlines and the knowledge within were preserved by being passed down each generation through a line of singers. This knowledge can be translated into English, as demonstrated by the 2015 SBS and NITV series *Songlines on Screen*, which shares traditional Indigenous songlines with English-speaking audiences.[199] Yet the cultural significance *of* a songline and how they were used in practice is

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[196] Winch, p. 103.
[197] Ray P. Norris and Bill Yidumduma Harney, 'Songlines and Navigation in Wardaman and Other Aboriginal Cultures', *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage*, 17.2 (2014), 141–48.
[198] Dean Bently, 'First Footprints', *30,000-15,000 Years* (Australia: SBS, 2013).
[199] *Footprints - Songlines on Screen* (Screen Australia and NITV, 2015) <https://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/video/705549891576/songlines-on-screen-footprints> [accessed 21 February 2020].

something that is more difficult to translate across cultures without being embedded into the experience of a songline through land and language. Through the loss of Indigenous languages, histories of entire Indigenous Australian cultures, along with intimate knowledge of the Australian continent, have been erased.

More than 250 languages and 800 language varieties were once interwoven across the land, in one of the most linguistically diverse regions in the world. Only 100 are still spoken, and only thirteen are still acquired by children. Of those 100 languages, some have only a few native speakers remaining.[200] There is no denying the impact the demise of German in South Australia had on many lives and the shape of the state, but as Marie Heinrich pointed out, German too was a language of invasion. And the demise of a community language that still exists as an official language of six nations (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg and Switzerland), encompassing more than ninety million native speakers, is incomparable to the destruction of hundreds of languages native to the land. Australia's multilingualism is an ancient story.

Yanyuwa woman Dinah Norman a-Marrngawi believes her land can't hear English, writes John J Bradley, who spent thirty years living in remote communities with the Yanyuwa. English is a language cultivated elsewhere, making claim on new surroundings. He further writes that 'Yanyuwa poetry and narratives are all associated with place, with country and sea'.[201] In an essay published in *Griffith Review 63: Writing the Country*, writer Kim Mahood agrees: 'Because English is not the first language of the Australian continent, many early landscape writers heard only an echo of their own anxieties.'[202] England's overpopulated paddocks and mild climate stand in opposition to dry earth, red dirt, and hundreds of kilometres of unburdened desert. As John J Bradley writes, the land is starved of tongues it has known for thousands of years:

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[200] 'Indigenous Australian Languages'; Marmion and others.

[201] John J. Bradley, 'Can My Country Hear English?: Reflections on the Relationship of Language to Country.', *PAN: Philosophy Activism Nature*, 13 (2017), 68–72 (p. 70).

[202] Kim Mahood, 'Lost and Found in Translation', *Griffith Review*, 63, 2019 <https://www.griffithreview.com/articles/lost-found-translation-who-can-talk-to-country/> [accessed 21 February 2020].

> Within Australia the vast and nuanced ways of knowing this continent the languages [sic] that belong to this land are largely unknown, the value of these languages, their pertinence of what they might mean, to what it is to know Australia away from the default language that English has constructed, has generally been ignored, if not denied, and this had been a 227 year journey of purposeful forgetfulness and part of what W.E.H Stanner called the Great Australian Silence and a nation wide cult of forgetfulness.[203]

The colonisation story refused to acknowledge Indigenous languages as integral to understanding the landscape and instead twisted the history of the continent into an English-speaking history. 'Forgetfulness' is a generous way to describe the active denigrating of Indigenous tongues. Invert the story to the invasion story, and the picture sours. Some Indigenous languages were wiped out beyond recovery, yet remnants of others survived through written records and fragments of passed down phrases and words. Through these resources, more and more communities are taking action to revive their lost languages before it is too late.

'Lost languages' is a peculiar term. It implies that these languages were simply left somewhere one day, and everyone somehow forgot where. That they can simply be found again, by remembering the last place it was used, or by systematically combing the environment. The term makes light of the severity of the situation, in much the same way as W.E.H Stanner's phrase 'the cult of forgetfulness' is a rather generous assessment of the damage actively wielded to Indigenous peoples and their cultures and languages. The truth is, it is not that simple. The term 'lost languages' does not even begin to capture the destruction and violence that led to the decimation of Indigenous tongues.

The terminology used to refer to lost languages has changed significantly, and before we trek further, it is important to explore the shift that has taken place in terms used to refer to languages that are no longer spoken. In his work *On the Death and Life of Languages*, first

[203] Ibid.

published in French in 2001 but not published in English until 2009, linguist Claude Hagège uses the words 'endangered', 'dead', 'dying', 'extinct' and 'resurrection' to describe languages that are at risk of not being spoken or are no longer spoken.[204] Historically, this terminology was widely used to describe such languages. By this measure, Latin is considered to be a dead language, because although it is still learned as a written language, it is no longer actively used as a spoken language. The terms 'dead language' or 'extinct language' were also once used to refer to Indigenous languages that are no longer spoken, in part because in some cases, the last speakers of the language died.[205] Yet the use of blanket terms to account for the demise of both Latin and Indigenous languages do not acknowledge the differing circumstances that led to the languages no longer being used. Latin fell out of use as the language split and evolved into the Romance languages, meaning the language lives not only as a written language, but as a spoken language. On the other hand, rather than evolution, it is colonisation, invasion, that violently halted the use of Indigenous languages. These stark differences between the circumstances leading to the languages' demises must be acknowledged. Furthermore, the finality of the terms 'dead' or 'extinct' suggest that the languages can never be recovered.

One preferred way of referring to languages silenced by violence is now a 'dormant language'.[206] Dormant indicates that while the language is inactive for now, it has the capacity to be awoken and actively used again. It acknowledges languages as organisms given life by the people who speak them. So long as there are people, and recorded remnants of language, there is hope of reawakening dormant tongues.

Since the turn of the century, efforts to revive dormant languages have been increasing, yet there is a debate that continues to flare up periodically about the purpose and usefulness of reviving and maintaining endangered languages. In the early 2000s in the USA, the opinion that reviving

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[204] Claude Hagège, *On the Death and Life of Languages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).
[205] Rob Amery, *Warraparna Kaurna!: Reclaiming an Australian Language* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2016).
[206] Amery, p. 20.

endangered languages was a waste of time and funding was particularly prevalent. A *New York Times* article from the year 2000 examined both sides of the debate, and explored the case of Native American language Wampanoag. Jessie Little Doe Fermino was advocating to revive the language, and applied for a grant to create a Wampanoag dictionary. While specialists on the panel loved the idea, non-specialists did not, and the funding was denied.[207]

In the same year, journalist Kenan Malik attempted to justify why it is necessary to let languages 'die'. He argued that while people can do whatever they like in their own time to preserve their culture, they should not expect anyone to listen to them or fund their cultural maintenance efforts. He also claimed that while 'some groups are banned from using their language', 'most languages die out, not because they are supressed, but because native speakers yearn for a better life.'[208] Malik's ignorant arguments completely ignore the fact that many languages ceased to be spoken because of the violence of colonisation, and that it is *because* of colonisation that speakers of Indigenous languages must adopt the dominant language of wider society. It is not a choice, but the culmination of years of suppression. As Jeanie Bell writes in reflecting on what it was like growing up as a Murri woman in Brisbane in the 1960s:

> The language situation was that we didn't speak any of our own language. Our parents had been told quite severely that traditional languages were all junk and rubbish- pagan languages even. So it was drummed into our heads that English was the only language we had to learn, and we were supposed to learn it well.[209]

In many cases, it is the systematic rejection and denouncement of their native tongues that left Australia's First Nations peoples with no choice but to prioritise the language of invasion. The fault

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[207] Alexander Stille, 'Speak, Cultural Memory: A Dead-Language Debate', *The New York Times*, 30 September 2000 <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/09/30/arts/speak-cultural-memory-a-dead-language-debate.html> [accessed 3 March 2016].
[208] Kenan Malik, 'Let Them Die', *Prospect*, 20 November 2000 <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/letthemdie> [accessed 8 March 2017].
[209] Jeanie Bell, 'Australia's Indigenous Languages', in *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, ed. by Michele Grossman (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2003), pp. 159–70 (p. 160).

of the decimation of Indigenous tongues lies squarely with the invaders. Making funding available to contribute to righting those wrongs is the bare minimum that can, and should, be done.

Attitudes toward language revival have shifted as the millennium edges onwards, and there are increasing efforts to revive dormant languages, especially in Australia. Yet detractors continue to voice their scepticism over the usefulness of reviving languages (often from their throne of native English-speaking privilege). Journalist James Harbeck wrote an essay for *The Week* in 2015 questioning why linguists are pushing so hard to revive dormant languages. Harbeck takes particular offense at the view that 'knowledge is untranslatably encoded in a language' and therefore languages must be revived.[210] Yet Harbeck has misinterpreted the idea. It is not that knowledge is *untranslatably* encoded in language, but that it is encoded in language. As SBS's series about songlines illustrates, that knowledge can be translated, and part of language revival is about documenting the knowledge within languages before that knowledge disappears with the last language speakers. However, as John J Bradley explains, while that knowledge can be systematically translated, that knowledge is treated very differently in English. It is extracted from storytelling and rendered as facts, information. It is not the knowledge itself that is untranslatable: it is the cultural practices of embedding knowledge in story and connecting story intimately with the land.[211] A 2020 study investigating the rates of transmission of traditional ecological knowledge found that even when language is passed down, this knowledge is not necessarily passed down through language, unless activities on country in language are still part of life for communities.[212] Some knowledge can only be gained by embedding oneself in language, country and culture. Therefore, only translating such knowledge into English does not fully encapsulate the complexities and intricacies of the knowledge.

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[210] James Harbeck, 'Why do we fight so hard to preserve endangered languages?', *The Week*, 3 February 2015 <https://theweek.com/articles/541609/why-fight-hard-preserve-endangeredlanguages> [accessed 9 May 2016].
[211] Bradley.
[212] Aung Si, 'Patterns in the Transmission of Traditional Ecological Knowledge: A Case Study from Arnhem Land, Australia', *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine*, 16.1 (2020), 52 <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13002-020-00403-2>.

Tara June Winch's 2019 novel *The Yield* encapsulates this very concept. The narrative interweaves the past and the present, following Wiradjuri man Albert Gondiwindi as he records his language for future generations before his imminent death, and his granddaughter August Gondiwindi as she returns to her land for the first time in a decade to attend her grandfather's funeral. As August confronts her past, she finds her grandfather's words, revealing another layer to the land she grew up on. Albert writes in his dictionary entry for the phrase '**where is your country?-** ***dhagunhu nagurambang*** [sic]': '…this country is made of impossible distances, places you can only reach by time travel. By speaking our language, by singing the mountains into existence.'[213] His dictionary differs from the vocabulary lists constructed by missionaries as they learned and recorded native languages as a means to convert communities to Lutheranism and Christianity in that no single English word suffices. Albert ascribes not only an English equivalent, but a paragraph attaching a story, a memory, landscape, wisdom, to each ancient Wiradjuri word.

Winch's novel caught my breath in the back of my throat and set my heart racing. I finished the book late one night and sleep evaded me for hours after reading the final word. The real Wiradjuri language is used in the novel, set against a fictional town in New South Wales and tells the story of fictional characters, yet it is the language that colours the fictional landscape and breathes so much life into the setting and characters. It is difficult to believe that the Gondiwindi family and their home of Massacre Plains on the Murrumby River exist only on the page. Yet fiction and reality blur as the history of Massacre Plains and the Gondiwindi family were very much the reality for so many Aboriginal Australians who had their people, languages and cultures massacred, both literally and figuratively. Anyone who disputes the searing bond between language, place and culture need only read this book.

From Harbeck's point of view, he also argues that sometimes speakers of endangered languages do not wish for their language to be revived, and 'who are we to tell them they are

[213] Winch, p. 34.

wrong?'.[214] Here, Harbeck ignores the fact that a core principle for any linguist who wishes to work with a community to revive an endangered language is that the community needs to be at the core of the revival and they have to want to revive their language. It is not a free for all, demanding language revival on communities that do not wish to do so. In 1984, the Australian Linguistic Society published a list of 'Linguistic rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities' that linguists must adhere to when working with Indigenous communities.[215] These include: 'to finalize clear and firm negotiations to the community's satisfaction before the linguistic fieldwork is undertaken'; to ensure that benefits of research including publications and royalties are shared with the community members involved; and that consent is sought and given before publishing any materials.

The communities also have the right to determine how and when their language is used. The Kaurna language of the Adelaide Plains in South Australia is thirty years into the revival process, and the language has a committee, Kaurna Warra Pintyanthi, which oversees and monitors the development and use of the language.[216] The committee's website clearly states:

> Kaurna language and culture is the property of the Kaurna community. Users of this site are urged to use the language with respect. This means making every effort to get the pronunciation, spelling and grammar right.
>
> Kaurna people reserve the right to monitor the use of the language in public. Users of this site should consult with Kaurna people about use of the language in the public domain.[217]

Harbeck rightly points out that language revival should not be forced upon a community that is not interested in reviving their language, yet does not acknowledge that linguists work within guidelines and principles to ensure any revival is community centred and led. That is not to say that there are

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[214] Harbeck.
[215] Australian Linguistic Society, 'Policies', *Australian Linguistic Society*, 2020 <https://als.asn.au/AboutALS/Policies> [accessed 21 February 2020].
[216] 'Kaurna Warra Pintyanthi' <https://www.adelaide.edu.au/kwp/index/?> [accessed 19 January 2019].
[217] Ibid.

cases where linguists and researchers have ignored these principles and approached their research in unethical ways, but to assume that language revival is instigated by linguists rather than by communities is inaccurate.

A third argument against reviving dormant languages is one proliferated since Federation: that speakers of Indigenous tongues need to focus their attention on the dominant language of wider society.[218] This misconception stems directly from a monolingual view of the world and ignores the fact that reviving a language does not come at the expense of other languages. The majority of the world is at least bilingual. It is common to speak two or more languages fluently. In Maningrida, a remote community in the Northern Territory with a population of 2,000, fifteen different languages are used across the community to communicate on a daily basis.[219] No one is advocating for reviving dormant languages in place of other languages. Rather, reviving dormant languages is restoring their rightful place alongside other languages, and, in the context of Australia, within Australia's complex linguistic ecosystem of the national language, Indigenous languages, migrant languages, community languages, heritage languages and foreign languages. Indigenous languages should be prioritised alongside English, not included as an afterthought. As Kim Mahood writes:

> Indigenous languages are being written down in order to preserve them. Stories are recorded and transcribed so they won't be lost as the languages that articulate them fall out of use. Languages thought to be lost are being reconstituted from fragments embedded in place names and historical documents and memory. What kind of languages these will be, and what purpose they will serve, is yet to be imagined. If they contain enough of the original sounds and meanings, maybe they'll reawaken the ancestors, and there'll be a new conversation between people and country.[220]

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[218] Malik.

[219] Jill Vaughan, 'Meet the Remote Indigenous Community Where a Few Thousand People Use 15 Different Languages', *The Conversation*, 12 May 2018 <https://theconversation.com/meet-the-remote-indigenous-community-where-a-few-thousand-people-use-15-different-languages-107716>.

[220] Mahood.

This iteration of the monolingual mindset has been one of the most damaging in contributing to the decimation of Indigenous tongues, as it is a core reason for the dismantling of bilingual education in remote Indigenous communities. The term 'bilingual' was misinterpreted as meaning an education that prioritises local languages over English, but true bilingual education means exactly that: it is an education in two languages.[221] Australia was once a leading nation in this area, but funding cuts in 1997, and the persistent belief that an education in English only is best-practice, meant that many schools could not afford to continue offering bilingual education.

Yet research shows that Indigenous students studying bilingual programs achieve better results than those students who only have access to an English education.[222] For many children in remote areas, their mother tongues are not English. They are then expected to attend school and learn to read and write in English before they learn to read and write in their own language. In 2010, the Northern Territory government mandated that all schools must teach in English for the first four hours of the day (out of a five-hour school day), effectively dismantling those bilingual programs that remained.[223] While this policy was reversed in 2012, these decisions not only increase the widening gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, but contribute to language loss as the focus shifts to English.[224]

Reviving a dormant language is a long, complicated process, but it is possible. One of the most well-known and successful cases of language revival is that of Hebrew, or Israeli.[225] Hebrew was a spoken language from the fourteenth century BC, yet the language slowly stopped being

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[221] Christine Nicholls, 'Ten Common Attitudes to, and Myths about, the Northern Territory's Bilingual Education Programs', *Ngoonjook: A Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, 16 (1999), 77–88.

[222] Brian Devlin, 'The Status and Future of Bilingual Education for Remote Indigenous Students in the Northern Territory', *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 34.3 (2011), 260–79.

[223] Greg Dickson, 'Ngurrju! Manymak! Pupuni! NT Drops First Four Hours in English Policy', *Crikey*, 7 November 2012 <https://blogs.crikey.com.au/fullysic/2012/07/11/ngurrju-manymak-pupuni-nt-drops-first-four-hours-in-english-policy/> [accessed 24 July 2020].

[224] Ibid.

[225] Ghil'ad Zuckermann, *Revivalistics: From the Genesis of Israeli to Language Reclamation in Australia and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020); Ghil'ad Zuckermann and Michael Walsh, 'Stop, Revive, Survive: Lessons from the Hebrew Revival Applicable to the Reclamation, Maintenance and Empowerment of Aboriginal Languages and Cultures', *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 31.1 (2011), 111–27 <https://doi.org/10.1080/07268602.2011.532859>; Hagège.

used, and by the second century AD it was no longer spoken.[226] For almost two thousand years, Hebrew was considered to be a dead language, although during this time, it remained a religious and literary language. At the end of the nineteenth century, revivalists began to revive the language in order to create a sentiment of national identity. The recreated language is based on both ancient Hebrew and Yiddish.

Ghil'ad Zuckermann is a native speaker of revived Hebrew. He calls this form of Hebrew Israeli as he believes 'it is time to acknowledge that Israeli is very different from ancient Hebrew.'[227] This assertion is widely contested, on the basis that many languages have evolved into very different tongues from how they were spoken one thousand years ago, and yet they are still referred to by the same name.[228]

Zuckermann believes that many of the aspects that made the Hebrew revival successful can also be applied to Australian Indigenous languages.[229] Yet not all linguists agree. Christina Eira argues that it is optimistic to suggest that success in the revival of one language can assume success in the revival of a different language in a different context.[230] She cites differences in the availability of language resources to draw on as a starting point, and the fact that there is no wider immersion environment for the language to be used in as there was with Modern Hebrew/Israeli. For example, Australian Indigenous languages are not widely used in everyday activities such as banking and food shopping.[231] Despite the additional challenges posed in reviving Australian Indigenous languages compared to a language with more resources to draw on, many Indigenous Australian communities are in the process of reviving their own tongues.

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[226] Zuckermann and Walsh.
[227] Zuckermann and Walsh, p. 114.
[228] Philologos, 'Hebrew vs. Israeli', *The Forward*, 24 December 2004 <https://forward.com/articles/4052/hebrew-vs-israeli/> [accessed 20 April 2017]; 'Hebrew or Israeli? Linguist Stirs Zionist Debate', *Ynetnews.Com*, 29 November 2006 <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3333948,00.html> [accessed 6 October 2019].
[229] Zuckermann and Walsh.
[230] Christina Eira, '"One Size Fits All"? A Response to Zuckermann and Walsh "Stop, Revive, Survive: Lessons from the Hebrew Revival Applicable to the Reclamation, Maintenance and Empowerment of Aboriginal Languages and Cultures"', *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 31.1 (2011), 129–36 <https://doi.org/10.1080/07268602.2011.535481>.
[231] Ibid.

In order for a language with no remaining speakers to be revived, first written records of the language must exist. For Australia's Indigenous languages, written records of some native tongues exist only because German missionaries recorded languages when they arrived to indoctrinate Indigenous communities into Lutheranism.

The German Lutheran missionaries were invited to South Australia for the purpose of converting the Indigenous population to Christianity, while the British were tasked with 'civilising' the children into the British tradition.[232] While the Germans and the British worked together, over time, differences began to appear in their approaches to education. In 1839, a school was founded, and Lutheran missionary Clamor Schürmann taught the students in the school to read and write in their own language, Kaurna. Yet by 1843, newly appointed governor George Grey enforced the teaching of English in the school's curriculum. While the missionaries believed Kaurna must be used to ensure they could convert the children to Christianity, the British wished to replace Indigenous languages with English, as they saw English as the language of civilisation.[233]

While the German missionaries' reasons for wishing to teach in language and record language were in order to indoctrinate the people, it was these very records that ensured the Kaurna and Barngarla languages had a starting point for reclamation and revival (never forgetting the violent dispossession that decimated these languages in the first place).

Still other languages have written records thanks to the dedicated and sustained effort of linguists working together with the last speakers of Indigenous languages eager to see their languages recorded for future generations. Esteemed linguist Luise Hercus passed away in 2018 after dedicating decades of her life to documenting Australia's Indigenous languages across almost every state and territory. Hercus embodied the principles every linguist should abide by when

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[232] Anne Scrimgeour, 'Notions of "Civilisation" and the Project to "Civilise" Aborigines in South Australia in the 1840s', *History of Education Review*, 35.1 (2006), 35–46 <https://doi.org/10.1108/08198691200600004>.
[233] Ibid.

working with Indigenous communities in her extensive work documenting Indigenous languages across Australia.[234]

Born in Munich in 1926, Hercus was Jewish and escaped to England in 1938 before the war.[235] She knew no English before beginning school in England, but was taught the basics by her classmates, and discovered her interest in studying languages. In 1943, she was accepted into Oxford's St Anne's College to study modern languages, and secured a lecturing position in French Philology in 1948. She met her future husband, Australian physicist Graham Hercus, in 1952, and moved with him to Australia in 1954. By the early 1960s, Hercus had discovered her interest in Australian Aboriginal languages.[236]

She undertook extensive fieldwork over fifty years, documenting and recording Indigenous languages, stories, songs and places. Hercus began her work as interest in Aboriginal languages was starting to pick up, after a period in the 1950s when Indigenous languages were not considered worthy of intense study.[237] The thinking was that if there were no monolingual speakers of a language left then the language was 'corrupted' and not worth studying. Additionally, without a written literature, the languages were not considered worthy. With her husband and her son, and funding her own way until she secured grants, she drove out to remote communities to find speakers and record their languages and literatures.

Hercus' ethos in recording not only language, but also story and place, saw language as interconnected with, and not distinct from, people and places. It is this ethos that persists in reclamation efforts to this day: 'Documenting a language is now seen as incomplete unless documenting place, story and song forms part of it.'[238]

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[234] *Language, Land & Song: Studies in Honour of Luise A. Hercus*, ed. by Peter K. Austin, Harold Koch, and Jane Simpson (Batchelor: Batchelor Institute Press, 2018).
[235] Tom Gara, 'Luise Hercus' Research in the Lake Eyre Basin', in *Language, Land & Song: Studies in Honour of Luise A. Hercus*, ed. by Peter K. Austin, Harold Koch, and Jane Simpson (Batchelor: Batchelor Institute Press, 2018).
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Austin, Koch, and Simpson.

One well-known revival story is that of Kaurna, the language of the Kaurna people who are the traditional owners of the Adelaide plains. The efforts to revive Kaurna began in 1989.[239] Linguist Rob Amery has been working alongside the Kaurna community to reconstruct the language predominately from a 2500-word Kaurna-English dictionary written by two German missionaries, Christian Teichelmann and Clamor Schürmann, in 1836. While their aim was to learn the local language for the purpose of educating the Kaurna people and indoctrinating them into the Lutheran faith, their records of the language informed the revival effort.[240] Over three decades, Kaurna has been revived to the point where it is being taught in schools, and language classes run regularly in Adelaide. Much of the momentum in reviving Kaurna can be attributed to Kaurna and Narrunga man Jack Buckskin.

A documentary produced in 2013, *Buckskin*, told Jack's story in reviving the Kaurna language and culture, and passing the language on to the next generation.[241] The Kaurna people had their sovereignty taken away when the state of South Australia was formed in 1836, and they were the first Aboriginal community to have their children taken away in South Australia. 'Our people were just fenced up like sheep,' Jack says in the documentary. 'Or, not even like sheep. Sheep had more rights than we did. If the sheep wanted to get put where our community was, they'd move the Aboriginal people instead of moving the sheep. Even livestock had more rights than we did.'[242] The last fluent speaker of Kaurna died in the 1920s. Jack grew up not knowing his language, but found out about the Kaurna revival efforts and spent three years learning the language. He is now the most fluent speaker of the language and is raising his two children, Maleaha and Vincent, to be the first native speakers of Kaurna in one hundred years.[243]

[239] Amery.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Dylan McDonald, *Buckskin* (Mitchell, ACT Ronan Films, 2013).
[242] Ibid, 17:56- 18:16.
[243] Ibid.

While missionaries played a significant role in invasion, their insistence that the best way to convert communities to their religion was through the community's own language ensured that records of Indigenous languages were created. Teichelmann and Schürmann were linguists in their own right, with knowledge of many language, and while they failed in their attempts to convert the Kaurna people to their religion, their dictionary of Kaurna provided the records needed to revive the Kaurna language. The documentary shows Jack looking through the original Kaurna dictionary created by Teichelmann and Schürmann, and he is in awe of the document. 'This book is gonna be, in the future…the new Dreaming…a new chapter from now on,' Jack explains. 'This is where all the language got documented. It was all oral beforehand. This is where language changed and started getting written.'[244]

A key component to language revival is ensuring the language is taught to others and especially to emerging generations. Kaurna has been taught in Adelaide schools since 1992.[245] As interest in offering Kaurna continued to grow, it reached a point where there are not enough Kaurna teachers to meet demand. Jack grew up using words from four different South Australian languages, mixing them all in together within the same sentence, a process referred to as 'translanguaging'. Through his involvement with the Kaurna dance troupe Taikurtinna, Jack began attending the Kaurna language course developed by Amery through the Kaurna Living Culture centre in 2003. Amery subsequently asked Jack to work on the Kaurna Placenames project, to record sound files for use on the Kaurna Placenames website, which required Jack to become very familiar with the sounds and spellings of the language. His understanding of Kaurna developed rapidly, and in 2007, he taught his first Kaurna class. A Kaurna language program was then developed for Year 8 students at Adelaide High School. With the support of a teacher at the school, Jack developed and taught his first Kaurna program.[246]

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[244] Ibid, 25:44- 26:16.

[245] Rob Amery and Vincent Kanya Buckskin, 'Handing on the Teaching of Kaurna Language to Kaurna Youth', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 2, 2012, 31–41.

[246] Ibid.

Kaurna language programs continued to be introduced in both primary and high schools, as well as in evening classes. In the documentary, Jack reflects on his experiences teaching Kaurna at Salisbury High School. He mentions that the first group of students to take his classes at the school were forced into it, because there was not enough room in the Italian or Chinese classes, but that after the first group of students went through and really enjoyed the subject, he did not have trouble getting students to sign up for the class. Salisbury High School no longer offers Kaurna, but as of May 2019, ten schools across South Australia offer the language.[247] It is reported that the number dropped in 2020, with only six schools across the state offering the language.[248] Despite the efforts to revive Kaurna and teach the language in schools, there are challenges:

> For Buckskin, before starting to learn Kaurna language, members of his own family were telling him that he should not have to learn language from a non-Aboriginal person, but he continued to do so to show them that it takes just one person to break that cycle. Now they have come around and accept his teaching.[249]

There are ethical concerns around not only non-Aboriginal people teaching Aboriginal languages, but also around non-Aboriginal linguists working with communities to revive Aboriginal languages. Working together with community and Elders to guide and approve such work is essential to ensuring the revival and teaching of Aboriginal languages.

Jack is committed to passing the language on to the next generation to continue the redevelopment of the language. He feels he is obligated to keep teaching the language until there is another speaker fluent enough to take on the role. 'We're right here, if you want to learn our

[247] South Australia Department of Education, 'Languages Offered at Government Schools', 2016 <https://www.education.sa.gov.au/teaching/curriculum-and-teaching/primary-and-secondary-curriculum/languages-offered-government-schools> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[248] Richards.
[249] Amery and Buckskin, p. 34.

culture, learn our dance, we still know enough to teach you. Don't feel like you're here by yourself,' Jack says in the documentary.[250]

Kaurna has been in the revival process for thirty years. Another example of language revival in South Australia is that of Barngarla, a language still in the very early stages of the revival process. Zuckermann began working with the Barngarla community in 2011 to revive their language.[251] Barngarla was spoken north of Adelaide in the Port Lincoln, Whyalla and Port Augusta area of the Eyre Peninsula.[252] The effects of colonisation meant that many Barngarla were driven off their land and into missions, and the language loss was so extreme that there were no native speakers of the language left. As with Kaurna, it was German missionary Schürmann who documented aspects of the vocabulary and grammar of Barngarla, and it is from these short documents that the Barngarla community is reviving the language.[253] Zuckermann regularly runs Barngarla reclaimation workshops in the Barngarla region, where community members come together to make decisions on new words. Together, the community recreates the language by borrowing from English or other Indigenous languages from the area, or from repurposing parts of words in the vocabulary lists that remain. In October 2016, the community released a dictionary app of the Barngarla language, which now includes more than 3000 words, to ensure that Barngarla speakers who are unable to attend the workshops also have access to the language.[254]

For languages where there are still fluent speakers who can teach the language to the younger generations, there are other approaches to supporting language transmission to the younger generations. In Central Australia, Pertame woman Vanessa Farrelly is leading an initiative to revive the Pertame language through the Master-Apprentice approach.[255] The Pertame language is the

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[250] McDonald, *Buckskin*, 20:10-20:20.
[251] Zuckermann, *Revivalistics*.
[252] Barngarla.com, 'Barngarla -Barngarla Language - Australian Aboriginal Language', *Barngarla Language*, 2018 <https://www.barngarlalanguage.com> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[253] Mark Clendon, *Clamor Schürmann's Barngarla Grammar: A Commentary on the First Section of A Vocabulary of the Parnkalla Language* (University of Adelaide Press, 2015) <https://doi.org/10.20851/barngarla>.
[254] Barngarla.com.
[255] Vanessa Farrelly, 'Master-Apprentice: Language Revival in New York City', *Borderlands*, 1, 2020, 97–107.

language of Pertame country, south of Alice Springs and north of the South Australian border. Farrelly wrote about her experiences of attending a workshop in New York City with her nana Kathleen to learn about the Master-Apprentice program in order to implement it to teach the next generation the Pertame language. The Master-Apprentice approach sees a fluent elder language speaker working together with a younger learner to impart the language through an immersion process.[256] The approach has been successfully used in California and other parts of North America and provides an opportunity to learn language through everyday activities and time spent together, rather than through books.

The reasons for reviving language go beyond language itself. Research is beginning to show a correlation between language and mental health. A 2007 Canadian study found a link between a lack of conversational knowledge in a native tongue and the youth suicide rate.[257] Anecdotal evidence further supports this claim, and in 2017 Zuckermann and Professor Alex Brown received more than $1 million in funding to explore the impact that language reclamation has on a person's health and wellbeing. One of the aims of the study is to prove that illness can be cured through reclaiming cultural heritage.[258] Part of the research for the study involved interviewing Barngarla people about what effect reclaiming their language had on their emotional wellbeing:

> I do look forward to when the language groups are on. Because I can get out and mix with people and, not just with my family group but meeting new people that come. And it just opens you up to be able to share what you have inside you and what you hope, and your

[256] Leanne Hinton, 'Language Loss and Revitalization in California: Overview', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 1998.132 (1998), 83–94 <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1998.132.83>.
[257] Darcy Hallett, Michael J. Chandler, and Christopher E. Lalonde, 'Aboriginal Language Knowledge and Youth Suicide', *Cognitive Development*, 22.3 (2007), 392–99 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cogdev.2007.02.001>.
[258] University of Adelaide, 'Impact of Reclaiming Aboriginal Languages to Be Studied', 2016 <https://www.adelaide.edu.au/news/news89802.html> [accessed 23 February 2020].

> thoughts – and it takes you out of your comfort zone too. So that's the way it's sort of helped me. I just get up and it's motivating.[259]

The participants described not only the motivation they felt by learning to speak their language, but how speaking the language outside of the language workshops reinvigorated the land and the spirits through language. For the participants, learning the language had positive benefits in spending time with family and reconnecting to country and culture.

Wiradjuri author Dr Anita Heiss wrote an essay for *Griffith Review* in 2020 describing her experiences of learning her language. She writes she was 'full of self-doubt and feelings of inadequacy' and that she was 'the first in [her] immediate miyagan (family) to do so.'[260] Heiss found solidarity in her fellow students:

> Most of us students were on the same journey; most of us had come from mayiny (people) denied the right to speak language, to pass on culture, to learn on our own lands, with and from our own mayiny. Policies and acts of protection and assimilation had always had at their core the disconnection of Aboriginal mayiny from ngurambang, culture, community and identity – and this was often overlaid with a belief, a desire, that we would eventually die out and disappear.[261]

As an accomplished academic and author of sixteen books, Heiss is initially confronted by the time and effort it will take to reacquaint herself with her language, but on reflection comes to the realisation that 'Our language has been alive for tens of thousands of years; catching up with it would take a little time.'[262]

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[259] Leda Sivak and others, '"Language Breathes Life"—Barngarla Community Perspectives on the Wellbeing Impacts of Reclaiming a Dormant Australian Aboriginal Language', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16.20 (2019), 3918 <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16203918>. p. 11.

[260] Anita Heiss, 'Ngumambinya: Trust for Help', *Griffith Review*, 2020 <https://www.griffithreview.com/articles/ngumambinya-anita-heiss/> [accessed 15 February 2020].

[261] Ibid.

[262] Ibid.

Poet Evelyn Araluen shared her own experiences of learning her language, Bundjalung, in her poem ‘Learning Bundjalung on Tharawal’, which was the runner-up in Overland Magazine’s 2016 Nakata Brophy Prize.[263] She writes:

> *Quote removed due to copyright restriction.*[264] *Available from:* https://overland.org.au/previous-issues/issue-223/nakata-brophy-prize-evelyn-araluen/

In an interview with ABC Radio National, Araluen shared that the poem was the first poem she’d written, and elaborated on what learning language meant for her:

> When I started learning language, I was taught that the way that you speak has to reflect the landscape. And it will reflect the landscape. The intonation and the cadence of your speaking will. For me it’s been a process of trying to learn what’s around me in the rawest way I possibly can. And to engage. And that means talking to birds…and making sure that wherever I go, I am greeting the place that I am. That it knows who I am.[265]

Reclaiming language means not only reclaiming words, but reclaiming an understanding and connection to country and identity. Reclaiming those aspects of identity and culture that were violently ripped from the land’s custodians, only to be replaced with a language that does not sing in tune with the landscape.

Imagine waking up one morning. Tomorrow. To wake up and find that English has been outlawed. Replaced with another tongue. It doesn’t matter which one. One that is foreign to the land. Your country. You are forced to move through your day in a language with words that your

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[263] Evelyn Araluen, ‘Runner-up: Learning Bundjalung on Tharawal’, *Overland Literary Journal*, 2016 <https://overland.org.au/previous-issues/issue-223/nakata-brophy-prize-evelyn-araluen/> [accessed 15 February 2020].
[264] Ibid.
[265] ‘The Poetics of Language and a Lover’s Condescension’, *ABC Radio National*, 2016 <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/awaye/nakata-brophy-prize/7364830> [accessed 15 February 2020].

lips struggle to curl around; words that do not easily run off your tongue; where every sentence takes effort to formulate, and you are judged for your limited knowledge of this unfamiliar foreign language, and not your elaborate knowledge of your mother tongue. Your intelligence is judged based on your knowledge of a language you're not familiar with. You have no choice. If you want to find your way in this new reality, you have no choice but to reset and learn the language of invasion. Imagine. If you can.

The monumental sustained and dedicated efforts of Indigenous communities to revive their languages sets the groundwork for Indigenous languages to be recognised and used more widely. To be recognised for their legitimate and integral place within Australian society, Indigenous languages need to claim more visibility in the public sphere, and there needs to be opportunities for all Australians to learn Indigenous tongues.

This sentiment is felt strongly by Professor Jakelin Troy, Director of the Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Research Network at the University of Sydney. In June 2016, Troy wrote an article for a mainstream media outlet ahead of her participation on a panel at the New South Wales Reconciliation Council, titled 'I'm Not a Racist, But…'. In the piece, Troy declares that every Australian should learn an Indigenous language, and begins aptly with: 'I'm not a racist, but I don't like speaking English. I would rather speak my own language - Ngarlgu.'[266] She goes on to explain that she feels more like herself when introducing herself in her native language, rather than in her adopted language. Troy connects language to identity and argues that Australians will 'know Australia in a way they never [would]' if they learn one of the country's native languages.[267] This sentiment is mirrored in Araluen's assertion that the way the Bundjalung language is spoken traces the lay of the land. To learn to speak an Indigenous language is to intimately know the contours of country.

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[266] Jakelin Troy, 'Why Every Aussie Should Learn To Speak An Indigenous Australian Language', *Junkee*, 1 June 2016 <https://junkee.com/why-australian-kids-should-learn-to-speak-australian-indigenous-languages-at-school/79752> [accessed 23 April 2017].
[267] Ibid.

It is easy to state the case for learning Indigenous languages, but it is much more challenging to put such an idea into action. New Zealand has incorporated Maori language lessons into many schools, and also has Maori medium schools, where students are taught in both Maori and English.[268] Yet in Australia's situation, there are barriers toward this approach. For one thing, Maori is one language while there are many Indigenous Australian languages in use or being revived that could potentially be taught. This makes it challenging to consolidate the learning as a national policy. One solution to this problem is for a local Indigenous language to be taught in each region, yet this is further complicated by having enough resources to sustain such a program. As demonstrated by the case with Kaurna, schools in the region want to implement Kaurna language programs, but there are not yet enough teachers to meet the demand.

Yet with more government support, such programs could be initiated. Already, there is progress being made in this area. In 2016, students in New South Wales could study an Aboriginal language and gain credit towards their Higher School Certificate (HSC), although their grade in the language is not eligible to count towards their Australian Tertiary Admission Rank (ATAR).[269] A 2016 report from the Northern Territory (NT) government also highlighted the need to offer education in Indigenous Languages and Culture to all Northern Territory students.[270]

Accepting Indigenous languages as an integral aspect of the fabric of Australian society also depends on making it common and usual to hear and see Indigenous languages used as part of everyday public life. To get to that point, Indigenous languages first and foremost need to be made visible. Arrernte writer Celeste Liddle states:

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[268] StatsNZ, 'Māori Language in Education', *NZ Social Indicatiors*, 2016 <http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/nz-social-indicators/Home/Culture and identity/maori-lang-educ.aspx> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[269] Our Languages, 'Australian Schools Add Aboriginal Languages', *Our Languages*, 2015 <http://ourlanguages.org.au/australian-schools-add-aboriginal-languages/> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[270] Northern Territory Government, 'Keeping Indigenous Languages and Cultures Strong' (Northern Territory Government, 2016) <https://education.nt.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/382499/DiscussionPaper-Keeping-Indigenous-Languages-and-Culture-Strong.pdf> [accessed 4 August 2018].

Through massacres, stolen generations and continued mainstream resistance and whitewashing, the use of Aboriginal language within mainstream contexts remains contentious mainly because by now it was thought all would be extinct…. Yet our languages remain; either despite the best efforts of Australian policy makers, or due to the hard work of those in our communities who've pledged their lives to keeping them alive. Perhaps it's about time Australia started celebrating them and committing them to a more knowledgeable future, rather than acting as their forebears did in just wishing these gifts of culture and resilience would simply die off?'[271]

One initiative to increase the visibility of Kaurna throughout Adelaide is the Kaurna Placenames project, which researches, maps and advocates for the use of the traditional Kaurna names of locations throughout Adelaide. Some of these names have started to appear on street signs throughout Adelaide, including throughout the Adelaide parklands, Victoria Square (Tarntanyangga) and the Torrens River (Karrawirra Pari).[272]

Making language visible as part of popular culture also contributes to the visibility of Indigenous tongues. The ABC series *Cleverman* is a science fiction series based on reimaginings of Aboriginal dreamtime stories. The series ran for two seasons between 2016 and 2017, and was widely acclaimed for its depiction of Aboriginal culture. The show features Indigenous cast and crew, and includes dialogue in the Kumbainggar language.[273] In 2017, NITV aired children's program *Little J & Big Cuz*, a thirteen- part series about five year old Little J and her older cousin, Big Cuz, who learn about the world around them by visiting different lands through the gap in their grandmother's fence.[274] The series marked the first time Indigenous characters featured in an

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[271] Celeste Liddle, 'Stop maiming the gift of Indigenous languages', *Eureaka Street*, 28.11 (2018) <https://www.eurekastreet.com.au/article/stop-maiming-the-gift-of-aboriginal-languages> [accessed 29 June 2019].

[272] City of Adelaide, 'Kaurna Place Naming', *City of Adelaide* <https://www.cityofadelaide.com.au/community/reconciliation/kaurna-place-naming/> [accessed 29 June 2019].

[273] Luke Buckmaster, 'Cleverman First Look – Indigenous Superhero Show Returns with Political Punch', *The Guardian*, 27 June 2017 <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2017/jun/27/cleverman-first-look-indigenous-superhero-show-returns-with-political-punch> [accessed 1 February 2018].

[274] Ned Lander Media Pty Limited, 'About the Show', *Little J and Big Cuz*, 2020 <https://www.littlejandbigcuz.com.au/about> [accessed 23 February 2020].

animated series, and six of the episodes are available in Aboriginal languages: Djambarrpuyngu, Pitjantjatjara, Arrente, Walmajarri, Yawuru and Palawa kani.[275] The series originally aired on NITV, and series two aired on both NITV and ABC Kids in 2019. Including Indigenous voices as part of mainstream television acknowledges Indigenous language and culture as an integral part of the fabric of Australian pop culture, and thus Australian society.

Music provides another opportunity to create visibility for Indigenous languages within Australian popular culture. Late Yolŋu musician Dr G became the first artist to peak at number one on the ARIA charts with his posthumous album *Djarimirri (Child of the Rainbow)*, an album sung entirely in Yolŋu.[276]

Each year as part of the Darwin Festival, the National Indigenous Music Awards (NIMAs) are held in the amphitheatre at Darwin's George Brown Botanic Gardens. The stage faces a huge grassed area set on a slight slope, where patrons set up camping chairs and picnic blankets, and kids chase each other across the space in the dry season twilight, jumping over stray edges of eskies and blankets. As daylight fades, the temperature drops to a bearable twenty-four degrees and the music kicks in. It is an extraordinary celebration of Indigenous music. I attended the event in 2017, the year of Dr G's death, and the finale performance of the night was a tribute to Dr G and his work. The atmosphere of that evening is difficult to capture. The amount of respect and pride permeating through the amphitheatre dug deep into my core. To experience that piece of history, and be there to witness an elaborate musical tribute to and celebration of his life was extraordinary. The musicians played on and on, leaving us, the audience, to slowly peel off as the night grew deeper. The following year, in 2018, the NIMAs celebrated the breakout year of another Yolŋu artist, rapper Baker Boy. Baker Boy raps in both English and Yolŋu, and two of his singles made the Triple J

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[275] Lowanna Grant, 'Little J & Big Cuz: 5 Things You Should Know about This Award-Winning Series', *NITV*, 7 April 2018 <https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2018/07/03/little-j-big-cuz-5-things-you-should-know-about-award-winning-series> [accessed 23 February 2020].

[276] 'Gurrumul Yunupingu Album Is First in Indigenous Language to Top Australian Charts', *ABC News Online*, 21 April 2018 <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-04-21/gurrumul-first-indigenous-language-album-to-top-australian-chart/9684058> [accessed 23 February 2020].

Hottest 100 countdown in 2017, and again in 2020, providing widespread visibility for not only his music, but the Yolŋu language.[277]

To further increase visibility of indigenous languages worldwide, the United Nations declared 2019 as the Year of Indigenous Languages, a year to recognise, celebrate and take action towards preserving indigenous languages worldwide. Events were held around the world to find solutions for how to preserve the 2680 languages that are in danger of extinction.[278] The Master-Apprentice workshop Farrelly attended in New York was one of many events held over the year towards strengthening indigenous languages worldwide.

Indigenous languages are living and breathing across the land, conceptualising both ancient and modern knowledge and stories of the land and those who call it home in ways that English, or any language crossing the land and fighting for space in these borders, cannot; for they do not have the long history with this place that Indigenous languages do. Conceptualisations of this land in other languages bring with them that language's baggage and, by necessity, use foreign imagery and analogy to draw out the unique and quintessentially Australian aspects. It is easy to ignore the presence of the more than 100 Indigenous languages still traversing the land, because English and those who invaded speaking the tongue forced a monolingual dominance on a traditionally multilingual land. But, as Liddle writes, they did not succeed. And it does not take a lot to open eyes and mind and find the strength and visibility that still remains in ancient tongues. And I can't help but wonder the outcome if we all chose to look a little closer: what visibility could we see? Not only the languages and the words themselves, but we would know ourselves and our history a little more intimately. We would hear language that truly knows how to communicate with the land, and start to truly understand all that we took. All that we massacred. All that we destroyed.

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[277] Morelli; Janine Israel, 'Baker Boy Rising: From Arnhem Land to Sharing a Stage with Dizzee Rascal', *The Guardian*, 30 December 2017 <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2017/dec/30/baker-boy-rising-from-arnhem-land-to-sharing-a-stage-with-dizzee-rascal> [accessed 23 February 2020].

[278] '2019 - International Year of Indigenous Languages', *2019 - International Year of Indigenous Languages* <https://en.iyil2019.org/> [accessed 17 February 2020].

PART IV: CIZÍ JAZYKY

Kolik jazyků znáš, tolikrát jsi člověkem.

Those who know many languages live as many lives as the languages they know.

– Czech proverb

Despite the languages that caress the land, Australia's carefully carved out multicultural identity is not easily visible in many cities. But head north from Adelaide along Port Wakefield Road. Keep driving straight past the turnoff for the Barossa Valley, past Port Wakefield itself and through Port Augusta until you reach the Stuart Highway. Follow the highway for a few thousand kilometres, and eventually, when the highway quite literally hits the edge of the coast and you can't drive any further, you'll know you've reached Darwin. Darwin is Australia's northernmost city, and one of the country's most isolated. It is also the nation's most culturally and linguistically diverse city. Darwin is constructed along the curve of a remote edge of coastline. Gaze towards the horizon in any direction at East Point Reserve and you'll see the other edges of the city: the CBD to the south, Nightcliff to the north-east and Mandorah across the inlet to the west, a ninety minute trip by car or fifteen minutes by ferry. Darwin's international airport occupies an expanse of land in the very middle of the city's modest sprawl, providing an essential antidote to the isolation: the city is firmly rooted on Australian soil, yet lies closer to Asia than to any other Australian capital city. The transient population remains steady at around 130,000 people; as some residents move on, new arrivals come to take their place. In December 2016, halfway through writing this manuscript, I was one of the new arrivals.

Darwin was not completely foreign to me. When I was a child, my father liked to escape Adelaide's cold winters for the oasis of a tropical winter. My mum, brother and I made the trip with him up the centre of Australia a few times. The long drive north was made bearable by the reward of warmer and warmer weather the further north we got. We watched the landscape change and shift from tall gum trees to rain-starved paddocks; from vibrant red dirt to rock filled plains punctured with emerald green foliage and tropical palms guarding the roadways. But what escaped me as a child, and surprised me when I moved there, was how the city truly encapsulates multiculturalism in Australia.

Pockets of language communities pepper every corner of the city and the influence of South East Asian cuisine dominates the market stalls and local restaurants. There are regular celebrations held for non-Australian festivals and holidays, yet despite these influences from different cultural communities, Darwin also encapsulates the stereotypes of Australia more than any other place I've lived or visited. It is the capital of the laid-back lifestyle. It is something I didn't notice strongly until I took my first trip back to Adelaide after moving to Darwin. I had to go into Adelaide's CBD for a presentation while I was there, and I found the hustle and bustle of the city suffocating. People were hurrying every which way: to work, to university, to the train station, the bus stop. I had never considered Adelaide a large city before, especially not compared to Sydney or Melbourne, but the atmosphere is the same: the need to constantly be moving towards somewhere and something. Everyone had somewhere and someone to be. It was a relief to step back into the humid midnight air at Darwin airport and shake off the need to hurry. Darwin rotates at a slower pace. Unlike in other Australian cities, the multiculturalism is visible in Darwin, and the stories of the region's residents and their languages are more easily uncoverable.

One hundred kilometres south of Darwin lies the tiny town of Batchelor. Population: 507.[279] Once a mining town servicing the operations of the Rum Jungle mine, Batchelor now acts as the gateway to Litchfield National Park and the thousands of tourists who visit the park each year. In the centre of this tiny town in an out-of-the-way park, stands a mini replica of the Czech castle Karlštejn.

I had travelled through Batchelor many times on the way out to Litchfield, but not once had I noticed the castle. To be fair, Batchelor itself was never the main attraction: the town guards the entrance to the national park, and I always drove through out of necessity, on my way to cool off in the waterholes. The weekend we arrived in Darwin, I was eager to show my Czech-born husband the spots in Litchfield that I remembered from my childhood, and we drove down together. As we passed through Batchelor, my husband immediately noticed the castle and did a double take.

'That's Karlštejn!' He exclaimed.

'No, surely not,' I replied. It wasn't logical that a Czech castle would have a presence in a tiny country town in the Northern Territory.

'I'm sure it's Karlštejn! We need to take a look.'

'On the way back, yeah?' I was keen to get to the waterfalls. We continued to the national park, but on our way back at the end of the day, my husband hadn't forgotten, and we pulled over at the castle. Sure enough, he was right: we had stumbled across a piece of the Czech Republic in the most unexpected of places.

The castle was built by Czechoslovakian man Bernie Havlík between 1978 and his death in 1990. He migrated to Australia to escape the communist rule imposed on Czechoslovakia after

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[279] Australian Bureau of Statistics, '2016 Census QuickStats: Batchelor', 2017 <https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC70024> [accessed 30 October 2019].

World War II, and worked at the Rum Jungle mine in Batchelor until the mine's closure in 1971.[280] He then began working as the town's gardener. Havlík was given the task of removing a rocky outcrop, but the intrusion would not budge. Instead of removing it, Havlík decided to build a replica of Karlštejn over the rock. He undertook the process over many years, and was still finishing the finer details when he passed away.

My husband and I spent half an hour examining the replica. Unlike the real Karlštejn, the mini replica is painted a bright sky blue, but every other feature of the original castle is recreated with precise detail. It sits fenced off from prying fingers in the middle of a park named after Havlík himself. A plaque beside the castle captured my attention. On it was a verse from Czech poet Jaroslav Vrchilcky, in both Czech and English:

To the visiting Czechs and Slovaks:

Poutníče postůj, v dálku než

bludná tě zanese noha!

Kamenů poslouchej hlas,

vlasti Ti jimi zní řeč!"

Halt, oh pilgrim,

"before your wandering

foot takes you afar!

Listen to my voice,

[280] Northern Territory Government, 'Rum Jungle Mine', 2016 <https://dpir.nt.gov.au/mining-and-energy/mine-rehabilitation-projects/rum-jungle-mine> [accessed 23 February 2020]; Monument Australia, 'Bernie Havlik', *Monument Australia*, 2020 <http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/people/community/display/80055-bernie-havlik> [accessed 23 February 2020].

Your own language can be heard!"

The replica stands on Kungarakan country, where the traditional language of the land is Kungarakan. English has now dominated the land for many years, shifting what was traditionally a multilingual society back to a monolingual one. The castle replica represents that despite the nation's monolingual dominance, people from many different lands, and who speak many different languages, have crossed this land as visitors, or migrated to this land to call it home. These experiences of Australia are constructed in languages other than English. The foreign tongues that have landed on these shores have embedded themselves into the landscape, reminding those who cross this country that this nation always has been multilingual, and, despite the best efforts of politicians, always will be. These languages form a unique and crucial part of Australia's identity and history. These stories hold the key for acceptance, understanding and belonging. It is through storytelling that the hidden history of this nation becomes visible.

No feeling is comparable to that of getting lost so deeply in a narrative that it physically and emotionally hurts when pulled unexpectedly from the world, or the story comes to an end, the way I felt reading Tara June Winch's *The Yield*. When I was fourteen, I read my first autobiography intended for an adult audience: Adeline Yen Mah's *Falling Leaves*. I fell hard into that story. The book is set in China and details the emotional abuse Yen Mah experienced at the hands of her stepmother and father after her mother died giving birth to her, and how she navigated this trauma into adulthood.[281] For the first time, I realised how powerful writing can be, and how little we know of other people's stories. I have reread the book several times since, and memoir and autobiography became one of my favourite genres as it allowed me to experience lives and perspectives so different to my own. They offer alternative views of landscapes we think we intimately know.

[281] Adeline Yen Mah, *Falling Leaves Return to Their Roots: The True Story of an Unwanted Chinese Daughter* (London: Penguin, 1997).

Australian literature includes diverse perspectives, but the linguistic diversity endemic to this country is drastically underrepresented in our national literature. Australian literary narratives are predominately constructed in English, thus presenting a narrow lens through which to examine the Australian experience and rendering the experiences of Australians in languages other than English invisible. National literatures reflect the character of a nation and are a space for reflection and analysis on a nation's society and character. In a multicultural nation such as Australia, it is a limitation that the majority of the nation's literary canon is constructed in English, and the lack of linguistic diversity in our literature further perpetuates the monolingual mindset.

Australian migrant narratives, and fiction based on such experiences, have received wider publication and readership over the past twenty years, contributing more diverse voices to Australian literature. These narratives have existed for far longer than that, but it was only in the 1980s that they started finding space to be published, and in the last twenty years that they have started to receive mainstream recognition. Alice Pung's *Unpolished Gem* shares her experiences of growing up in a Cambodian migrant family in Australia in the 1980s, while Li Cunxin's *Mao's Last Dancer*, Ahn Do's *The Happiest Refugee* and Maxine Beneba Clarke's *The Hate Race* are all memoirs that have contributed more diverse voices in Australian literature.[282] From a fiction perspective, Roanna Gonsalves's *The Permanent Resident* and Nam Le's *The Boat* are both collections of short stories that cast a critical eye over Australia from the perspective of the migrant experience.[283] Yet all of these narratives are written in English. In the case of these writers, English is the language they chose to write in. It is important to recognise that not every Australian who knows more than one language would wish to write in a language other than English, and not every

[282] Anh Do, *The Happiest Refugee* (New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2010); Alice Pung, *Unpolished Gem* (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2006); Cunxin Li, *Mao's Last Dancer* (New York: Berkley Books, 2005); Maxine Beneba Clarke, *The Hate Race* (Sydney: Hachette Australia, 2016).
[283] Roanna Gonsalves, *The Permanent Resident* (Western Australia: UWA Publishing, 2016); Nam Le, *The Boat* (Camberwell: Penguin, 2009).

Australian writer with an ancestral or heritage language had the opportunity to learn theirs. As Mununjali poet Ellen van Neerven writes in her poem ‘Dalgay/Yugambeh Death Poem’:

> *Quote removed due to copyright restriction. Can be viewed in* Comfort Food *by Ellen Van Neerven, p. 76* [284]

Many Indigenous Australians lost the opportunity to know their language due to the violence and trauma of invasion, and for many migrants, English is their dominant or only language. These diverse perspectives conceived of in English form an essential part of Australian literature. But equally, it is important to recognise that for all the Australian literature that is published in English, there are many Australians who prefer to write in languages other than English, as a way of articulating their experience of Australia. These multilingual voices are an essential component of Australia’s literary canon.

The distinction is an important one, as illustrated by Japanese writer Minae Mizumura in her book *The Fall of Language in the Age of English*, originally written and published in Japanese.[285] Mizumura discusses her own experiences of choosing to write in Japanese and highlights the plight of writers whose mother tongue is a minority language. Mizumura took part in the International Writers’ Program (IWP) at Iowa University in 2003, and during her stay she was surprised to learn that most of the writers in the program were writing in their own languages. She observes: 'all writers are writing in their own language, as if to do so was their mission in life.'[286] Mizumura marvels at Barolong Seboni, a writer from Botswana in the program who writes in English and not his mother tongue of Setswana. He explains the he chose that language because he spent much of his secondary school years in England, and felt more comfortable writing in English.[287] Another example is European author Elena Lappin who is fluent in six languages, and ultimately chose to

[284] Ellen van Neerven, *Comfort Food* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2016), p. 76.
[285] Mizumura.
[286] Ibid, p. 39.
[287] Ibid, p. 44; Barolong Seboni, ‘Why I Write What I Write’ (International Writers’ Program Iowa University) <https://iwp.uiowa.edu/sites/iwp/files/SeboniWhyIWrite.pdf> [accessed 21 August 2020].

write in English (the fourth language she learned) because that is the language she felt most comfortable in as a writer. Her brother is also a writer, yet he chose to write in German.[288] Failing to acknowledge that not all Australian experiences can be adequately expressed in English rejects a key aspect of what it means to be Australian. Mizumura reflects deeply on this phenomenon of writers choosing to write in a language that is not their mother tongue, and whether literatures in languages other than a nation's national languages can be considered national literature:

> I used to wonder what it would feel like to write in a language not one's own. I also used to wonder if such writing could be considered part of "national" literature. Not anymore. Now those African writers seemed to me to be heralding a new era by embracing the English language and opening a new world with their writing. This may be a perverse thing to say, but they even seemed like a blessed group. Not only because they could adopt the English language with such ease but because they, at least, would not have to watch their literature and language irrevocably fall.'[289]

These writers choosing to write in English are still contributing to their national literatures, despite using a non-native language to do so. Seboni acknowledges the debates between African writers on this point, where some believe their 'first allegiance is to [their] mother tongue', while others point out that English is also their language and they have a right to it, even if the language is steeped in a colonial history.[290]

In Mizumura's own experience, despite living in the USA for twenty years and completing her schooling and a degree in English, English was never a language she felt comfortable in. She writes that she chose to study French literature in university in an attempt to 'avoid English'.[291] Yet choosing which language to write in is a personal choice for an author, and, just because a writer writes in a language that is not a national language, does not mean that works written in those

[288] Elena Lappin, *What Language Do I Dream In?* (Great Britain: Virago Press, 2016).
[289] Mizumura, p. 44.
[290] Seboni.
[291] Mizumura, p. 17.

languages cannot be considered part of the national literature. English dominates Australia's national literature, but given Australia's complex linguistic ecosystem, literatures written in other languages must form part of the national literature.

In Australia's case, the fact is that multilingual Australian writing does exist, and has existed, for many years. Researcher Michael Jacklin wrote in *Southerly* in 2012 that very few of Australia's multilingual literatures have been closely studied, with only Italian, Greek and Mandarin being examined in detail.[292] In the same year, Jacklin became part of an ARC funded project titled 'New transnationalisms: Australia's multilingual literary heritage', along with researchers Wenche Ommundsen, Nijmeh Hajjar and Tuấn Ngọc Nguyễn. The project is exploring the history of Australian literature in Spanish, Arabic, Vietnamese and Chinese.[293] While the project is still in progress, Ommundsen wrote in an essay for the *Sydney Review of Books* that the research so far has brought about 'numerous frustrations about the different ways in which Australia's entrenched monolingualism has impacted our national literature.'[294] The stark contradiction between Australia's multilingualism and majority monolingual English literature mean that the nation's national literature is not representative of the nation's diversity.

Australia has always had a rich tapestry of media in many community languages, and some of those newspapers and magazines published poetry and short stories. But outside of foreign language media, multilingual publication opportunities are few and far between. Furthermore, pieces published in language-specific publications rarely find an audience outside of that language community. Even so, there are signs that this is shifting. As members of language communities are now second and third generation Australians, these members may not always be fluent speakers of

[292] Michael Jacklin, 'Islands of Multilingual Literature: Community Magazines and Australia's Many Languages', *Southerly*, 72.3 (2012), 129–45.
[293] Zhong Huang and Wenche Ommundsen, 'Towards a Multilingual National Literature: The Tung Wah Times and the Origins of Chinese Australian Writing', *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature*, 15.3 (2016) <https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/JASAL/article/view/10571> [accessed 18 July 2018].
[294] Wenche Ommundsen, 'Multilingual Writing in a Monolingual Nation', *Sydney Review of Books* <https://sydneyreviewofbooks.com/essay/multilingual-writing-monolingual-nation/> [accessed 18 July 2018].

the language, and this creates a necessity to publish community language newsletters bilingually. An example of this is the Barossa German Language Association's quarterly *Das Blatt*.[295] As the members of the community all have varying levels of German, to that ensure no one is ostracised, the newsletter is published bilingually in both German and English. This also provides an opportunity for members outside of the language community to learn about the history and experiences of German speaking Australians through the words of the community members.

For a nation with English as the national language, cultivating and accessing national literatures is challenging in two key ways: firstly, a need for outlets where writers in languages other than English can publish their work, and secondly, translation. The first issue has historically been rectified by community language magazines and newspapers, where writers writing in languages other than English have had their literary works published. The second is an ongoing battle. There have been many multilingual literary projects over the years providing space for multilingual Australian literatures, yet these have mostly been one-off projects or special events, rather than initiatives to firmly embed multilingual literatures as a cornerstone of Australian literature.

In his *Southerly* article, Jacklin examines three bilingual and multilingual publications from the 1900s: *The Muses' Magazine* (1927-1929), *Ambitious Friends* (1994-2001), and *Integration: The Magazine for Vietnamese and Multicultural Issues* (1993-2003).[296] Another multicultural and multilingual publication not examined in Jacklin's article that was published during a similar timeframe was *Outrider: A journal of multicultural Australian literature*, published from 1984 to 1996. *Outrider* was edited and published by Manfred Jurgensen, who is a bilingual German-Australian writer himself. The aim of the journal was 'to extend the concept of Australian literature'.[297] Despite this aim, their publication policy was that all work, except for poetry, must be

[295] Barossa German Language Association.
[296] Jacklin.
[297] Manfred Jurgensen, 'A Look Back in Doubt "Confessions of a Heretic": Multicultural Literature in Australia.', *Coolabah*, 26, 2019, 12–32 (p. 14) <https://doi.org/10.1344/co20192612-32>.

published in English. Translations into English were accepted, and poetry was published in the original language as well as in English. Jurgensen wrote about the designation of the journal as 'multicultural', arguing that the editors at the time were unsure of labelling the journal as such, given that all writers are multicultural. Even so, they persisted with the label as 'new voices demanded to be heard' and 'hardly any derived from the multilingual ethnic press'. Jurgensen acknowledges the support of the government through the Literature Board in creating a space for multicultural writing to find its place within mainstream Australian literature. They supported the journal for a decade, but with the shift away from multiculturalism in Australia's politics, the support fell away, and in the same year that John Howard renounced multiculturalism as Australia's national identity, *Outrider* ceased publishing.

Historically, publications such as *Ambitious Friends* and Australian foreign language media provided an outlet for multilingual and multicultural Australian writing. Since these publications either stopped being produced or scaled back their publishing, there had been no dedicated Australian publication for literary work of this kind until Australian writer Nadia Niaz launched the Australian Multilingual Writing Project (AMWP) in 2018, a new online publication publishing multilingual Australian writing.[298] The magazine is a 'space to showcase the linguistic complexity that resists and persists in Australia today', and the purpose is to provide a space where writers who use more than two languages can represent their 'code switching' in their literature. Code switching refers to the use of two or more languages within one conversation or text and is a common occurrence within multilingual communities and families.[299] An example is what transpired between me and Marie during our interview in the Barossa. Halfway through the interview, we began code switching between and within English and German. The first edition of the AMWP was published in November 2018, with a focus on mixed language poetry. The issue featured poetry in 14 different

[298] Australian Multilingual Writing Project, 'Australian Multilingual Writing Project', *Australian Multilingual Writing Project*, 2020 <https://australianmultilingualwriting.org/> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[299] Barbara E Bullock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, *Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10289139> [accessed 26 September 2020].

languages, including Czech. All poems also included an audio file of the poets reading their poems.[300] This format continued for Issue 2, published in May 2019 while Issue 3, published in January 2020, includes short prose as well as poetry. The stories and poems integrate English and other languages, showing the reader the complexities, insecurities and losses that come with being multilingual within Australian society. As Johanna Ellersdorfer writes in her piece 'That Difficult Austrian Language':

> *Deutsch ist schwer*. It weighs on my chest like cases and declension; an incomplete puzzle that was *fast mine Muttersprache*…the first time I visited Austria, *die Heimat meines Vaters*, I cried at the airport and couldn't remember how to conjugate verbs.[301]

The code switching used in the pieces published in the publication highlight the difficulties and realities of existing in more than one language. Currently, Niaz's publication is the only regular, dedicated space for multilingual Australian writing. It is creating an essential space to explore Australia's multilingualism within literature. Even so, there have been many one-off projects over the past ten years advocating for and showcasing multilingual Australian literatures.

In 2010, the Northern Territory Writer's Centre and IAD Press, with the support of the Northern Territory government, published an anthology of writing by Territory Indigenous writers, called *This Country Anytime, Anywhere*. Most of the writing in the anthology was published in both English and an Indigenous language. Notably, the foreword mentions:

> The multilingual aspect of this anthology is ground-breaking. With eight NT Indigenous languages as well as English included, some of the strength and beauty of NT Aboriginal languages is conveyed. It is also noteworthy that translation into some languages was not possible.

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[300] Australian Multilingual Writing Project, 'AMWP Issue 1', 2017 <https://australianmultilingualwriting.org/issue-1> [accessed 23 February 2020].

[301] Johanna Ellensdorfer, 'That Difficult Austrian Language', *Australian Multilingual Writing Project*, 2020 <https://australianmultilingualwriting.org/writing/johanna-ellersdorfer-that-difficult-austrian-language> [accessed 15 August 2020].

> Despite a rigorous national search, translators for two particular languages who were confident to translate literature onto the page could not be sourced. Both language speakers and linguists were active in this search.[302]

The project acknowledges that few publications had previously prioritised multilingual works in Indigenous languages, and not only showcases the richness of the Northern Territory's Indigenous languages, but also illustrates the devastating effect colonisation has had on the nation's linguistic ecosystem. The anthology is an important initiative that contributes written Indigenous language literatures to Australian literature, yet at the same time, publishing an anthology of text conforms Indigenous literatures to a Western literary medium. It is essential that projects like this also sit alongside organisations such as Language Party who present Indigenous literatures in a traditional oral storytelling format.[303]

In 2014, Global Express, part of Express Media, published an anthology called *Dialect*, edited by the late Kat Muscat.[304] The anthology published writing by writers from refugee and migrant backgrounds, and there is a section in the anthology titled 'microfiction', where the stories appear side-by-side in English and in the native language of the writer. Here, the reader is privy to the writer's work in both of the writer's languages, and thus gains deeper insight into the background of the piece of writing itself. Even if the reader cannot understand the story in the original language, a story written into language and translated into English will render very differently to a story originally written in English, and it adds an additional layer of complexity to the story to at the very least visually experience it in both languages.

The book *Multiples* tests this very phenomenon. Different writers and translators are asked to translate a story into and out of languages, thus forming a translation chain, before the story

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[302] *This Country Anytime Anywhere: An Anthology of New Indigenous Writing from the Northern Territory*, ed. by Karl Jabanbi Dank (Alice Springs: IAD Press in partnership with the Northern Territory Writers' Centre, 2010).
[303] 'About', *Languageparty.Org* <http://www.languageparty.org/about.html> [accessed 21 August 2019].
[304] *Dialect*, ed. by Kat Muscat (Melbourne: Express Media, 2014).

eventually arrives back into English.[305] The outcome is a very different story from the original, but the essence remains. For example, one of the included stories in the anthology is the English short story *The Making of a Man* by Richard Middleton. The story is firstly translated into Spanish by Javier Marias, and then Marias' version is translated back into English by Andrew Sean Greer (now titled *How to Become a Man*). Greer's translation is translated into German by Julia Franck, and then A.S Byatt returns the story to English (now titled *Manhood*). Byatt's translation is then translated into Hebrew by Orly Castel-Bloom, before being translated back into English by Adam Foulds (titled *Manhood: Strophes*). Greer, Byatt and Foulds all translate the first line of the short story differently, based on the versions they were translating from:

> Greer: 'Here he was: a runty little clerk on a hapless midnight quest for Vauxhall Station, lost in a maze of twisting, sordid little streets'.[306]
>
> Byatt: 'There he was, an unremarkable little clerk in the middle of the night, trying to find Vauxhall station, lost in a labyrinth of mean and twisting streets.'[307]
>
> Foulds: 'It is a question of the separation and joining of bodies, first one and then the other.'[308]

The differences in the translations come both from different approaches to translation and different source texts, yet it shows how part of the context is missing by seeing texts created in more than one language published in only one language. Including the original and the translation alongside each other reveals part of the narrative of the construction of the story.

[305] *Multiples: an anthology of stories in an assortment of languages and literary styles*, ed. by Adam Thirlwell (London: Portobello, 2013).
[306] Andrew Sean Greer, 'How to Become a Man', in *Multiples: an anthology of stories in an assortment of languages and literary styles*, ed. by Adam Thirlwell (London: Portobello, 2013), pp. 325–33 (p. 325).
[307] A.S Byatt, 'Manhood', in *Multiples: an anthology of stories in an assortment of languages and literary styles*, ed. by Adam Thirlwell (London: Portobello, 2013), pp. 335–41 (p. 335).
[308] Adam Foulds, 'Manhood: Strophes', in *Multiples: an anthology of stories in an assortment of languages and literary styles*, ed. by Adam Thirlwell (London: Portobello, 2013), pp. 343–49 (p. 343).

Another organisation that focuses on multilingual literacies is The Indigenous Literacy Foundation. They provide books to remote and rural Indigenous communities, and one of their programs is Community Literacy Projects, where communities or groups within a community write a story that is then published in either English, or in language and in English.[309] So far, stories have been published in eighteen Indigenous languages. These books in turn give Indigenous children starting school some reading material in their own language. Learning to read and write in their own language first greatly improves their ability to learn to read and write in English.[310] Studies from around the world demonstrate the benefit of students first learning to read and write in their mother tongue before learning to read and write in the national language, and providing books in the students' mother tongues is an essential part of the process.[311]

There are also many multilingual Australian poetry initiatives and projects giving a voice to multilingual Australian literatures. The Multilingual Poetry Slam, which was held by the organisation World Travels in March 2016 and 2017.[312] Poets performed in more than 15 different languages. As they performed, their pieces were projected in English onto a screen, but the audience got to experience the poetry in language. One attendee of the 2016 event commented that the English was not necessary, as the audience could understand enough through the emotion of the readers.[313] The broad meaning was conveyed without the need for English and provided the audience with a richer experience of the poetry and the poet.

In addition, Gunai poet Kirli Saunders developed the Poetry in First Languages Project in conjunction with Red Room Poetry to 'celebrate, share and preserve knowledge of First Nations

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[309] The Indigenous Literacy Foundation, 'The Indigenous Literacy Foundation', *The Indigenous Literacy Foundation*, 2020 <https://www.indigenousliteracyfoundation.org.au/> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[310] Indigenous Literacy Foundation, 'Community Literacy Projects', *Indigenous Literacy Foundation*, 2020 <https://www.indigenousliteracyfoundation.org.au/community-literacy-programs> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[311] Carol Benson, 'Paper Commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005, the Quality Imperative' (UNESCO, 2004) <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000146632> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[312] Word Travels, 'Who', *Word Travels* <http://www.wordtravels.info/who-are-we> [accessed 5 August 2018].
[313] Shami Sivasubramanian, 'Australia's Multilingual Poetry Slam Celebrates Diversity', *SBS News*, 2016 <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/australia-s-multilingual-poetry-slam-celebrates-diversity> [accessed 30 November 2017].

languages and culture through poetry, music, dance and art'.[314] The project connects First Nations students with First Nations poets to foster the creation of poetry in first languages. The program highlights not only poetry by Indigenous poets, but also in First Nations languages, and provides a space for the development and publication of poetry in language. A key aspect of the project was connecting language and poetry to country. In 2018, the project published more than 300 poems in eleven First Nations languages.[315] An evaluation of the project found that the students who participated experienced an increase in pride and connection to country and culture. They grew in confidence as they saw their culture and languages being used and celebrated.[316]

These projects demonstrate not only the existence of multilingual Australian writing, but how embedded Australia's multilingualism is to the land. Understanding language is understanding country, and these multilingual literatures must be included as part of our national literature. Historically, and through to the present day, multilingual writing contributes important conceptualisations of what it means to be Australian and of Australian society. Refusing to give space to these literatures denies a core part of what it means to be Australian. But multilingual Australian writing must find regular space within mainstream Australian writing, and not be relegated to one-off projects. These projects are important, but they need to morph into consistent opportunities to publish multilingually and demand to share space alongside Australian literature in English. These narratives also reveal much about our history, and excluding them rejects aspects of the nation's shameful past.

In his *Southerly* article, Jacklin acknowledges that as little attention was paid to multilingual Australian writing historically, it is difficult to track down Australian writers who write and have

[314] Red Room Poetry, 'Poetry in First Languages', *Red Room Poetry*, 2020 <https://redroomcompany.org/projects/poetry-first-languages/> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[315] Jackie Bailey, *Poetry in First Languages Evaluation* (BYP Group, 2019) <https://redroomcompany.org/media/uploads/pifl_report_(red_room_poetry_x_byp_group)_.pdf> [accessed 23 February 2020].
[316] Ibid.

written in languages other than English. I was interested to find examples of Australian literature written in German, given the history of the language on the continent.

As I investigated multilingual Australian literatures, I started to wonder about German-Australian writers, and of any Australian literature written in German. True to Jacklin's assertion, it was difficult to track anything down, or to even know where and how to start looking. Part of the difficulty is that these writers are often published in the countries of their languages, and therefore their publications are not always archived as Australian literature. In the case of German and the ban on the language during the World Wars, it is possible not a lot was published locally during that time in German. But after some searching, I came across some German-Australian authors, one of which was German-Australian writer Walter Kaufmann.

Kaufmann was born in Germany in 1924, before being evacuated to London during the Second World War and then deported to Australia at the age of seventeen due to his Jewish heritage.[317] He subsequently enlisted in the Australian army and spent seventeen years in Australia before moving back to East Germany. Kaufmann's aspirations to write began in Australia, where he was part of writing groups in Melbourne. He found little success in Australia, but on a trip back to Europe was offered work as writer in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). His writing focuses largely on Australia. While his works were published in German, he wrote his manuscripts in English, and they were professionally translated by his publishing house. Even so, many of his works about Australia were never published in English, including his prize-winning novel *Kreuzwege*, which was published in 1961 and examines the experiences of the Australian working class.[318] It is these literatures which are invisible in the Australian literary space: works written by Australians in languages other than English that examine Australian society through a different linguistic lens. Yet Kaufmann is an interesting case. He was born in Germany but lived in Australia

[317] Alexandra Ludewig, 'Walter Kaufmann: Walking the Tightrope', in *Australian Literature in the German Democratic Republic: Reading through the Iron Curtain*, ed. by Nicole Moore and Christina Spittel (London: Anthem Press, 2016).
[318] Ibid.

for many years, and also gained Australian citizenship. Despite returning to Germany and being published in German, he mostly wrote in English and his works were then translated into German before being published in German.

Kaufmann also wrote about Australian characters, yet his works were not widely published in Australia. One of his short novels, *Tod in Fremantle (Death in Fremantle)*, is a fictional account based on the real experiences of two Aboriginal boys, Barry McKenzie and Ricky Vicenti. in the 1960s.[319] In the novel, Kaufmann fictionalised the experiences of the boys.[320] The work fuses the experiences of Barry and Ricky into one character. Barry was taken to East Berlin to live by his foster mother, before being removed by Australian security and returned to Western Australia to be reunited with his birth mother. Ricky was arrested for shoplifting in a Perth supermarket, and shot and killed during his incarceration. The novel is told from Kaufmann's perspective and his chance meeting with Ricki deLaurian (Kaufmann's pseudonym for his fictionalisation of the two boys) in East Berlin, and his subsequent investigation of what happened to the boy on his return to Western Australia. In the story, Kaufmann is the narrator and protagonist, returning to Australia to research the case.

Given the subject matter of the book, I was surprised to find it had never been published in English in book form, despite the manuscript being submitted to many Australian publishers. It was never picked up. Even more surprisingly, I discovered that the only known publication of the work in English was a serialised version published in two parts in 1989, in the Australian multicultural journal *Outrider.*[321] As *Outrider* has ceased publication, the text was difficult to track down. The only copy of the journals containing the narrative are held at a library in Queensland, and I had to

[319] Walter Kaufmann, *Tod in Fremantle: Chronik einer Nachforschung*, 2nd edn (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1987).
[320] Tom Jordan and Matthew O'Halloran, 'Death in Fremantle- About', ed. by Manfred Jurgensen, *Outrider: A Journal of Multicultural Literature in Australia*, VI.1 (1989), 179–80.
[321] Walter Kaufmann, 'Death in Fremantle: Chronicle of an Investigation (Part 2)', in *Outrider: A Journal of Multicultural Literature in Australia*, ed. by Manfred Jurgensen, 2, 1989, vi, 77–108; Walter Kaufmann, 'Death in Fremantle: Chronicle of an Investigation (Part 1)', in *Outrider: A Journal of Multicultural Literature in Australia*, ed. by Manfred Jurgensen, 1, 1989, vi, 145–80.

request the text through my university's library. They would not send me the whole journals, but scanned digital copies of the two parts and emailed them to me.

While the first part of the novel takes place in East Berlin, the majority of the story is set in Australia, and, due to the years Kaufmann spent in Australia before moving back to East Germany, he has an intimate knowledge of the country that he imparts into the story, as in the following passage describing the departure of a flight from Melbourne to Perth:

> Westward and away the plane soared in pursuit of the sun, and as on my flight from Europe which had seen such a contrast to my voyage in the belly of the "Dunera", the past went through my mind. In Geelong harbour, deep under us now, the old "Aeon" had anchored in the bay, the tramp steamer I had joined as a trimmer and had worked on until she was scrapped in Yokohoma; to Ballarat I had come as a seaman too, though a land-bound one, sent there with a group of unionists to gain support for a Youth Festival in Moscow, and to Hamilton, still visible in the sinking sun, the red and blue roofs of the farmsteads dotting the landscape, I had been detached in the war, when my unit was put to fortifying irrigation ditches there.[322]

Not only is it an accurate description of the landscape, the reader is privy to insights into Australian life in the mid-1900s, and into Kaufmann's own experiences in Australia. While the work is labelled as a novel, this passage matches directly with Kaufmann's lived experiences in Australia, and draws heavily on his own experiences in the country.

Furthermore, the work deals with ostensibly Australian concerns: stolen Indigenous children, Indigenous incarceration and Indigenous deaths in custody. Thirty years after the English publication of the work, and nothing has changed. The Indigenous incarceration rate is still alarmingly high, and the Royal Commission into the detention of children in the Northern Territory

[322] Kaufmann, 'Death in Fremantle: Chronicle of an Investigation (Part 1)', VI, p. 161.

revealed the horrific treatment of the children detained.[323] These are concerns that continue to plague Australian society, as demonstrated by the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests demanding justice for Indigenous deaths in custody.[324] The fact that *Death in Fremantle* was published in German and not subsequently published as a complete novel in English has prevented a key work of Australian literature being made accessible to a wider Australian readership.

I could only uncover three small newspaper articles about Barry McKenzie's story in Australian media, and none about Ricky Vencetni. The issue of *Outrider* that the first part of Kaufmann's work appears in also published the first page of an article about Vencenti that appeared in *The West Australian Magazine*, but I could not unearth the article online.[325] Kaufmann's work not only sheds light on key issues that Australia was grappling, and continues to grapple, with, but tells a story that the Australian press was unwilling to tell. It is not farfetched to conclude that it was because of the novel's subject matter that it did not get picked up for mainstream publication in Australia, and as the work had only been published in German, it ensured the narrative remained hidden and did not bring to light the darker aspects of Australia's history in a work of national literature.

This is only one example, in one language, of a work of Australian literature that has been denied a place in Australia's literary canon, yet was published elsewhere in the original language. For a nation that speaks more than three hundred languages, how many other key works of Australian literature remain hidden in languages other than English, excluded from a place in Australia's literature? It is not only about providing spaces for multilingual writing, but it is also about fostering a tradition of literary translation, so that the multilingual narratives that do exist

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[323] Commonwealth of Australia, *Royal Commission and Board of Inquiry into the Protection and Detention of Children in the Northern Territory: Findings and Recommendations*, 2017 <https://www.royalcommission.gov.au/sites/default/files/2019-01/rcnt-royal-commission-nt-findings-and-recommendations.pdf> [accessed 26 September 2020].

[324] Marcia Langton, '2020 Thea Astley Address: Marcia Langton | Byron Writers Festival', 2020 <http://byronwritersfestival.com/digital/byron-writers-festival-2020-thea-astley-address-marcia-langton-black-lives-matter/> [accessed 26 September 2020].

[325] Kaufmann, 'Death in Fremantle: Chronicle of an Investigation (Part 1)', VI, p. 150.

secure a wider Australian readership. As Jacklin writes, it is often the case that Australians writing in languages other than English are published overseas, and their work is not accessible to a wider Australian audience. This is the second part of the equation: once there are outlets for multilingual and multicultural writing, there needs to be more support for literary translation so that multilingual writing can reach a wider audience.

Worldwide, there are many different perspectives towards translation. In their book *Found in Translation*, Nataly Kelly and Jost Zetzsche argue that interpretation and translation are essential services that keep the world running smoothly. They cite examples such the disaster relief efforts after the 2010 earthquake in Haiti and the Olympic Games as key examples.[326] During the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic, the necessity of translation and interpreting services was thrown into the spotlight. ABC news partnered with Expression Australia to include an Auslan (Australian Sign Language) interpreter as part of their Sunday news bulletin to ensure the Deaf community had access to essential information.[327] Kelly and Zetsche also look at stories and literature in translation. Edith Grossman further argues for literary translation in her work *Why Translation Matters*: 'Imagine how bereft we would be if the only fictional worlds we could explore, the only vicarious literary experiences we could have, were those written in languages we read easily. The deprivation would be indescribable.'[328] Arguably, this suggests translation is even more important for multicultural and multilingual nations, as it ensures speakers of different languages in those nations can have all of their voices and languages heard.

From an Australian perspective, while there are multilingual news and media services, as well as translation and interpreting services available, literary translation has always been an overlooked aspect of the nation's literary oeuvre. *Outrider* was a journal dedicated to literary

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[326] Nataly Kelly and Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *Found in Translation: How Language Shapes Our Lives and Transforms the World* (New York: Perigee, 2012), pp. 12, 195–97.
[327] 'ABC and Expression Australia Launch Weekly National News in AUSLAN', *About the ABC* <https://about.abc.net.au/press-releases/abc-and-expression-australia-launch-weekly-national-news-in-auslan/> [accessed 15 August 2020].
[328] Edith Grossman, *Why Translation Matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 26.

translation, and in their 1990 anthology, John Vasilakakos wrote about the state of literary translation in Australia at the time.[329] He described the state of literary translation in the nation as 'permanently marginalized as the disowned child of the cultural field, which subsists on the peanuts thrown at it.'[330] He further writes that 'In Australia, the state of literary translation can be described as being in a coma, if not clinically dead.'[331]

Thirty years on, and the situation has not improved. With the closure of journals such as *Outrider* and *Ambitious Friends*, it is possible the situation has worsened. Out of 142 books that published in translation by Australian independent publishers Scribe and Text publishing between 2003 and 2018, only one was a work by a writer who lives in Australia, Eben Venter. Venter was born in South Africa and moved to Australia in 1986. He writes in his first language, Afrikaans, but in 2016, he began working on his first novel written in English, titled *Green as the Sky Above*.[332] Venter took the title for his work from the Xhosa word for blue, *luhlaza okwesibhakabhaka* (literally: green as the sky above).[333] While Venter first wrote the work in English, the novel was published first in Afrikaans, and then in English with the slightly adapted title *Green as the Sky is Blue* in 2018.[334]

A deduction from this could be that there are few Australian writers who write in languages other than English, but the projects I mentioned above do not support this point. The multilingual writing is there, it just remains hidden, starved of opportunities to be published and seen. It is also unclear how many of those 142 translated books were translated in Australia, as the majority were translated overseas and then bought as translations for the Australian market.

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[329] John Vasilakakos, 'Literary Translation in Australia', ed. by Manfred Jurgensen, *Outrider: A Year of Australian Literature*, 1990, 132–36.
[330] Ibid, p. 132.
[331] Ibid, p. 135.
[332] Martin Premoli, 'An Interview with Eben Venter: *Trencherman* and Environmentalism in South Africa', *Safundi*, 17.4 (2016), 407–15 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17533171.2016.1224548>.
[333] Ibid.
[334] The Reading List, 'Three Books by Eben Venter Acquired by Penguin Random House', *The Reading List*, 2017 <https://readinglist.click/sub/three-books-by-eben-venter-acquired-by-penguin-random-house/> [accessed 26 February 2020].

Like other English speaking nations, Australia publishes a tiny percentage of literary translations each year. Estimates from Australia's PEN centre indicate that less than six books are translated in Australia annually.[335] In comparison, approximately 300 titles are translated in the USA each year, and in the UK literary translation makes up two per cent of the total number of works published.[336] Most translated titles that are published in Australia have been bought from overseas publishers, rather than the translation itself occurring in Australia. Furthermore, my analysis of the translation works published by independent Australian publishers Scribe and Text show that the majority of translated texts are from European languages, and mostly from the Romance languages.[337] Yet Australia's geographical location suggests we are part of the Asia/Oceania literatures, and perhaps we should focus more on translations in our region, so that we can respond to and be part of those literatures.

Over the past decade, literary journals *Southerly* and *Meanjin* have published issues dedicated to works in translation, yet while the translators are Australian, the original works themselves are by overseas writers, and not Australian writers writing in languages other than English. The edition of *Southerly* focused on which texts from abroad Australian translators choose to bring to an Australian readership, while the edition of *Meanjin* published translations as well as essays on the art of translation.[338] Both issues focused on encouraging the reading of works in translation, without a specific focus on translating or fostering multilingual Australian writing. *Mascara* literary journal is another journal with a focus on multicultural literatures. They focus on publishing 'contemporary migrant, Asian Australian and Aboriginal writers', and often publish

[335] Esther Allen, *To Be Translated or Not to Be: PEN/IRL Report on the International Situation of Literary Translation* (Barcelona: Institut Ramon Llull, 2007) <http://www.pen-international.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Translation-report_OK-2.pdf> [accessed 6 June 2017].
[336] Ibid.
[337] Scribe Publishing, 'Fiction in Translation', 2018 <https://scribepublications.com.au/books-authors/books/category/fiction-in-translation> [accessed 26 February 2020]; Text Publishing, 'Translated' <https://www.textpublishing.com.au/categories/translated> [accessed 26 February 2020].
[338] Ian Britain (ed.), *Meanjin: On Translation*, 64.4 (2005); David Brooks and Elizabeth McMahon (eds.), *Southerly: The Arts of Translation*, 70.1 (2010).

translations.[339] Yet again, the focus is on translating works from writers who live abroad, and not on publishing Australian writers in translation.

Australian literary journal *The Lifted Brow* is one of the few Australian journals that actively seeks and publishes works in translation. Yet since 2014, only two works in translation have been published in their online magazine. This is again a reflection of the prevalence of literary translation in Australia. Their *Brow Books* imprint also accepts submissions of translated works. Their first translated work was *Apple and Knife*, published in March 2018, a collection of short stories by Indonesian writer Intan Paramaditha, which was translated by Professor Stephen J Epstein.[340] Paramaditha was born and raised in Indonesia, completed her PhD at New York University and is now a lecturer at Macquarie University.[341] This title was soon followed by *The Impossible Fairytale*, published in August 2018, written by Korean writer Han Yujoo and translated by Janet Hong.[342] The imprint's third translated work, *Bright* by Duanwad Pimwana and translted by Mui Poopoksakul, was published in July 2019. The novel is the first by a Thai woman to be published in English outside of Thailand.[343] While *Brow Books* are championing literature in translation, their titles focus on the whole Asia/Oceania region, and not only on works by Australian writers and translators.

Literary translation in Australia forms an incredibly small portion of the literary landscape. Part of the problem is to do with funding. Literary translation is not cheap, and arts funding as a whole has been cut dramatically over the past five years in Australia. During that time, only eleven multilingual literary projects received direct Australia Council funding.[344] That does not include

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339 Mascara Poetry Inc., 'About Us', *Mascara Literary Review*, 2020 <http://mascarareview.com/about-us/> [accessed 26 February 2020].

340 Brow Books, 'Apple and Knife by Intan Paramaditha', *Brow Books*, 2018 <https://browbooks.com/shop/apple-and-knife-intan-paramaditha> [accessed 13 June 2018].

341 British Council, 'Intan Paramaditha', *British Council Literature*, 2020 <https://literature.britishcouncil.org/writer/intan-paramaditha> [accessed 26 February 2020].

342 Brow Books, 'The Impossible Fairytale by Han Yujoo', *Brow Books*, 2018 <https://browbooks.com/shop/the-impossible-fairytale-han-yujoo> [accessed 13 June 2018].

343 Brow Books, 'Bright by Duanwad Pimwana', *Brow Books*, 2019 <https://browbooks.com/shop/bright-duanwad-pimwana> [accessed 26 February 2020].

344 Australia Council, 'Grants List' <https://online.australiacouncil.gov.au/ords/GrantsList> [accessed 21 January 2018].

multilingual literary projects which may have been indirectly funded through organisations that received organisational funding, such as writers' centres. Before the funding cuts were implemented, the Australia Council offered a funding program called the LOTE publishing initiative, for the translation and publication of works by living Australian authors writing in languages other than English, including the publication of Indigenous titles in language.[345] This initiative was offered for the final time in 2014.

Despite the little support for multilingual literary projects, the Australia Council actively welcomes submissions in languages other than English, for projects in languages other than English. They even have support services available for help with translating the application into English where required.[346] Even so, very few literature projects directly related to languages other than English have succeeded in getting funding. In an already extremely competitive funding pool, there is simply not enough funding to go around. However, in 2019, the Australian Multilingual Writing Project was successful in securing Australia Council funding. Arts organisations need to actively support and embrace multilingual Australian literatures, to the point where multilingual literatures become a standard and accepted part of Australia's national literature.

My husband moved to Australia from the Czech Republic at the age of eleven, and in all the years he had been in Australia, the Karlštejn replica in Batchelor was the starkest representation he had found that his countrymen, and his language, had imprinted themselves on Australian soil. Finding the castle in his first weekend in a new city made him feel like he had finally found a place in Australia where he belonged. At the Darwin Art Gallery and Museum that very same weekend, we found mention of George Chaloupka, another Czech-Australian who was pivotal in documenting and preserving Indigenous rock art in Kakadu National Park. Inspired by Havlik and Chaloupka, my husband started Darwin's very first Czech & Slovak club. The multilingual stories

[345] Queensland Literary Awards, Facebook post, 24 January 2013 <https://www.facebook.com/QueenslandLiteraryAwards/posts/524613234244960> [accessed 21 January 2018].
[346] Australia Council, 'Grants' <https://www.australiacouncil.gov.au/funding/#atsia> [accessed 26 February 2020].

and histories that are woven across the country matter. They record our history, *all* of our history, the histories that English tries to forget, and they help to foster a sense of belonging.

To mark the end of our first year living in Darwin, my husband and I travelled back to his homeland, and we visited the real Karlštejn together. While not as remote as Batchelor's replica, it took us four flights, on three different airlines, and a forty-five minute car ride to get there; although the length of our journey speaks to our isolation, not to the castle's. Our trip took us through Bali and Singapore; then Zurich and Prague, before leading us through the frosted, narrow streets of Bohemia's countryside. Instead of the reward of snow for enduring the cold, we were greeted in the town of Karlštejn by grey skies and persistent rain. In summer, the small town is a tourist mecca, bursting with people. We arrived in a ghost town abandoned for the freezing winter months.

Karlštejn castle stood proudly atop a steep hill, which we trekked up in the drizzling rain. I was disappointed to find that the castle does not share the bright blue paint of the replica. The grey and beige stone blended in with the clouds, but when breaks in the weather allowed the sun to hit the castle's roof, the majesty of the structure was impossible to ignore. Guarded by four turrets, the castle's walls curved around the edges of the hill. The juxtaposition between the original and the replica could not be starker: a castle at one with the landscape, surrounded by cobblestoned paths and dense forests the same as those found in fairytales; the replica encased in rugged bushland, baking in consistent thirty plus degree days, not quite at one in its surroundings; a symbol of homesickness. Still, they share similarities: The Czech Republic is a nation steeped in history, and it too has had its share of languages invade and cross its landscape: Latin, German, Russian and now, the ever-present influence of English. The land the real Karlštejn sits on has also been ravaged by languages not its own. But there, the Czech language survived the intruders. Here, the Kungarakan language was driven to near extinction.

People who do not recognise the distinctive design of the Czech Republic's Karlštejn castle would not stop to look twice at the replica as they drive through Batchelor on their way to Litchfield

National Park. I didn't. The history and significance remains hidden, invisible to those who choose not to see it. Yet Havlik's replica Karlštejn represents the many different languages spoken across Australia. It is the legacy left behind by a Czechoslovakian man forced to leave his homeland to escape communism, and who found a place on foreign shores, but never forgot his roots. Part of the role of literature is to critique, analyse and shine a light onto a nation. In a multicultural, multilingual society, our literature cannot adequately do that without representations of experiences of Australia in languages other than English.

There needs to be stronger recognition that while English is our national language and our common language, there are many Australians who speak many more languages than English, and Australian literature in English only portrays one experience of being Australian. We need to seek out Australian literatures written in other languages and provide opportunities for Australians who write in languages other than English to be heard. Their perspectives, and the stories they choose to tell, will differ from narratives constructed in English, and it is those narratives that are missing in our proud claim of being a successful multicultural country. We cannot at once shout that we embrace multiculturalism, and then only provide space for English and English narratives *within* that multiculturalism.

Most of all, we need to start translating ourselves to ourselves and to ensure that not only do these literatures and stories not remain hidden within Australian language communities, but that we are not hiding cornerstones of our national identity from ourselves. There are obstacles such as funding that need to be addressed in order to achieve this, but the projects that have provided space for linguistic diversity in Australian literature have illustrated not only the need for such spaces, but the integral role that multilingual literatures play in Australian society. We are only hurting ourselves by excluding multilingual literatures from our multicultural narrative.

PART V: 私は…です

‘They learned that speaking quietly in another person’s language could be more effective than shouting loudly in English.’

– Colin Nettelbeck[347]

It was difficult to pinpoint the exact moment the train crossed the border from the Austrian Alps into the Bavarian Alps, but after a while the architecture of the huts lining the railway track lost their individual appearances and became more uniform. Then the mountains gave way to neighbourhoods, and Munich was on the horizon. 2018. January. Ten years since I’d first visited the city in winter as an exchange student. As the train rolled towards the Hauptbahnhof, I gazed out the window, searching for familiarity, but the truth was, I didn’t know this city well outside of the CBD’s main streets and train station. I was more familiar with the frozen fields of the countryside the train had rambled through on the way from Linz.

It had been an eventful morning. My husband had agreed to a four am wake-up call in below freezing temperatures to drive me one-hour from Česky Krumlov on secluded back streets (Google’s choice) in pitch darkness and heavy fog to make it over the Austrian border and drop me off at Linz train station in time for my ride to Munich.

The train slipped beneath the cavernous roof covering the platforms at Munich’s main station and pulled to a stop. The station was exactly how I remembered it: a maze of shops and platforms and escalators with each commuter zigzagging a different path through it. My host sister spotted me across the station and ran to greet me. For the sake of the land we stood on we began our interactions in German; but it wasn’t long before I couldn’t keep up and reached for English. We

[347] Colin Nettelbeck, ‘A Somewhat Disconcerting Truth: The Perils of Monolingualism as Seen through the Early Years of the RAAF School of Languages’, in *Challenging the Monolingual Mindset*, ed. by John Hajek and Yvette Slaughter (Channel View Publications, 2014), pp. 213–26 (pp. 224–25).

had long since fallen into the habit of speaking English together, for the simple reason that her English was far superior to my German: our conversations had more depth, and more fluency, when we used English. She visited Australia before I went to Germany and our relationship was built in English, not German. We always preferred using English together.

My host sister had moved out of her family home and into an apartment in the city years prior, and we caught the S-Bahn from the Hauptbahnhof to her neighbourhood. My stay in Munich was less than forty-eight hours, but on the second day my host mother caught the train in from the country to spend the day with me and my host sister. It had been five years since I'd seen her, but my relationship with my host mother had always been constructed in German. When I lived with them as a teenager, my host mother only spoke very little English, and so I was forced into communicating with her in German. I would help her prepare lunch or dinner in the kitchen, and we would converse in my second language. She helped me navigate the language when I fumbled for vocabulary. When I was reunited with her, we slipped straight back into German, despite the vast improvement in her English since I'd last seen her. We had built our relationship in German, and in contrast to my host sister, speaking German with my host mother felt natural. After an hour of feeling my way back into the language, I was surprised by how easily the German slipped off my tongue. It was heavily accented, and riddled with grammar mistakes, but my brain retrieved German words I didn't know I still knew from the recesses of my mind, and my meaning was understandable. Learning a language is like playing an instrument. As soon as you stop practicing, the notes slip away, and it takes time to find them and put them in tune again.

Speaking a language is not merely an add-on, like installing an app to create functionality on a smart phone, although language learning apps would like their users to think so. The language learning app Babbel claims their app will have users conversing in a new language in only three

weeks.[348] Three weeks may be long enough to get by on a holiday, but that is very different from using a language on a day to day basis.[349] Successful language learning is a lifelong commitment, but the rewards reaped from such dedication more than justify the time put into it. Each language a person speaks forms part of that person's identity, and in the case where a person lives away from the land where their mother tongue is spoken, language plays the role of anchoring a person to their cultural identity. It is for this reason that clusters of community languages form in areas where there are enough speakers of a common language: it is a way to reconnect with a particular aspect of identity. By speaking with my host mother in German, I recaptured that tiny piece of myself that had constructed a formative part of my experiences in the German language. The more I learn about my family history, the more I savour the connection to that history through my knowledge of German, although the thread has been unravelled for three generations. For those living out their day to day lives in more than one language, those threads are tightly woven within each language and between each language. For those learning languages, these threads slowly wind their way into and between a person's mother tongue.

The sky turned a mosaic of different greys as I peeled off Port Wakefield Road and onto the Northern Expressway. I turned my heater up high to shield against the bitter cold pressing against my car windows. The closer I got to the Barossa, the darker the clouds turned. The earthly aroma of wood-burning fireplaces seeped into the air and the temperature dropped. As I passed beneath the arch welcoming me to Tanunda, rain began pummelling down. I navigated my way through the small town and pulled to a stop in front of a house the same colour as the dark sky.

Deborah Frame, then-president of the Barossa German Language Association (BGLA), greeted me with an infectious smile. One hundred words passed her lips as she ushered me inside.

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[348] Babbel.com, 'Start Speaking a New Language in 3 Weeks Thanks to This App Made in Germany', *Babbel Magazine*, 2020 <https://www.babbel.com/en/magazine/how-our-app-teaches-you-spanish-in-3-weeks> [accessed 5 October 2020].

[349] Ingrid Piller, 'The Time It Takes to Learn a New Language Depends on What You Want to Do with It', *The Conversation*, 4 April 2018 <http://theconversation.com/the-time-it-takes-to-learn-a-new-language-depends-on-what-you-want-to-do-with-it-92745> [accessed 8 April 2018].

She fired off words, one after the other, without pausing for breath. It is perhaps not unexpected that a person with fluent command of three languages (German, English and French) and knowledge of another (kiSwahili) powers through words and thoughts at a barrelling pace. I had to concentrate to absorb each idea as they hit me in rapid succession. Deborah was one of the newest members of the BGLA, and also one of the youngest. She made time to speak to me in between school and childcare drop off and pick up.

We sat down at a dark wood dining room table to chat. I was curious how Deborah ended up in Tanunda of all places. She laughed when I asked the question.

'Yes, well. That's quite a story!'

Deborah was born in Paris to a German mother and an Australian father and grew up and studied across three different continents. She spent her childhood in France, Kenya, Germany and Switzerland, before moving to Australia to attend university. Her nomadic lifestyle continued when she graduated and began working in the hotel industry. It was through this work that she met her Australian husband, and together they spent six years working in Dubai and Doha. They then decided to move back to Australia, and they lived in Canberra and Melbourne before landing in Tanunda in the Barossa Valley.

'That's part of working in the hotel industry,' Deborah explained. 'In order to progress, you've got to move around.' Sure enough, only a few months after our chat, Deborah and her family moved again, this time to New Zealand. Deborah and her younger brother grew up speaking both German and English. She was six years old when her family moved from Paris to Kenya, where she attended an international school. There, she learned French as well as some kiSwahili.

'We sang the national anthem in Swahili every morning, except Wednesdays, when we sung it in English,' Deborah said. 'I can still remember it, to this day.'

After Kenya, Deborah's family moved to Switzerland, because her father's parents lived there. 'But my father was working contract work at the UN, and there was a risk that his contract would not be renewed. It was a big risk, because the cost of schooling in Switzerland was so high. My parents owned an apartment in Germany, right on the Austrian border, about fifteen minutes from Salzburg. So my brother and I moved there with my mother, where we could attend public school for free. We lived there for three years until my father got permanent work. The school we went to was German medium, and by the time we went back to Switzerland I had a very strong German accent in my spoken English.'

Despite the fact Deborah possesses a German passport and her mother is German, she was treated as an outsider during her time at school in Germany. 'I went to public school in Germany, I lived in a small town, you know, whatever it was, six thousand people, where I was classified as a foreigner even though I had a passport,' Deborah told me. 'Plus I couldn't speak German for the first year, not as well as they could. But then when we went back to Switzerland after three years, I had so much German.'

Deborah experienced a similar sentiment when she moved to Australia for university, even though she also possesses an Australian passport and has an Australian father. 'I completed high school in Switzerland, and then when it was time to go to university, my father suggested I go to Australia. He couldn't afford the fees for me to be an international student in Switzerland, so he said, you're Australian, go to Australia!'

She enrolled at the University of Adelaide, where she majored in German politics. 'It's funny, when I got to Australia, people asked where I was from,' Deborah told me. 'And I didn't want to say I'm Australian, because I didn't really sound Australian. So I'd say I'm from Germany. And then they'd say, you speak such good English! And I was like, well yeah, my dad's Australian and technically I'm Australian as well. You know, for them that was like really insane, and they were like well, can you speak anything else? And I would say I can speak a little kiSwahili, and

they'd be like woah!' In both cases, Deborah's way of speaking German and English gave her away as a foreigner, despite the fact she is a dual German-Australian citizen. Her experiences characterise the experiences of many Australians who exhibit a trait that is not recognisably Australian, and my own experiences of being an Australian with a foreign looking and sounding name. Deborah's accent gave her away, and she was subjected to questioning as to her background and heritage because of it. In Australia, a person who speaks accented English will invariably be asked about their cultural heritage. The subtext is that if their English is accented, they are not Australian. But no matter how well a person learns a foreign language, it is often the case, especially with adults, that an accent will never disappear. A person could live in Australia for more than fifty years and still speak accented English. An accent is not a definitive marker of how well a person speaks a language, and it is certainly not an indication of whether or not a person is Australian. Deborah's experiences also highlight the fact that foreign language learning is not prioritised in Australia the way it is in other countries, because English is the national language.

The only serious consideration given to language learning in Australia is for non-English speaking migrants. In 1982, a submission from the Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs stated that 'language policy…will not…aim to make Australians bi or multilingual against their will.'[350] Instead of forcing bi and multilingualism on English speaking Australians, it was forced on non-English speaking Australians. This sentiment stands to this day, and migrants must learn English at all costs, to prove their worth in calling the nation home.

Averil Grieve writes that 'in the Australian school context, language proficiency has become synonymous with mastering reading, writing, speaking and listening skills *in English*… no account is made for the literacy skills of children in any language other than English.'[351] New Arrivals

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[350] Howard Nicholas, 'Losing Bilingualism While Promoting Second Language Acquisition in Australian Language Policy', in *Challenging the Monolingual Mindset*, ed. by John Hajek and Yvette Slaughter (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2014), pp. 165–81 (p. 168) <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783092529-013>.

[351] Averil Grieve, '"Die Erfüllung Eines Traums": Challenging the Monolingual Mindset Through the Establishment of an Early Immersion Language Programme', in *Challenging the Monolingual Mindset*, ed. by John Hajek and Yvette Slaughter (Bristol, Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters, 2014), pp. 227–40 (p. 228) <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783092529-017>.

programs are a staple of select primary schools across the nation, where children who arrive with no or little English begin their schooling in a supported language environment. They can learn English before transitioning across to a regular classroom. In high school, students from non-English speaking backgrounds can choose to study English as a Second Language (ESL) instead of English. As discussed in Part I, the Australian government also offers the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), which provides free English language tuition to new migrants.[352] Through ESL education, Australia has proven it can do languages education well. Yet the quality of the language education and policies surrounding languages education for languages other than English does not come close to meeting the standard of ESL education. In Australia, language learning is deemed to only be necessary for those who do not speak English. This attitude from governments and policy makers has filtered down to the general population, where the vast majority of Australians with English as their mother tongue are monolingual. Not only are they monolingual, but their attitudes towards other languages are that learning one would be great, but it is an unrealistic and unattainable goal, short of moving to another country and immersing oneself in the language. Even then, with the advantage of English, it is not always necessary, as writer Gabrielle Innes discovered when she moved to Berlin. Despite her best efforts at learning German, she found she could get by perfectly well with English, and this hindered her language learning efforts.[353]

Learning a language without immersion into an environment where the target language is solely spoken is a notoriously difficult task, but not impossible. Europeans approach the challenge head on, and more than ninety per cent of European students study at least one foreign language throughout the entirety of their schooling.[354] This is compared to less than ten per cent of Australian students who study a foreign language in their final year of school, which is down from the forty per cent of Australian students who studied a foreign language in their final year of school in

[352] Department of Home Affairs, 'About the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP)'.
[353] Innes.
[354] Eurostat, 'Foreign Languages Learnt per Pupil in Upper Secondary Education (General), 2009 and 2014'.

1960.[355] In England, twenty-five per cent of students study a language through to their final year of high school.[356] In the USA figures are harder to find, although a recent survey reveals that only twenty percent of students across all levels of schooling study a foreign language.[357] The low numbers of students studying a foreign language in Year Twelve in Australia can be attributed to a number of factors: numerous changes in language learning policies since the 1950s, Australia's monolingual mindset, the small number of subjects students study in their final year of high school and the approach to language teaching.

Historically, foreign languages were required for completing high school and entering university. They were also a required component of university study.[358] Borrowing from the British model of education, in the Australian system, Latin and Greek were the prestigious languages to study, while French and German were added to the curriculum as modern languages. The latter were seen as useful languages and favoured in secondary schools, while universities favoured Latin and Greek. Additionally, Australia had many bilingual schools in the late 1800s and early 1900s, yet these schools were forced to close during the anti-foreign sentiments of World War I. After the First World War, education departments were created in each state, which meant universities no longer had a say in what students should be examined on in their final school examinations. The effects of World War I also privileged French over German as the main foreign language in Australia's education system.[359]

The AMEP was launched in 1948, in the wake of mass migration to Australia after World War II and the need for new migrants to learn English. The foreign-language requirement for

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[355] Mayfield; M. D. Martin, 'Permanent Crisis, Tenuous Persistence: Foreign Languages in Australian Universities', *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 4.1 (2005), 53–75 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022205048758>.
[356] Kathryn Board and Teresa Tinsley, 'Language Trends 2014/15: The State of Language Learning in Primary and Secondary Schools in England' (CfBT Education Trust, 2015) <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/language_trends_survey_2015.pdf> [accessed 2 May 2017].
[357] Commission on Language Learning, *America's Languages: Investing in Language Education for the 21st Century* (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2017) <https://www.amacad.org/multimedia/pdfs/publications/researchpapersmonographs/language/Commission-on-Language-Learning_Americas-Languages.pdf> [accessed 2 August 2018].
[358] Martin, pp. 56–57.
[359] Ibid, p. 57.

university entrance was also removed at this time. During the period after World War II, the number of languages offered at Australian universities increased, yet the number of students studying languages decreased.[360] With the rise of multiculturalism in Australia in the 1970s, funding was provided for different ethnic groups to create their own after-hours language schools. Yet the creation of these schools further diminished languages education in secondary schools, as policy makers and educators saw these schools as removing the burden from the education system of offering foreign languages. Often decisions on whether or not to offer languages and which languages to offer were made based on how many non-English speaking background students a school had.

A submission to parliament during this time presented command of English and command of another language as two separate achievements, and there was no concept of how languages intertwine or how bilingualism or multilingualism can be an asset to each language a person speaks. This separating of skills in English and skills in other languages is a distinct failing of language policy in Australia and one that continues to this day.[361] Equal emphasis was not afforded to English competence and competence in languages other than English. But for English learners to be supported within Australian society, all Australians need to experience the challenges of learning another language, and of the intercultural understanding that comes with learning another language.

Another concern brought to light by the submission is that 'if bilingualism is seen as the exclusive province of children from an ethnic background,…bilingualism may well be seen as an unfortunate malady of the socially disadvantaged.'[362] When treated as solely the domain of migrants or Australians with ethnic backgrounds, bilingualism comes to be seen as a disadvantage, rather than the advantage that the research supports it is. The submission viewed bilingualism as a

[360] Ibid, p. 58.
[361] Nicholas, p. 168.
[362] Ibid.

problem, not as a key resource that could be exploited to the benefit of all Australians, and thus created a stigma surrounding bilingual and multilingual Australians.[363]

After university, Deborah decided not to do Honours and instead began working in the hotel industry, where she met her Australian husband. She tried to teach him German, but as her husband had no previous language learning experience, it was a difficult task. They worked in the Middle East together, and after six years, they decided to return to Australia. After some time living in Canberra and Melbourne, her husband got a job offer in the Barossa Valley. 'Before we moved here, I actually knew the place quite well. My father has a close friend who lived here. He would call my father every year for his birthday. My dad works for the UN, so every two years he got a home leave trip. He would always come to Australia and we'd come to the Barossa. So it was just ironic that my husband happened to get a Barossa job. And when he asked if I'd like to go, I said yeah sure, I've been here before, it's fun!'

Not long after arriving in Tanunda, Deborah was with her son at a playgroup. Her son heard another boy there speaking German with his mother, and Deborah's son said to them, 'Hey, you're speaking German!' The woman asked if his mum speaks German too, and Deborah's son said yes. The woman, who was Susan Witt, the first president of the BGLA, went over to speak to Deborah. Susan told Deborah about the association and that they had started a German Spielgruppe (playgroup). After that, Deborah started taking her son along to the Spielgruppe.

Soon after, Susan and her family moved interstate for her husband's work, and the BGLA needed a new president. Deborah had attended a few committee meetings, and they voted her in as the new president. 'When we first moved to the Barossa I was looking around for a job, but it didn't make sense with the childcare costs,' Deborah explained. 'So I decided to focus on the children. But with the German language association, it gave me an outlet and a way to continue with the German.'

[363] Ibid.

Deborah threw herself into the role of BGLA president, and explained that there are always people getting in touch with ideas for events and community activities. The BGLA had been running German classes in association with the German Club in Adelaide for a couple of months before Deborah took over as president, and one of the first changes she made was to move the children's German classes from a Saturday morning to a weekday afternoon. 'The class was very small, because in the country there is a large focus on sports and weekend trips and spending time with family,' Deborah explained. 'So I moved the class to Monday afternoons, and I cut the class down from three hours to one and a half hours. It makes it more difficult to fit everything in, but straightaway I got six kids signed up to the Monday afternoon class, without even trying.'

Another annual event that the BGLA has been running since 2015 is the Laternenlauf (Lantern Walk). The German lantern walk is a celebration of Saint Martin, who devoted his life to helping the poor. In Germany the Laternenlauf takes place on November 11th, which is St Martin's Day, and children either make or buy lanterns and take part in a lantern walk, which occurs after dark. While they walk, they sing some traditional St Martin's Day songs, such as 'Laterne, Laterne' (Lantern, Lantern) or 'Ich gehe mit meiner Laterne' (I walk with my lantern). At the event in the Barossa Valley in Tanunda, children firstly gather for a lantern making workshop, and then when darkness falls, they walk through the streets with their lanterns, while singing one or two German songs.

The playgroup, German school and other events organised by the association have been well attended by the German speaking community in the region, but I wonder whether Barossa residents who do not speak German have been getting involved. For multiculturalism to work, the wider public outside of language communities needs to take an interest and participate in community activities organised by cultural groups. Deborah pauses before answering. 'Yeah, but it's people that I knew. Friends of mine. I said this is a really cool thing, you should come along, and some friends of mine who had no German knowledge, came. At the end of the day, you do need to be an integral part of the community to bring it all together. I don't know if they'd come back again. But I

had five families who had no German who came because they liked the idea of a lantern walk. And lantern walks are common in many cultures, in China, Japan. There's lots of cultures that do a lantern walk.'

Part of the reason for the lack of interest from the wider Barossa community in the German activities taking place in the region could be the fact that at the time I spoke to Deborah, many schools in the Barossa no longer taught German. Based on recommendations from former prime minister Tony Abbott, many of the schools in the region chose to adopt an Asian language instead, and, due to teacher availability, decided to teach Japanese.[364]

'Angaston Primary School still does German,' Deborah told me. 'Which is strange, considering Angaston is actually the British-settled part of the Barossa. But in Nuriootpa and Tanunda, it's switched to Japanese. My son's school does German until Year 2 and then they change to Japanese. The Early Learning Centre at Tanunda's Lutheran school used to have two hours of German each week. Now they've cut that. The teacher there teaches some German songs, but that's about it.'

Deborah pressed the principal at Nuriootpa High School about the lack of German, and he told her that if the demand was there, they would look at offering it again. Deborah was hoping that if she could get enough interest in the after-hours German language classes, she would be able to show that there is a demand to bring German back into the school system. According to South Australia's Department of Education, both Nuriootpa Primary and Nuriootpa High school were offering German as of July 2017, along with Angaston Primary School, and all three schools were still offering the language in January 2019.[365] Tanunda Primary School teaches Japanese.[366] In total, 52 schools across South Australia teach German, while 149 teach Japanese.[367] Some schools offer

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[364] Justin Norrie, '$2bn Needed to Achieve Abbott's Language Vision', *The Conversation*, 5 November 2012 <http://theconversation.com/2bn-needed-to-achieve-abbotts-language-vision-6978> [accessed 20 April 2016].
[365] South Australia Department of Education.
[366] Ibid.
[367] Ibid.

more than one language, so in some cases Japanese is a choice students have amongst other languages.

The first push for teaching Asian languages in Australian schools dates back to the 1980s. In 1987, the *National Policy on Languages* was created by the Labour government in conjunction with applied linguist Joseph Lo Bianco and stressed the importance of 'a language other than English for all'.[368] The report also proposed which languages should be prioritised: Standard Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, French, German, Italian, Modern Greek, Arabic and Spanish. The policy underlined the importance of continuous language study throughout primary and high school, yet this recommendation was never implemented.[369] Four years after the release of the policy, the policy was reworked into *Australia's Language and Literacy Policy*, where the focus became literacy in English rather than all Australians learning a language other than English. The reworked policy also prioritised Asian languages over migrant languages.[370]

It was in this climate that I started primary school in the mid-1990s. My school implemented the government's recommendations and taught Japanese. Twice a week, for two forty-five minute lessons per week, and in my upper primary school years, once a week for an hour, my classmates and I lined up and marched off to our Japanese class. We learned numbers and colours; we learned 'hello', 'good morning', 'good-bye' and 'thank you'; we called our teacher Sensei and we memorised Hiragana; we learned to write Japanese versions of our names. I can still parrot off Japanese numbers and greetings, and tell someone my name in Japanese. More than language, we learned about Japanese society and culture. But my favourite classes were the classes in which we learned how to fold origami. I loved taking a coloured square of paper and transforming it into a work of art by only making folds. No other tools required. The elusive goal was to master the paper

[368] Joseph Lo Bianco, 'National Policy on Languages' (Australian Government Publishing Service, 1987), p. 20 <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/lobianco_2.pdf> [accessed 2 May 2017].
[369] Nicholas, p. 174.
[370] *Australia's Language: The Australian Language and Literacy Policy. Vol. 2: Companion Volume to the Policy Paper*, ed. by Commonwealth of Australia (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1991) <https://www.voced.edu.au/content/ngv%3A37015>.

crane, the most complicated design we were taught to fold. We were taking Japanese lessons, but we were learning about Japanese culture, rather than the language. An unassuming relief teacher took us for Japanese one day, and had brought in an origami activity. We chastised her choice, because her activity required scissors, and traditional origami is strictly only folding the paper, no cutting allowed. When we reached the end of our final year of primary school, our Japanese teacher asked us who was continuing with Japanese in high school. Less than five students raised their hands. My Japanese teacher couldn't hide her disappointment, and she asked us why not. For many of us, our new schools did not offer the language. For others, our experience of Japanese didn't motivate us to want to continue learning it. And some students finally had the opportunity to take up their heritage language.

In contrast to my own experience, I had a close friend who also learned Japanese in a different South Australian primary school. Her teacher was determined, and my friend finished primary school somewhat fluent in the language. She chose to continue with Japanese in high school, yet her only option was to be in a class with students who had never learned the language before. She dropped Japanese as soon as she was allowed to, because she was not learning anything new. The system was broken on two ends. Firstly, the emphasis on culture rather than language. Secondly, for teachers who chose to impart as much linguistic knowledge on their students as possible, their students then had no options for continuing the language at a higher level in high school. Lastly, ninety minutes of language instruction, split into two forty-five minute blocks, is simply not enough time to gain a deep understanding of the language. The policy created a system where language classes were required to do two things: impart cultural knowledge and intercultural understanding, and also teach the language. Yet by choosing not to integrate the two aspects together and separating each as independent goals of foreign language classes, neither received the time they deserved to make a lasting impact.

Deborah is quick to add that any language is better than no language at all, and that finding suitably qualified language teachers is an added difficulty in language education. Even so, the

Barossa Valley is an example of a place in Australia where school students benefit greatly from learning German in school, as they can then take that knowledge out into the community and practice their German language skills. The relevance of learning the language is strongly connected to their lives outside of the classroom, and thus there is an easily seen purpose in learning the language, which is a key factor in the ability to learn and maintain a language.

While learning German makes sense for schools in the Barossa Valley given the history of the region, Deborah believes that learning any language from a young age is essential for laying the foundations of language learning later in life. 'When I met my husband, the first thing I tried to do once it was somewhat serious was to teach him German,' Deborah shared with me. 'He actually looks much more German than I do. He has that broad build, blonde hair, blue eyes. He has that German persona. When we fly Lufthansa, people speak to him in German. They say to me, would you like the fish or the chicken?, and to him, *wollen Sie das Fisch oder den Hähn?* He really should learn German,' she muses. 'The hardest thing about my husband learning this German language is because he didn't learn a language in school! He went to school in country Victoria and no languages were taught. It doesn't matter what you learn.' Learning languages in school provides an important base for learning languages later in life, and my previous language learning experiences gave me an essential background in how languages work for when I started learning my husband's language.

I discovered my husband was a native Czech speaker the night we met, exchanging small talk on a couch in the seediest club in Adelaide. It was surprisingly intimate. The music was too loud to keep a distance; interesting snippets of passions and interests had to be slowly and clearly articulated directly into the ear. A stranger's lips millimetres away from the skin. It demands concerted listening, and no wasted words. The worn couch small talk slowly evolved into a relationship. When I heard him speaking Czech with his family, I decided I wanted to learn the language. Despite once sharing space with German on Czech lands, Czech is a Slavic, not a Germanic, language, and while my knowledge of German was certainly useful in picking up aspects

of Czech, Czech is very different from its neighbouring Western European languages. Knowing German was not the advantage I had hoped it would be, although the two languages share some vocabulary. Czech punishes its speakers with seven different grammatical cases (English carries the remnants of only three, and even these are not consistently applied anymore; German persists with four; Finnish demands fifteen and Wikipedia claims that Eastern Russian language Tsez has 64 cases, but this is greatly disputed in the literature- eighteen is argued as a more reasonable estimate).[371] Each separate grammatical case requires a different ending on nouns and verbs, depending on the number, gender and action of the person or object being referred to. As English's case system has almost completely disappeared from the language, it is challenging for monolingual English speakers to learn and understand how case systems work in other languages. For this reason, Czech is often considered one of the most difficult languages for English speakers to learn, given the complexity of the grammar system.

Yet when I started attempting to learn the language, the immediate challenge was trying to find resources to learn from. The Czech Republic has a population of only ten million, and while the Czech and Slovak languages are mutually intelligible, outside of these two nations, Czech is not widely spoken. There is little demand for learners wishing to learn the language. Czech is not taught in any Australian universities or language learning schools. When I first started learning, there was no course for Czech on the language learning app Duolingo (they launched one in 2018; before that I used the English for Czech speakers course), and not one foreign language bookshop in Australia sold foreign language resources for Czech. I did manage to find an old, hardcover Czech language and grammar book in the library at the University of Adelaide. I learned a few words from that book, and I also found a few online sources, but they were very basic and difficult to track down. Eventually, I realised that Czech literature was the richest source of language available to me at the

[371] Bernard Comrie and Maria Polinsky, 'The Great Daghestanian Case Hoax', in *Case, Typology and Grammar: In Honor of Barry J. Blake*, ed. by Anna Siewierska and Jae Jung Song (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998).

time. These experiences inspired my research project for my Master's dissertation, where I investigated the role of children's literature in beginner language learning.[372]

I ordered the books from a Czech online bookshop, and read Czech picture books and Czech translations of Roald Dahl books that I knew and loved in English as a child. I started with close to zero knowledge of the language, but the illustrations in each book helped me to decipher the meaning of the words on the page, and I slowly built up my knowledge of Czech through reading the stories and practising speaking the language with my husband. At the end of my research, I travelled to the Czech Republic for the first time with my husband, and we spent three months exploring the country together. I got to test out my Czech in real-life situations, but not surprisingly, I found I can read Czech a lot better than I can speak it. While I can recognise grammar structures and understand the meaning when I read in Czech, I struggle to reproduce these structures when I speak it. Still, when my husband and I communicate, we litter our conversations with Czech words and phrases interspersed into the English.

Deborah shares that her mother was particularly gifted at languages, and attributes part of her expertise to the fact she learned Latin in school. 'In Germany, most advanced schools learn Latin, even though it's a dead language. And then Latin is the basis of so many other languages. My mum went on to be a translator of the American Embassy and speaks fluent French, German, English and Spanish. Just because she learnt Latin. Or one of the reasons, she also does have a good gift with languages. It does help. People say, why do you learn a dead language? Well!' It is an accurate point. Learning any language provides a basis for learning other languages and often teaches the learner more about their native language too. My high school German teacher had to teach us English grammar before we had any hope of understanding German grammar.

[372] Raelke Grimmer, 'Self-Learning a Foreign Language Through Literature: A Case-Study of a Self-Learner's Socialisation into Czech Through Czech Literature', in *Text-Based Research and Teaching*, ed. by Peter Mickan and Elise Lopez (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2017), pp. 263–79 <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59849-3_14>.

Deborah goes on to say that she was speaking with a parent at her son's school and ended up explaining that she grew up in Switzerland. The person then asked Deborah if she speaks Swiss. Switzerland has four official languages (French, German, Italian and Romansch). 'I was just like wow, just basic [knowledge]. But I think all that would be removed if you just offered languages and you just did more studies. When I did my degree at university we were allowed to study a culture and do a presentation on that. And I did the Kaurna people of Adelaide, because I said well okay, we're in that area. And I went and learned about them, and there was a community that still practiced the pelican dance, so we showed that, and we learnt some words and stuff like that, and it's just so sad. You know, I'm not talking you have to learn German, I'm saying you have to learn something.'

Deborah is teaching her own children German, not only because of their heritage but also because they have grandparents who speak German. While they lived in Tanunda, her eldest son attended the German language school and she took her second-oldest son to the German playgroup. Even so, she admits it is difficult to pass on the language, given that her husband only speaks English and their education is taking place in English.

The new Australian curriculum, implemented in 2015, has returned to a vision of a language other than English for all students. There are three areas of cross-curriculum focus in the Australian Curriculum: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures; Asia and Australia's engagement with Asia; and Sustainability.[373] Subsequently, there is still an emphasis on teaching Asian languages in Australian schools. The Australian Curriculum provides the education departments in each state with indicative times to be spent on each subject area during the year, but state education departments are not held to enforcing these recommendations.[374] The Australian

[373] Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 'Cross-Curriculum Priorities', *Australian Curriculum* <https://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/f-10-curriculum/cross-curriculum-priorities/> [accessed 8 March 2020].

[374] Department for Education and Child Development, 'Guidelines for the Implementation of the Australian Curriculum in DECD Schools: Reception-Year 10' (Government of South Australia, 2013) <http://www.pbac.sa.edu.au/Content/Resources/Guidelines%20for%20Implementation%20in%20DECD%20Schools.pdf>.

Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) recommends that five per cent of the curriculum per year from Reception (Prep) to Year Six is spent on languages, or 1.3 hours per week, which is a very small amount of time to spend on languages education. A primary school German teacher at an Adelaide school explained to me that especially for younger students, at least fifteen minutes of each class is used up by collecting the students from their classroom, returning to the German classroom and explaining that day's activities. If she is lucky, she has half an hour left for German in a forty-five minute lesson. The percentage of the curriculum allocated to languages increases to eight per cent for Years 7-10, at 2.1 hours per week.[375] ACARA's guidelines set language learning as compulsory to the end of Year Eight, after which languages education is optional for students.

As mentioned above, languages have traditionally been taught in Australian high schools, as they were historically a prerequisite for completing secondary school and gaining entrance to university. The compulsory requirement has long since been waived, and, along with other changes to the structure of secondary schooling education, less than ten per cent of secondary students in Australia now study a language all the way through to Year Twelve.[376] In 2017, less than twelve per cent of students studied a language in their final year of school.[377] This is compared to forty per cent of students who studied a language in their final year of school in 1960, and compared to more than ninety per cent of students who study a language throughout their schooling in most EU countries.[378] Previous governments recognised this as a problem. In 2014 Tony Abbott's Liberal government increased that target to forty per cent and further prioritised Asian languages. At the

[375] Ibid.
[376] Misty Adoniou, 'Linguistic Paranoia – Why Is Australia so Afraid of Languages?', *The Conversation*, 15 June 2015 <http://theconversation.com/linguistic-paranoia-why-is-australia-so-afraid-of-languages-43236> [accessed 14 June 2017].
[377] The Group of Eight, 'Languages in Crisis: A Rescue Plan for Australia' (The Group of Eight, 2007) <https://www.aftv.vic.edu.au/resources/whylearnfrench/Languages_in_crisis.pdf> [accessed 2 May 2017].
[378] The Group of Eight; Eurostat, ''Foreign Languages Learnt per Pupil in Upper Secondary Education', in *(General), 2009 And*, 2014 <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File>.

time, twelve per cent of Year Twelve students studied a language. That percentage has dropped by two per cent, rather than risen, since Abbott's announcement.[379]

After Abbott's commitment to prioritise Asian languages and increase the number of high school students studying a language, Malcom Turnbull posted an article on his website outlining his response to the new targets.[380] In the article, Turnbull concedes that there are not enough hours in the school curriculum for students to learn a difficult language like Mandarin to a fluent level, and the best way for students to learn the language is to study in China for six months to immerse themselves in the language. He then advocates for a focus on culture and history instead and suggests that the objective should be 'to develop a lifelong cultural curiosity'. Turnbull then claims that 'linguistic fluency does not necessarily entail a knowledge of, let alone empathy for, the culture and history of the country concerned.'[381] This statement is particularly concerning, as Abbott's successor as prime minister of Australia failed to recognise the intricate connection between language and culture. Deeper learning is achieved through learning language and culture together, rather than dividing them into different categories. It also perpetuates the longstanding myth in Australian languages education that it is simply not possible to gain proficiency in a language through languages education alone, and therefore it is a waste of time to even try. This myth is prevalent in not only Australia, but also in the USA and the UK, Australia's monolingual counterparts. Yet cultural education without the inclusion of language, and vice versa, is a diminished experience. Rather than baulking at the challenge of meaningful languages education, with enough resources and qualified staff, language learning to a high proficiency in Australia's schools and universities is possible.

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[379] Ibid.

[380] Malcolm Turnbull, 'The Asian Century and Learning Chinese in School', *Malcolm Turnbull*, 2012 <https://www.malcolmturnbull.com.au/media/the-asian-century-and-learning-chinese-in-school> [accessed 8 March 2017].

[381] Ibid.

When I walked into my first German lesson in my first year of high school in 2004, taking a language was compulsory for all of Year Eight, our first year of high school in South Australia. When I started Year Nine, an extra semester of language study was mandated for all students, and it was created to facilitate the newly implemented migration project, where half of our Year Nine language lessons were taken up with researching an ethnic group's migration history within Australia. I chose Italy. In hindsight, I should have picked Germany, given my family history. After we had completed our compulsory language study, the size of my German classes dramatically decreased. Two German classes condensed to one, and then in Year Ten we dropped to twelve students. From Year Eleven, the school had no choice but to combine the Year Eleven and Twelve German classes. We were five Year Elevens and eleven Year Twelves. In my final year of school, there were only three of us. To the school's credit, they didn't cut our class. They combined us with the Year Elevens as they had in the previous year.

My school also actively encouraged us to study additional languages from Year Eleven through the South Australian School of Languages. In my penultimate year of high school, I was one of two students in my year who picked up Spanish. South Australia's School of Languages opened in 1986 and 'aims to enhance access, choice and continuity in language learning for South Australian learners… that complement and supplement languages programs offered in mainstream schools and ethnic schools.'[382] The school currently offers twenty-eight languages, with a mix of European, Asian and Indigenous languages. The languages are offered after-hours. For three hours each Wednesday evening in Years Eleven & Twelve, I took Spanish in a combined class of adult learners and senior high school students. I loved these after-hours Spanish classes free from the monotony of the school day. Students who chose more language study in their free time generally wanted to be there and wanted to learn, and, as it was a mixed class with adult learners, the lessons were less formal than our language classes in school. For the first time, I realised that while there

[382] School of Languages, 'Who We Are', *School of Languages* (Government of South Australia, 2017), South Australia <https://schooloflanguages.sa.edu.au/who-we-are/> [accessed 5 September 2020].

are similarities between languages, each language is its own complicated system with its own quirks and eccentricities.

At the end of Year Twelve, I had to sit two exams each for Spanish and German: a written exam and an oral exam. The written side of languages has always come easier to me. Even in my native language, I need to write to know what I'm thinking. I like time to consider spoken answers, but that's not the nature of spoken interaction: there an immediacy and an urgency to spoken exchanges. My language teachers prepared us well for the exams and I studied hard. I can't recall the Spanish oral exam, but I distinctly remember the German one. I was nervous going in, but I'd practiced every possible question I thought the examiners could ask. I was called into the room and my two examiners introduced themselves in German. I did the same, and one of my examiners saw an opportunity for the first question: 'Woher kommt dein Name*?' Where is your name from?* I stared blankly at my examiners. I had understood the question, but of all the questions I had anticipated being asked, of all the what felt like hundreds of questions I had prepared, not once had it crossed my mind that they would ask me this question in my exam.

'Mein Vater…,' I started and hesitated. I had no idea at all how to say 'made-up', 'invented' or 'created' in German. We'd been prepped for this. 'Wie sagt man 'made-up' auf Deutsch?' I asked. *How do you say 'made-up' in German?* It was the examiners' turn to stare at me blankly. They paraphrased their original question again. 'Ich verstehe,' I said. *I understand*. 'Aber…Mein Vater made-up my name. My name is made-up.' I reverted to English out of frustration. The examiners finally understood and moved on with the rest of the exam. As I replayed the exchange in my mind as I drove home from my exam, I cursed myself and my teacher for not anticipating this question. It was the one question I should have expected.

Since I finished school, German has been dropped from my high school's languages curriculum, despite the language's place as a heritage language in South Australia. Furthermore, South Australia's secondary school curriculum changed, requiring students to only take four

subjects, instead of five, in Year Twelve.[383] For students aiming to go on and study engineering, medicine, nursing or a health sciences degree, university entrance requirements quickly fill these four spots. That leaves languages and the arts in a very precarious position. They are being further pushed out of the state curriculum. Even so, some schools offer the International Baccalaureate (IB) in addition to the state school leaving certificate, and many students choose to graduate with the IB. To qualify for the IB, those students must study a language in their final year of school, yet students studying the IB are still in the minority in Australia.[384] In addition, there is no guarantee that those students will continue with their languages education into university.

The lack of continuous language education across the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors is another flaw in language education in Australia, and it is not an easy one to rectify. There are few options for students graduating from primary school to continue with their language upon entering high school. A high school may offer the same language that the primary school offered, yet students start from the beginning again upon entering high school. Studies and trial programs have attempted to follow how continuous language learning might work, yet the issue is that the continuing students end up in the same class as students who are just beginning the language, due to a lack of resources. A continuous language learning program requires teachers with high levels of language skills, and this is where Australia's failure at languages education becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy: there are not enough teachers who have a high enough level of proficiency in languages other than English to support such programs.[385]

Even so, bilingual schools and programs are an increasingly popular option, as students receive the immersion experience by learning subjects *in* a foreign language, rather than learning a

[383] SACE Board South Australia, 'What Is the SACE? - South Australian Certificate of Education' <https://www.sace.sa.edu.au/studying/your-sace/what-is-the-sace#Meeting-the-requirements-of-the-SACE> [accessed 8 March 2020].
[384] 'Understanding the International Baccalaureate (IB)', *Good Schools Guide* <https://www.goodschools.com.au/start-here/at-school-and-beyond/international-baccalaureate> [accessed 8 March 2020].
[385] Pete Swanson and Shannon Mason, 'The World Language Teacher Shortage: Taking a New Direction', *Foreign Language Annals*, 51.1 (2018), 251–62 <https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12321>.

foreign language.[386] Yet the perception of such programs is not a positive one. Tucker and Dubiner write that 'bilingualism, becoming bilingual, and the encouragement of innovative language education programs within the core or basic curriculum of public education are so often viewed as *problematic, difficult or undesirable.*'[387] As mentioned in Part III, bilingual education was introduced into remote Indigenous communities in the 1970s, and many of those programs ended in 1998 when the funding for those programs was cut. Those programs were clouded in controversy, due to the misunderstanding of what bilingual education actually is. It means education in *two* languages, where time is split between each language.[388] Yet there is a view that bilingual education promotes a language other than English over English, despite the fact that research shows that the most effective way to learn another language is to learn about a subject area in a language.[389] In 2012, 60 Northern Territory government schools offered some form of bilingual education.[390]

Not including bilingual Indigenous language programs, Australia has approximately thirty bilingual schools, the majority of which are in Victoria. The languages offered include Mandarin, Japanese, Indonesian, German and French.[391] In South Australia, Highgate Primary School and Unley High School have begun the process of implementing a bilingual French and English education program that provides students with continuing bilingual education throughout primary and secondary school. Highgate Primary School already has a bilingual program for students in Reception to Year Two. In 2018, Unley High School introduced the first intake of a French Bilingual/Binational program and plan to offer a continuous Bilingual/Binational stream from

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[386] Joseph Lo Bianco and Yvette Slaughter, 'Bilingual Education in Australia', in *Bilingual and Multilingual Education*, ed. by Ofelia García, Angel M. Y. Lin, and Stephen May (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), pp. 347–60 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02258-1_22>.

[387] Richard G. Tucker and Deborah Dubiner, 'Concluding Thoughts: Does the Immersion Pathway Lead to Multilingualism?', in *Pathways to Multilingualism: Evolving Perspectives on Immersion Education*, ed. by Tara Williams Fortune and Diane J. Tedick (Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2008), LXVI, 267–77 (p. 267).

[388] Nicholls.

[389] *Text-Based Research and Teaching: A Social Semiotic Perspective on Language in Use*, ed. by Peter Mickan and Elise Lopez (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

[390] Lo Bianco and Slaughter.

[391] Better Education, 'Bilingual Programs VIC', *Better Education* <https://bettereducation.com.au/lote/LoteBilingualVic.aspx> [accessed 8 March 2019]; Better Education, 'Bilingual Programs NSW', *Better Education* <https://bettereducation.com.au/lote/LoteBilingualNsw.aspx> [accessed 8 March 2019].

Reception to Year Twelve in partnership with Highgate Primary School by 2023.[392] William Light Primary School in South Australia implemented a bilingual English-Mandarin program in 2016, and there are five more English-Mandarin bilingual schools set to open in South Australia.[393] Bilingual programs emphasise learning *in* the language rather than learning the language, and thus gives students an immersion experience.

Yet while there are some bilingual curriculums in Australian schools, it is much less common to find an immersion program, where the language of instruction is equally split between two languages, or the majority of the time is spent teaching in the non-dominant language of the society.[394] Immersion programs are viewed as the domain of community language speakers only, yet such programs have benefits for all students enrolled in them. In February 2008, the Deutsche Schule Melbourne (DSM) (Melbourne German School) opened as the first German-English early immersion bilingual program in Victoria. The school began with fourteen students from the first year of schooling to Year Two, and has since expanded to more than 100 students and a full primary school program.[395] The development of the school occurred during a time in which the Victorian Education Act 1958 was still used, and under the Act all schools were required to have English as the language of instruction. The Act was reformed in 2006 and 2007, which saw the stipulation for English instruction removed.[396]

The school teaches a combined Victorian and Thuringia (a German state) curriculum, so that students are able to continue their schooling in either the Australian or German education system. The students at the school are mostly German or German heritage, yet many students also come from non-German backgrounds. The school is immersion from Foundation to Year Two, where

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[392] Unley High School, 'French Programs', *Unley High School*, 2020 <https://uhs.sa.edu.au/french-programs/> [accessed 26 September 2020].
[393] Mikey Nicholson, 'South Australia's First Bilingual School', *SBS Life*, 20 April 2016 <https://www.sbs.com.au/topics/voices/culture/article/2016/04/19/chinese-language-classes-make-50-cent-lessons-south-australian-school> [accessed 19 November 2019].
[394] Grieve, p. 229.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid.

lessons are taught eighty per cent in German and twenty per cent in English. From Year Three onwards, the school takes a bilingual approach, where the split between languages starts to increase, until the languages of instruction are fifty-fifty English/German by Year Six.[397] Students also take French classes from Year Five. The DSM is one of the few examples in Australia of an immersion program, and yet there are difficulties in resourcing such programs. All staff, including administration staff, at the school must be bilingual German/English speakers. This further illustrates the importance of languages education in the Australian education system: in order to support the creation of more bilingual and immersion programs, more teachers and support staff with a high level of proficiency in languages other than English are essential.

For students who study a language through Year Twelve, there can be some continuation of language learning into university. Universities offer continuers' and beginners' streams for language students, providing options for students at different levels of language learning. Yet the university a student gets accepted into does not necessarily offer the same language the student studied at high school. With the increased provision of online study options, this is becoming less of an issue. Yet outside of tertiary studies, there are few formal options in Australia for students to continue their language studies from Year Twelve. The lack of continuation in language learning between primary, secondary and tertiary education greatly hinders students' ability to learn and maintain a language.

When I graduated from high school, I faced the choice of whether I wanted to study languages or creative writing at university. Ultimately, I got accepted into the creative writing degree I wanted and enrolled in the course. This meant giving up German, because my university did not offer the language, and also Spanish, because the language didn't fit into my timetable. Instead, for the sake of continuing with any language, I chose French and linguistics units for my electives. For my year of French, I memorised vocabulary and grammar and spat them back onto

[397] Grieve; Deutsche Schule Melbourne, 'Deutsche Schule Melbourne', *Deutsche Schule Melbourne*, 2020 <https://www.dsm.org.au/en> [accessed 8 March 2020].

my fortnightly French tests. I aced the tests; but almost failed my French oral presentations because I couldn't shake pronouncing the words in the (passable) Spanish accent I'd spent the past two years cultivating. The structure of my degree meant I couldn't continue French or linguistics into my second year, and, free from the motivation of impending French tests, I forgot everything I learned that year. I instead focused on maintaining and improving my German, but I found there are very few options for continuing the language at a high level outside of a university course.

Recognising that there is an issue with language education in this country is not the problem. The problem is that it is not something that can be fixed overnight, and that the issue needs more than money thrown at it by the government to make a lasting impact. It needs a coherent, strategic plan and resources. Most recently, former prime minister Tony Abbott announced he wished to increase the percentage of Year Twelve students studying a foreign language to forty per cent of students.[398] However, there was no realistic plan set out on how to achieve this, especially given the ambivalence many Australians have towards foreign languages in the first place. It is easy for language teaching to be overshadowed in the curriculum given the many competing subjects and the fact that English is the global language. For us, as English speakers, learning another language is not seen as an essential skill.

Another issue stunting foreign language education in Australia is that of which language students should study. For European countries that do not have English as an official or national language, English is the obvious choice. Yet in Australia, the historical teaching of French, along with heritage languages such as German, and migrant languages such as Greek and Italian, clash for priority with Asian languages, given the importance of those languages to Australia's economic prosperity, and also with an increasing push and preference for Indigenous languages to be taught in schools. There is not one obvious choice about which language students should learn, and unlike in European countries, Australia's curriculum barely makes room for one additional language, yet

[398] Norrie.

alone two or more. Recent programs have pushed the learning of Asian languages for economic and political reasons, yet there is often a shortage of language teachers to cover the demand in these languages, particularly for schools which are outside metropolitan areas. Australia's isolation from other nations also provides greater challenges in accessing language study abroad.

Australia is not alone in the challenges it faces in languages education. There is a great divide between English and non-English speaking nations in this area: the UK and the USA are in similar situations to that of Australia, where language education is not considered a priority alongside Maths, English and the Sciences. It is fascinating to note that all three of these nations also characterise themselves as multicultural, despite their glaring monolingualism.

There are undoubtedly challenges in improving language education in Australia, but many of the answers can be found in our own backyard. With a population that speaks more than 300 languages, our nation is full of resources with which we can improve language education. Pockets of community languages, such as Barossa German in the Barossa Valley, provide opportunities for students to go out into the community and practice their language skills. Another idea could be to offer incentives for people to train as language teachers, and offer more professional development opportunities abroad for language teachers. We have many of the resources we need right here in this country. This is the untapped potential of our multicultural society.

While Australia's history of foreign language learning mostly paints a bleak picture of implemented policies that weakened languages education, there is an example in Australia's history of language learning done well, to a certain extent. The Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) School of Languages was founded in 1944 to respond to a need for Japanese speakers who could translate Japanese intelligence. The school was established despite the fact that some who worked for the Allied Translator and Interpreter Service (ATIS), a joint Australian-American operation, believed that 'the Australian character was not really suited to the discipline of language study'.[399] Even so,

[399] Nettelbeck, p. 215.

an intensive, six day a week, ten hours a day, one year program began to train cadets in Japanese. Students needed to receive ninety per cent to pass the program. The training meant that Australia played an integral role in the Pacific in the aftermath of World War II. The school taught Japanese until 1948, when the school closed for two years, until it reopened in May 1950 to teach Chinese and Russian in response to demand created by the Korean war.[400] The school was a knee-jerk reaction to needs 'in the context of extreme necessity'. Outside of extreme circumstances, the school was not considered to be useful or valuable.

A J Garrick took over the running of the school in 1950, and he outlined his language teaching philosophy in full. In the document, he wrote 'a knowledge of one or more foreign languages must today be regarded as an essential part of the education of everybody who does not wish to be excluded from a reasonably full life.'[401] This sentiment is even truer now than it was seventy years ago, as technological advancements have ensured the world continues to become smaller and smaller, and cross-cultural understanding is an essential aspect of life in the twenty-first century. Garrick further wrote that 'neither the teaching or learning of languages can be considered satisfactory or even seriously regarded here in Australia or in Britain and U.S.A [sic]'. This statement is again as true now as it was then. Nettelbeck writes that 'there can be no doubt that Garrick would have been even more 'disconcerted' by today's widespread and erroneous conviction that a full life can be led in the global village if one is a monolingual English speaker.'[402] Garrick promoted learning language through subject matter, which was very forward thinking for the time, and also placed an emphasis on pronunciation in order to lessen the burden on the listener. This aspect of Garrick's approach is not considered as important for English learners in particular, given there are many different native English accents.[403] The RAAF school continued to grow, and by 1968, eleven languages were offered: Vietnamese, Indonesian, Thai, Chinese, French, Burmese,

[400] Ibid, p. 216.
[401] Ibid, p. 218.
[402] Ibid.
[403] Ibid, p.220.

Cambodian, Laotian, Italian and Malay. In addition, the school began offering 'refresher' courses for students to maintain their language skills, and a scheme by the military paid fifty pounds per year to graduates who were eligible, and an extra fifty pounds per year after that, so long as the graduates could pass a yearly test. Nettelbeck points out that this is the first time that the government placed monetary value on linguistic competence, indicating the importance of languages to the nation's economy.[404] It is inconceivable now to think that the government would offer monetary incentive for languages education. The closest that has come is the government's proposed reduced fees for studying languages at university in response to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 as part of a university funding overhaul.[405] Nettelbeck sums up the legacy of the RAAF school as such: 'they learned that speaking quietly in another person's language could be more effective than shouting loudly in English.'[406]

Even if we have the resources to improve language education, the myth that 'the Australian character [is] not really suited to the discipline of language study' is entrenched in our nation's history, even though more than one-fifth of our population prove that this sentiment is outdated. With English as the global language, our nation's monolingual mindset kicks in, questioning why learning foreign languages should be prioritised. Research shows that there are an overwhelming number of cognitive advantages to speaking more than one language, but here I am going to focus on the wider benefits to society of having a multilingual speaking population, particularly in multicultural societies such as Australia.

First and foremost, it is economically beneficial to the nation as a whole to have multilingual citizens. The government recognises this aspect, and it is what drove the push for Asian languages in schools from the 1990s onwards. Research has shown that trade opportunities increase when

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[404] Ibid, p. 222.

[405] Paul Karp, 'Australian University Fees to Double for Some Arts Courses, but Fall for STEM Subjects', *The Guardian*, 18 June 2020 <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2020/jun/19/australian-university-fees-arts-stem-science-maths-nursing-teaching-humanities> [accessed 15 August 2020].

[406] Nettelbeck, p. 222.

trade can take place in the native language of the trading partner, rather than a common lingua franca or a language that gives advantage to one party over another.[407] The same can be said for diplomatic negotiations. A seasoned interpreter can be a key asset in diplomatic meetings. Harry Obst was a German interpreter for seven US presidents, and often went beyond his role as interpreter to advise the President on how to respond to particular questions.[408] English is not enough in high-level diplomatic negotiations. It is comforting to hear someone go to the effort of learning a few words in your language to make you feel more at ease. Knowing additional languages also increases cross-cultural understanding and thus politically, it is an advantage to have this understanding when forging relationships with other nations.

On an individual level, while being a native English speaker does have advantages, being a native English speaker who speaks only English is a disadvantage in a globalised world. Despite the cultural capital that native speakers can take advantage of, in an international job market, monolingual English speakers are competing against candidates who are fluent in English alongside one or more other languages. Even when a position may not specifically require candidates to possess additional language skills, candidates who do speak additional languages are advantaged over candidates who speak only one language.

In a multicultural country, the concept of increasing cross-cultural understanding is key to creating a cohesive society. By ensuring all Australians have access to learning additional languages, they will learn more about other cultures and thus foster deeper understanding of the different cultural groups that call Australia home.

To solve the problem of an overcrowded curriculum, bilingual and immersion programs are the obvious answer, where students learn a language through learning content *in* that language. Instead of languages being pushed out by other content, they become a vehicle through which

[407] Jacques Melitz and Farid Toubal, 'Native Language, Spoken Language, Translation and Trade', *Journal of International Economics*, 93.2 (2014), 351–63 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jinteco.2014.04.004>.
[408] Kelly and Zetzsche, pp. 55–56.

students learn other core aspects of the curriculum. In this context, languages can sit side by side with content, equipping students with the skills they need to thrive in the twenty-first century.

Positive steps are being taken in this direction. More bilingual schools are planned to open in South Australia over the next five years, and the general population is becoming more interested in supporting bilingual education. But there are challenges. Resourcing bilingual schools can be difficult, due to the high level of language skills required by both teaching and administration staff. In addition, unless the attitudes towards foreign languages and language education changes in wider Australian society, it is unclear how successful bilingual schools and immersion programs will be. Yet normalising bilingual education is the first step towards wider acceptance of languages other than English.

Each language is a unique ecosystem. Languages are created; they live, they evolve and change; they can lie dormant for decades and then be reborn again. The linguistic make-up of each nation also forms an ecosystem, where the different languages form an ecosystem with each other. There are undoubtedly benefits to having a global lingua franca, and there are numerous benefits to being a native speaker of the global lingua franca. Yet English cannot come at the cost of other languages. It is detrimental not only to the nation on a global scale, but also within our borders and individually. By improving language education and equipping ourselves with skills in languages other than English, we will improve our impact on the global stage and become more accepting of every facet of our multiculturalism.

Deborah left her role as BGLA president in November 2016, when her family packed up and moved to New Zealand. Since then, the BGLA has continued to grow from the strong foundations Deborah built. The community continues to welcome in new members. While the German language school was struggling to attract enough students, a recent public meeting to discuss opportunities to learn German in the Barossa and the future of the school attracted a large number of people. The

Kaffee und Kuchen group remains a cornerstone of the Barossa's German language community, as new events and community activities build around it.

Deborah seemed unfazed at packing up again and moving on. It is what she has known since childhood. 'My parents were very smart,' Deborah told me. 'As soon as I was born, my father went to the Australian embassy and got an Australian passport for me and my mother did the same. She went to the German embassy and got a German passport for me. I did the same when my son was born. He was born in Doha, and as soon as he was born, I said to my husband, go to the Australian embassy and get him an Australian passport. For me, having travelled so much, a passport is everything. It's your identity, you know.'

The same can be said of language. Like a passport, for those who travel or live abroad, language is an identifier, and proof of a person's connection to place. To deny citizens the right to use their languages denies their heritage, and the value they add to Australia's multicultural society. It is the threads of language that weave together so much of Australia's tumultuous history.

Deborah's experiences in the Barossa Valley illustrate the importance of community languages, not only for the individual or the community themselves, but for wider Australian society. As someone new to the region, Deborah was able to become part of the wider Barossa Valley community through the German speaking community. She also found a way to contribute to the community with her skillset. In turn, the German community in the Barossa not only provides opportunities for German speakers to maintain their language, but provides opportunities for future generations learning the language a space to practice the language. Furthermore, the German speaking community is ensuring that the German history of the region, of South Australia and of Australia, remains visible and is not unnecessarily erased. Community languages are not about refusing to learn or use English or be part of the wider Australian community. All members of the BGLA speak English and use English daily. It is about finding comfort and solidarity in a familiar

language with people who share that language, and about these communities finding their place and becoming an interwoven and integral thread within wider Australian society.

I've never been able to shake the feeling that I should have continued with German at university. After high school, I spent years in a state of quasi-fluency, almost but not quite reaching a point where I could comfortably reach for the language in most situations. My desire to know the language more intimately never waned, and in 2018 I enrolled into a Diploma of Modern Languages to finally study German at the tertiary level. I'd managed to keep my level up enough that I could skip the first-year units and move straight into the second and third-year units. I slipped effortlessly back into the familiarity of the language, burying myself in the sounds. I dug my old Collins German dictionary out of my bookcase, but quickly discovered that Google Translate and online dictionaries had improved enough since my school days to make the inconvenience of flicking through a paper dictionary every few words (almost) redundant. Thanks to podcasts and streaming services, I can access, on demand, endless content in the language.

If we, as a multicultural nation, expect migrants to learn the national language, we must also expect all Australians to learn a language other than English. It is our responsibility to prioritise language education and ensure we are maintaining our nation's linguistic diversity. That will only happen if languages are prioritised, accepted and recognised as forming a core part of who we are, and an asset to the economic and social wellbeing of the nation.

CONCLUSION

After a day spent in front of my laptop, lost in a tumultuous sea of words (my own; those I've learned; those we stole; those observed), I pull my screen closed and jump on my bike. Another muggy wet season day had cooled enough to make exercise tolerable. Here, it is bike paths, not train lines, that dissect nature. I ride the path that hugs the coastline from Vesteys beach, past the Ski Club and the art gallery; on through Darwin High School and the famous Mindil beach (deserted; tourist season won't begin for a few months yet) before cycling past the casino and arriving at Little Mindil beach. A few weeks earlier, the haven that is Little Mindil controversially got sold to a private investor. Who knows how long it will be before it is no longer publicly accessible? A strong breeze takes the edge off an otherwise uncomfortable, heavy heat. It hasn't rained since a storm kicked through earlier in the week, but even so, every leaf and every blade of grass remains a vibrant green, drinking in what they can from the humid air. I turn around at Little Mindil, but on the way back I take the path that mirrors the road, trapped between the casino, traffic and the footy oval. When I reach Mindil beach, I ride back towards the ocean and dump my bike in the sand. I sink beside my bike and gaze at the setting sun. Streaks of clouds create patterns in the fading light. The sky isn't blood orange tonight, but a soft kiss of pastel yellows and purples.

I type this into my phone as the sun dips below the horizon. I can hear birds singing overhead, and see some battling through the wind, but I don't know what kind they are. I couldn't even hazard a guess. I don't know a single word of Larrakia. I don't know if the season has already shifted from balnba to dalay; my understanding of the land begins and ends with the wet and the dry. I've lived on the contours of this land for four years now. Explored them on my bike and by foot. Soaked up their energy. This place feels like home to me. The country is alive here, but I don't know it as well as I'd like. I can't name the flora and fauna; can't see the subtle changes to the landscape across the changing seasons. I sit in the sand on Mindil beach and gaze at the horizon. I can just make out the Mandorah jetty on the opposite side of the inlet. On evenings like this, the isolation of this oft forgotten city is liberating, not suffocating.

Sometimes I miss the land I grew up on. Kaurna Country. Once a year, when the relentless heat of Larrakia Country refuses to break, I long for an Adelaide winter's day (just one, because winter is not my season), with darkened skies and pouring rain and koalas clinging to gum trees in the backyard. I long to be rugged up in layers of blankets inside with a cup of tea and a book as I watch the day slip by. I even miss driving to the Barossa; the drive I loathed and learned to love, and the feeling of shaking off the noise of the city for a day. More often, I long for the never-ending summer evenings at the beach on the back of a forty-degree day, sinking my feet into the sand and braving the water if the heatwave has warmed it enough to make it bearable.

Every Christmas, I miss the traditions of a German *Weihnachten*. Trimming the tree to perfection, baking *Plätzchen* and speaking German with my host mother. I savour every trip my husband and I take to the Czech Republic together, watching him slip seamlessly back into the landscape that sings in tune with him.

I don't know if a truly monolingual society exists in the world. Maybe once, before isolated communities had contact with other societies, they existed. But now, it seems unrealistic that there exist communities without members who can communicate in more than one language. In Australia's case, monolingualism was never the reality. It was always the monolingual mindset, attempting to force a monolingual reality, but it is, in reality, delusional. The monolingual mindset orchestrates a narrative that it is one language that binds a nation together, and then justifies discriminatory and imperialistic policies based on that claim. It is not English that binds the inhabitants of this country together; but the land itself, and the choice that all Australia's citizens and permanent residents made to call this land home alongside the country's First Nations Peoples. It is through understanding language and Australia's languages that we truly come to understand the landscape, and in turn, the identity of this country. Australia's history and landscape are embedded in language and understanding the languages inlayed in the land grounds us more firmly in our natural environment.

Bundjalung poet Evelyn Araluen learned that speaking language should follow the topography of the landscape. That when you speak the language, it reflects the environment that nurtured it. I saw this in my husband the first time we travelled to the Czech Republic together. Despite having spent more than half his life in Australia by then, he slipped so easily not only back into his language, but into his landscape. Exploring the country with a Czech speaker brought the country to life for me. Language makes the landscape sing, and vice versa. I felt this at the Darwin Fringe Festival in 2017, listening to the storytellers share their stories in language. While we were a few hundred kilometres from where Tiwi and Yolŋu are spoken, their storytelling brought the land to life.

English still doesn't sit comfortably within this landscape, because it has repeatedly denied the existence and value of the languages here before it, and those arriving here since. It continually bullies and beats the land's multilingualism into submission, denying not only their right to be used alongside English, but denying the history of this land.

But our nation's languages have had enough, and they refuse, as they have refused since invasion, to be silenced. The work of the Barossa German Language Association and the German speakers in the region is just one example of a group coming together to reclaim their right to their language. The incredibly painful but important work being undertaken by Indigenous communities across the nation to revive, preserve and maintain their languages is essential in coming to terms with our nation's past.

I am a white Australian woman, despite the fact my name suggests otherwise. My great-grandfather migrated to Australia from Germany in 1889. During World War I, he was fined for refusing to register himself as an enemy alien. He stopped speaking his language for fear of prosecution. Now, when I'm asked the question of where I'm from, I still say I'm Australian, but I add in that my heritage is German. I'm still unsure of claiming this heritage as mine. How much time should elapse before no longer claiming an identity? I don't have the answer. What I do know,

is that when I walked into my first German class in high school, I clicked with the language immediately. I love the shapes and the patterns of the language; I even love the guttural sounds of it that make many people squirm. When I recommenced my formal study of the language in 2018, I felt as though I'd found a piece of myself again. Immersing myself in the language, writing the assessments and studying for the exams never felt like work. Whether that is because I am a writer and a linguist and simply love language in every shape and form, or whether the German heritage deep within me is dancing at the sounds of its language again, I don't know. But my great-grandfather is no longer a mystery to me. I can see him carrying out his day to day life in Adelaide, given away as not Australian every time he opens his mouth. I remember my Great-Aunt telling me that the only time he let his native German slip out was when he was disciplining his children.

My first niece and my first nephew were born as I worked on this manuscript. My sister-in-law is a bilingual Spanish-English speaker, and she and my brother are raising their children bilingually. My niece is three, and the ease with which she negotiates her way back and forth between English and Spanish astounds me. When she was one and a half, she had just started talking, and I remember sitting on the carpet, colouring in pictures with her. I dug out some of my high school Spanish and asked her a basic question in the language. She immediately stopped what she was doing and stared at me intently. I could see the confusion in her eyes. She knew I was someone to speak English with, not Spanish, and she couldn't understand why I had used Spanish with her. That was not our language together. My husband and I plan to raise any future children as bilingual English-Czech speakers. Australia's linguistic diversity is an asset to the nation, and something to treasure. The way forward is not back to the past, by reinstating discriminatory policies based on language. Instead, let's acknowledge how the nation's languages can strengthen the economic and social standing of the country in the twenty-first century.

The nation's linguistic diversity is smothered by a blanket of English, where only those voices who prioritise the national tongue are worthy of being heard. For a nation that clutches to a

multicultural identity, there is a long way to go in really understanding what it means in the context of Australia, and how all Australians fit into the multicultural fold.

The attitude that Australians can't learn languages or that our geographical location is a barrier to us learning languages well needs to be abolished. Whether or not citizens of a country will learn additional languages depends on the priority a nation places on those skills. When the rest of the world speaks English as well as or better than native speakers of English, monolingual skills are not a prized attribute in a globalised workforce.

The last of the sun edges below the horizon. It's one of those evenings I could happily sit there all night, but I pick up my bike and cycle home in the twilight. When I reach the slight incline leading up to my street, I get off my bike and push it up the hill.

On an episode of current affairs program Q&A in March 2020, an audience member posed the question:

> Australia is currently experiencing rapid demographic change, as a result of mass immigration. Simultaneously, many of us feel as though Australian culture is being somewhat diluted as multiculturalism is pushed. Why do we insist on promoting multiculturalism, when it so clearly hinders us from a unified national identity and culture?

This supposed change in demographic is not rapid. It has been the norm in this country since invasion, when the country's Indigenous population experienced rapid and violent dilution of their cultures and identities. It is languages that form an important and unifying part of our national character. With more than one-fifth of our population speaking a language other than English at home, and many more who speak languages other than English, multilingualism is an embedded and core part of being Australian. Multilingualism is part of our multiculturalism and must be acknowledged as a trait of being Australian. This means embracing multilingual literatures as part of our national literature and normalising the use of more than one language daily and in public spaces. It means prioritising language teaching at all levels of education, and not leaving that

experience to travel abroad experiences for students later in life. It means embracing our history, the good and the bad, and understanding that what makes us Australian is more than a shared land, or a shared identifying word. Above all, it is not one unifying language: it is the shared mosaic of languages that colour our every step.

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Genre, Breaking “Rules” and Blurring Boundaries

Exegesis

INTRODUCTION

A writer's profession rarely begins and ends with 'writer'. In Australia, few authors can support themselves solely from their writing practice.[1] For the most part, being a writer necessitates working day jobs to support the writing that is scheduled into days around other, more pressing commitments. While the economic precarity that can come with being a writer is problematic, as it is illustrative of the wider undervaluing of art and artists in society, working in other professions as a writer can inform and enrich writing in ways that outsider perspectives cannot. A writer's job is to engage with the world around them, and these experiences and identities find their way into the writer's work. For example, Bri Lee's memoir *Eggshell Skull* takes an in-depth look at the injustices in Queensland's legal system, drawing on her experiences as both a practicing lawyer and a complainant.[2] It is Lee's intimate knowledge and experience of the legal system from both perspectives that informs the book. In Sarah Krasnostein's work *The Trauma Cleaner*, Krasnostein draws not on her own experiences of this work, but on Sandra Pankhurst's. In this case, it is Krasnostein's background in criminal law that underpins and informs her writing of the book, in understanding the role that trauma cleaners play in criminal cases and recognising it as a story that needs to be told.[3] Furthermore, J RR Tolkien's fantasy works *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy became a platform for the languages he loved to invent.[4] These works represent only a few examples of how writers' professional identities can inform their work. Personal experience

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[1] David Throsby, Jan Zwar, and Thomas Longden, 'Book Authors and Their Changing Circumstances: Survey Method and Results', *Macquarie Economics Research Papers*, 2015.2 (2015) <https://researchers.mq.edu.au/en/publications/book-authors-and-their-changing-circumstances-survey-method-and-r> [accessed 16 January 2019].

[2] Bri Lee, *Eggshell Skull: A Memoir about Standing up, Speaking out and Fighting Back* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2018).

[3] Sarah Krasnostein, *The Trauma Cleaner: One Woman's Extraordinary Life in Death, Decay & Disaster* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2017).

[4] Tolkein Society, 'Biography', *The Tolkien Society*, 2016 <https://www.tolkiensociety.org/author/biography/> [accessed 16 January 2019].

within different professions provides an avenue to deeper discussion and analysis of a theme or idea.

These professional identities are not sharply divided into different compartments, although a writer who is also a lawyer may choose to identify as a writer or a lawyer in any given situation, depending on the context. These identities spill over into each other, and influence and inform the work in each domain. The lines blur; the boundaries shift. They are not static but fluid, yet even so, it is useful to be able to identify each individually, and to understand the expectations associated with each separate professional identity. Doing so provides useful guidelines within which to work in the different spheres, and also to identify the ways in which these different spheres overlap.

My own professional identities are that of a writer and a linguist. They currently manifest in my roles as a creative writing doctoral student and as an academic language and learning lecturer. My professional identities are in eternal competition with each other, but they also continuously inform each other. My interest in writing was initially sparked by my interest in language, which was sparked by my love of reading. This led to degrees in creative writing and applied linguistics, before fusing the two for my PhD thesis. Both fields involve intense scrutiny of language and words; both require creativity. The lines between are endlessly blurred: I have researched the use of children's literature as a tool for foreign language learning in autonomous language learners, and written essays for literary publications about Australia's historic language policies.[5] The further I research in both creative writing and applied linguistics, the further I see the overlap, and the applications of each field to the other. I also see the contradictions and constrictions dividing the two. One example is the different thinking of each discipline around genre. While genre receives much attention in both disciplines, each field uses and defines the term differently, and each field

[5] Raelke Grimmer, 'Rethinking Genre: Genre as a Tool for Writers throughout the Writing Process', *Writing in Practice*, 3 (2017) <https://www.nawe.co.uk/DB/wip-editions/articles/rethinking-genre-genre-as-a-tool-for-writers-throughout-the-writing-process.html> [accessed 9 May 2020]; Raelke Grimmer, 'Self-Learning a Foreign Language Through Literature: A Case-Study of a Self-Learner's Socialisation into Czech Through Czech Literature', in *Text-Based Research and Teaching*, ed. by Peter Mickan and Elise Lopez (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2017), pp. 263–79 <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59849-3_14>.

consists of different schools of thought on genre. In this exegesis, I will focus my discussion on the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) perspective of genre as crucial to text construction and how considering genre from this perspective as a creative writer positions genre as a useful tool in writing and not merely as a restrictive and limiting label applied to creative works.[6]

While writers maintain different professional identities, writers who write across genres experience an identity shift within their own writing practice. Many writers choose to write mainly in one specific genre (Andy Griffiths, Paul Jennings, Matthew Reilly, Stephen King, Jodi Piccoult, Liane Moriarty, to name only a few examples) whereas others regularly write across different genres. Western Australian writer Tim Winton is best known for his literary works, yet he is also the author of the popular children's series Lockie Leonard and has written picture books.[7] Where writers become known for writing in one genre, they may use pseudonyms to distinguish their work, as Harry Potter author JK Rowling chose to do when she started writing crime fiction under the name Robert Galbraith.[8] In a time when branding is an essential consideration for publishers in choosing which works to publish, writing across genres without the use of a pseudonym can alienate an author's readership because doing so disrupts readers expectations of the author's work. Writing inevitably gets labelled as belonging to one set of texts or another.

Some writers argue that categorising writing into genres unnecessarily boxes writers into a specific category, yet genres are more than a categorisation tool: the purpose of genres differ, and therefore different genres employ different techniques to communicate the author's purpose.[9] That

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[6] M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan, *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (Melbourne: Deakin University Press, 1985); Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro, '"Let's Talk about Genre": Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro in Conversation', *New Statesmen*, 6 April 2015 <https://www.newstatesman.com/2015/05/neil-gaiman-kazuo-ishiguro-interview-literature-genre-machines-can-toil-they-can-t-imagine> [accessed 16 June 2015]; David Rose, 'Narrative and the Origins of Discourse: Construing Experience in Stories around the World', *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 19 (2005), 151–73 <https://doi.org/10.1075/aralss.19.09ros>.

[7] Penguin Books Australia, 'Tim Winton', *Penguin* <https://www.penguin.com.au/authors/tim-winton> [accessed 23 May 2020].

[8] J.K. Rowling, 'Writing', *J.K. Rowling* <https://www.jkrowling.com/writing/> [accessed 23 May 2020].

[9] Halliday and Hasan; Kim Wilkins, 'The Process of Genre: Authors, Readers, Institutions', *TEXT Journal*, 9.2 (2005) <http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct05/wilkins.htm> [accessed 16 April 2020]; Kim Westwood, 'Falling through the Genre Cracks and Finding Wonderland', *Overland Literary Journal* (Overland literary journal, 18 November 2011) <https://overland.org.au/2011/11/falling-through-the-genre-cracks-and-finding-wonderland/> [accessed 10 May

is not to say that, as is the case with a person carrying different professional identities, genres and their conventions are rigid and unchangeable: genres, like professions, speak to each other and inform each other.[10] Even so, it is useful to acknowledge and identify the characteristics that label a work as a specific genre. This knowledge situates texts in particular social contexts and consequently informs future works in that genre, as writers choose to either conform to or subvert those expectations.

Genre is a useful tool for writers, and it is through genre that, when necessary, I distinguish my creative writing from my linguistics work. My own shifting between the two domains means that I am constantly considering the form and structure of my writing and how best to communicate my ideas, and hence the genres I am writing in. It is a crucial consideration when moving between the two distinct spaces, because creative writing is not always a suitable means to present linguistics research, and vice versa: linguistics theory is not always applicable to creative writing. I switch genres as I switch roles: applied linguistics work demands a rigid structure that I do not deviate too far from, while creative writing offers more opportunity to experiment with form and structure. Even though attention to genres consciously allows me to keep the roles distinct and separate, the more my research combines both fields, the more the boundaries of genre shift. My creative writing influences the way I write in formal academic contexts, and my linguistics background is a common thread through my creative writing practice.

Genre was one of my core considerations in my decision to pursue a creative writing thesis over an applied linguistics thesis. The research contained in my thesis could have conceivably been structured to suit the conventions of either academic field. Yet it became clear to me that a creative arts thesis, divided into a creative artefact and an accompanying exegesis, provided the most viable

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2016]; Suki Kim, *Without You, There Is No Us: My Time with the Sons of North Korea's Elite* (New York: Broadway Books, 2015).

[10] Wilkins.

structure for the interdisciplinary research I wished to pursue: a creative writing thesis best served my purpose as a creative writing and applied linguistics scholar.

In 2014, writer and linguist Michael Erard launched *Schwa Fire*, an online magazine dedicated to long-form language journalism.[11] The magazine ran for three issues before ceasing publication. Erard defines language journalism as writing about language and linguistics that focuses on the social aspect of language. It is written for a non-expert audience. In the genre, I saw the collision of my identities as a linguist and a writer. Language journalism offered a framework for my creative writing *and* applied linguistics. What would happen if, instead of using genres to distinguish between the two disciplines, I wrote in a genre that fuses the fields together? Moreover, what would happen if I did so in a text type (creative arts thesis) that demands both that distinct lines are drawn between the creative and exegetical components, and also that each component speaks intimately to the other?

The form of my research began to take shape, and as I wrote, each component and how they spoke to each other continued to develop. Each component of my thesis would be nonfiction: the creative in the genre of language journalism, exploring the landscape of languages in Australia, and the accompanying exegesis an applied linguistic analysis of the genre markers I used to inform the construction of my both the exegetical and creative components of my thesis.

Apart from the field of literary stylistics, which analyses finished texts under linguistics frameworks, there has been very little research focusing on an applied linguistics perspective of genre in the creative writing process. To date, the field has focused on the role genre plays in the

[11]Michael Erard, 'What Is Language Journalism?', *Schwa Fire*, 1.1 (2014) <http://stories.schwa-fire.com/what_is_language_journalism> [accessed 14 March 2015]; 'Schwa Fire Founder Michael Erard on Language Journalism', *CMOS Shop Talk: From the Chicago Manual of Style)*, 2 June 2014 <https://cmosshoptalk.com/2014/06/02/interview-with-michael-erard/> [accessed 26 September 2020].

construction of broad text types: essays, short stories, recounts.[12] Little research has been undertaken into the role genre plays in the writing process itself.[13]

Given the different applications of genre in each field, in this exegesis I apply an SFL view of genre to my creative writing process, to see how I used the genre of language journalism as a tool in the construction of the entirety of my thesis. Furthermore, given that both the creative and exegetical components of my thesis fall under the text type of nonfiction, in this exegesis I explore *how* each component differs in terms of genre, despite sharing many of the genre markers associated with language journalism. My research questions are therefore as follows:

1. How does genre differ in literary studies and applied linguistics?
2. What genre markers identify a piece of writing as language journalism?
3. How have I used these genre markers in the construction of my thesis?
4. How are the creative and exegetical components of this thesis read as different genres despite sharing the genre markers of language journalism?

Chapter One discusses the different applications of genre from a literary studies and applied linguistics perspective, and outlines my methodology. Chapter Two explores the social contexts of language journalism and the exegetical component of a creative arts thesis. Chapters Three and Four identify the referential and inferential genre markers of language journalism, and analyse how I have used those markers in the construction of my thesis.

My exegesis explores and analyses the intersections between how my different professional identities manifest in my creative process of constructing a thesis consisting of different text types (creative arts thesis, creative nonfiction and nonfiction) and genres (language journalism and

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[12] Halliday and Hasan; J R Martin and David Rose, 'Designing Literacy Pedagogy: Scaffolding Asymmetries', in *Continuing Discourse on Language*, ed. by J Webster, C Matthiessen, and R. Hasan (London: Continuum, 2005), pp. 251–80 <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/David_Rose38/publication/255652356_Designing_Literacy_Pedagogy_scaffolding_asymmetries/links/588fa00a92851c9794c49992/Designing-Literacy-Pedagogy-scaffolding-asymmetries.pdf>.

[13] See Chapter 1 for a detailed discussion of genre as used in literature and applied linguistics.

exegesis). My distillation of these genres is key in how I chose to present my research, ensuring that the applied linguistics theory I draw on is informing a creative writing thesis, and not the converse. This is an important distinction, because I am a creative writing higher degree research student, completing a creative writing thesis, not an applied linguistics thesis. I am therefore bound by genre markers, for example producing both a creative artefact and an exegesis, specific to a creative arts thesis. It is through a writer's knowledge of genre conventions and markers that a writer can manipulate, blur and disregard these conventions to communicate their purpose in text construction.

CHAPTER 1: FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF GENRE

Categorising works by genre can be controversial in literature.[14] Attaching labels to literary works is at times considered to be 'pigeon-holing' works into set categories and therefore undermining the complexity of the work or judging the work according to guidelines that do not accurately fit the text.[15] Genre categorisation is also seen as a marketing tool for publishers to help sell books.[16] While genre does have this function, genre can also be an important consideration for writers before and during the writing process because genre dictates purpose.[17]

Genre does not have one universally agreed upon definition. Heather Dubrow and Daniel Chandler both discuss the difficulties in coming to a definitive understanding of genre, as the term is applied differently in different contexts and fields.[18] Genre is dependent on cultural, social and, in the publishing industry, economic factors. Chandler quotes film theorist Robert Stam:

> A number of perennial doubts plague genre theory. Are genres really 'out there' in the world, or are they merely the constructions of analysts? Is there a finite taxonomy of genres or are they in principle infinite? Are genres timeless Platonic essences, or ephemeral, time-bound entities? Are genres culture-bound or transcultural?... Should genre analysis be descriptive or proscriptive?[19]

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[14] A previous version of this chapter has been published as Grimmer, 'Rethinking Genre: Genre as a Tool for Writers throughout the Writing Process'; Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro; Wilkins.

[15] Westwood; Daniel Chandler, 'An Introduction to Genre Theory', 1997 <https://www.cooperscoborn.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Genre-identify-all-of-the-theories-about-genre.pdf> [accessed 20 October 2016].

[16] Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro; Bri Lee, 'Memoir at Any Age: Reflections', *Kill Your Darlings*, 15 December 2017, section Culture <https://www.killyourdarlings.com.au/article/memoir-at-any-age-reflections/> [accessed 15 December 2017].

[17] M.A.K Halliday, 'Grammar and the Construction of Educational Knowledge', in *Language Analysis, Description & Pedagogy*, by Roger Stephen Berry and others (Languge Centre, The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, 1999), pp. 70–87; Halliday and Hasan; Susan Feez, *Text-Based Syllabus Design* (Sydney: Macquarie University, 1998); Anne Elrod Whitney, Michael Ridgeman, and Gary Masquelier, 'Beyond "Is This OK?": High School Writers Building Understandings of Genre', *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 54.7 (2011), 525–33 <https://doi.org/10.1598/JAAL.54.7.6>.

[18] Heather Dubrow, *Genre* (New York: Routledge, 2014) <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781315770284> [accessed 19 April 2020]; Chandler.

[19] Robert Stam, *Film Theory: An Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell, 2000), p. 14; cited in Chandler, p. 1.

As genre is used in different ways in different contexts, there are still areas of contention in genre theory discussions. Linguist Vijay K. Bhatia writes that 'genre analysis has always been a multi-disciplinary activity' and argues that genre analysis therefore requires a 'multi-perspective approach'.[20]

Genre is an important term in the fields of both literature and applied linguistics, yet each field defines and applies the term in different ways.[21] A literary view sees genre predominantly as a guide for readers, whereas an SFL view of genre focuses on the purpose and function of the text, enabling writers to make formal and stylistic decisions on how to communicate their ideas. Currently, a creative writing perspective of genre mainly uses the literary view, yet this perspective is most useful for analysing completed work, rather than analysing the role of genre as a tool in the creative writing process. By combining the literary studies application of genre and the SFL application of genre, genres can be viewed within both their social contexts as a negotiation between readers, writers and their worlds, while also playing an important role in text creation. Thus, engaging with both the form of genre from a literary perspective and the function of genre from an SFL perspective enables creative writers to use genre as a tool in the construction of their work. This chapter will firstly explore the similarities and differences between literary and SFL applications of genre. The chapter will then describe the chosen methodology for analysing the generic features of language journalism and how I used these features in the construction of this thesis.

1.1 Genre in Literature

According to Ross Murfin and Supriya Ray, a literary definition of genre sees the term as 'the classification of literary works on the basis of their content, form, or technique'.[22] This definition

[20] Vijay K. Bhatia, 'Applied Genre Analysis: A Multi-Perspective Model', *Ibérica: Revista de La Asociación Europea de Lenguas Para Fines Específicos (AELFE)*, 4, 2002, 3–19 (p. 4).
[21] David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 6th ed (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2008); Ross C. Murfin and Supryia M. Ray, *The Bedford Glossary of Critical and Literary Terms*, 3. ed (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009).
[22] Murfin and Ray, p. 202.

immediately suggests that, in a literary sense, genre categorisation occurs after the writing process rather than being considered important during the writing stage. The definition also acknowledges that many critics have condemned ‘the underlying idea that literary works can be classified according to set, specific categories’, yet contemporary thinking on the topic takes the view that genre is a ‘set of similarities shared by some (but by no means all) works which are classified together’.[23] Within literary studies, genre is seen as something that is fluid and by no means prescriptive.[24] Despite this, many writers still reject the notion of genre.

Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro discussed the constraints and merits of genre categorisation in the *New Statesmen* in June 2015.[25] The discussion arose after Ishiguro’s novel, *The Buried Giant*, was not published as a fantasy novel despite the fact many aspects of fantasy are prevalent in the book. The labelling, or non-labelling, of Ishiguro’s novel drew criticism from both literary writers and genre-fiction writers. Fantasy writer Ursula Le Guin initially criticised Ishiguro for refusing to label the book as fantasy before retracting her comments.[26] Neil Gaiman observed that some reviewers, including Michiko Kakutani from *The New York Times*, were unsure how to situate the book in their reviews.[27] In his review, Kakutani notes that Ishiguro ‘has failed here to create a persuasive or fully imagined fictional world’, an important aspect of fantasy works. He also describes the language as ‘flat-footed throughout- vaguely inflected with a forced old-timeyness that’s more mannered than convincing’ suggesting that Ishiguro prioritised a literary tone over a tone more suited to the narrative.[28]

Yet Ishiguro suggests that genre boundaries ‘have been invented fairly recently by the publishing industry’ and ‘worries’ when readers and writers hold true to these boundaries. He

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[23] Ibid, p. 203.
[24] Wilkins; Westwood.
[25] Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro.
[26] Ursula K. Le Guin, ‘Are They Going to Say This Is Fantasy?’, *Book View Cafe*, 3 February 2015 <https://bookviewcafe.com/blog/2015/03/02/are-they-going-to-say-this-is-fantasy/> [accessed 18 April 2018].
[27] Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro; Michiko Kakutani, ‘Review: In “The Buried Giant,” Ishiguro Revisits Memory and Denial’, *The New York Times*, 23 February 2015 <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/24/books/review-in-the-buried-giant-ishiguro-revisits-memory-and-denial.html> [accessed 18 April 2016].
[28] Kakutani.

further believes that marketing categories ‘are not helpful to anyone apart from publishers and bookshops’.[29] Even so, Ishiguro admits that samurai films and Westerns likely influenced the fight scenes in the novel, indicating that he did draw on genre in some way while writing. Gaiman and Ishiguro’s conversation raises some valid points when thinking about genre from a form perspective. Yet it does not consider the functions of genre and how negotiating genre conventions occurs in conjunction with readers and how readers view the text, based on their own knowledge and experience of genre. Furthermore, the discussion does not consider the role of genre in the writing process and how understanding genre conventions enables writers to successfully use or subvert genre expectations.

Author Kim Westwood points out that those authors whose works ‘slip between the genre cracks’ are still judged and critiqued by readers and critics against the criterion of the genre their works have been pigeon-holed into.[30] Westwood writes that winning a couple of speculative fiction awards, including the prestigious Aurealis Awards, situated her as a speculative fiction writer. Her 2008 novel, *The Daughters of Moab*, was subsequently published as science fiction and readers and critics therefore judged and critiqued her work against the criterion of the genre, despite the fact Westwood does not see it as a speculative fiction text. She labels the novel as ‘poetic apocalyptic’.[31]

Another example is of investigative journalist and novelist Suki Kim’s book *Without You, There Is No Us: My Time with the Sons of North Korea’s Elite*, published by Broadway Books under Penguin Random House in 2014.[32] Kim went ‘undercover’ in North Korea, teaching English at a university in Pyongyang. Her intent was to write a book of investigative journalism about everyday life in North Korea.[33] After returning to the USA and writing her book, Broadway Books decided to include the words ‘a memoir’ on the front cover because Kim framed the book using the

[29] Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro.
[30] Westwood.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Kim, *Without You, There Is No Us*.
[33] Suki Kim, ‘The Reluctant Memoirist’, *The New Republic*, 27 June 2016 <https://newrepublic.com/article/133893/reluctant-memoirist> [accessed 21 July 2016].

first-person (also a common journalistic technique) and because memoirs sell better than investigative journalism.[34] Kim fought against the decision, arguing that she was being marketed as 'a woman on a journey of self-discovery rather than a reporter on a groundbreaking assignment' and that she was being 'stripped of [her] expertise on the subject [she] knew best.'[35] She felt labelling her work as a memoir undermined her purpose and the huge risks she had taken to conduct her research, but ultimately she was unsuccessful and her book was published under the label of memoir.

As a result, reviewers in *Kirkus,* the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Review of Books* subsequently attacked her work for being deceitful and therefore putting her students at risk.[36] They saw Kim's book as a recount of her experiences in North Korea and consequently an exploitation of her students rather than as a work of investigative journalism attempting to report on the day to day lives of North Korean citizens. Investigative journalists work under strict moral and ethical guidelines and Kim ensured she protected the identities of the students she wrote about. Willa McDonald and Bunty Avieson argue that 'undercover immersive journalism' is ethical and beneficial to society 'when journalists invert their own privilege' and '[place] themselves alongside their subject rather than over them.'[37] In doing so, journalists' covert investigations lead to important discoveries that serve to benefit wider society. Viewing Kim's work under the frame of investigative journalism changes the parameters the book is judged against. Rather than an indulgent narrative about her experiences living and working in another country, the book becomes a narrative holding a lens to life in North Korea, juxtaposed against a Western perception of everyday life in the nation. In Kim's case, her intention as an author was replaced by the intention of her publisher and negatively impacted on the way the narrative was received. Westwood and Kim's experiences demonstrate that categorising writing according to genre runs the risk of

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Willa McDonald and Bunty Avieson, 'Journalism in Disguise: Standpoint Theory and the Ethics of Günter Wallraff's Undercover Immersion', *Journalism Practice*, 14.1 (2020), 34–47 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1596752>.

alienating both critics and readers if the label does not match the author's intention and the content of the work does not meet the readers' expectations of the genre. It is for this reason that many within the literary industry see genre labels as arbitrary and not overly useful.

The disparities between how writers, publishers, booksellers and readers use genres to categorise works begs the question of which stakeholder holds the most weight in these decisions. Historically, literary works were always examined through the lens of their authors and the authors' lives. The author and their intention in creating a work was considered the authority on the text. In his 1968 essay 'The Death of the Author', Roland Barthes argued that 'to give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text…to close the writing'.[38] He saw the reader as an essential component in the creation and meaning making of a text, and that in order for readers to claim this role, it 'must be at the cost of the death of the author'.[39] In addition, Michael Foucault's 1969 essay 'What is an Author?' encouraged critics and readers to view authors not as 'originators' of the works or even as people, but to see authors as 'subjects' and only one component of many to frame the reading and analysis of literary works.[40] Viewed from this perspective, the intentions of Ishiguro, Westwood and Kim are irrelevant. Once the works are completed, they are surrendered to consumers to impart their own interpretations and meaning on the texts.

Although there is some truth in these theories and genuine concerns of approaching genre from a form perspective, these discussions overshadow any consideration of genre as a useful tool during the writing process. A literary perspective of genre and the arguments surrounding the role of author is focused predominantly on the form of genre and little consideration is given to the function of genre and how genre can be used as a useful tool for writers during the writing process. While this application is adequate and useful for literary studies, which analyses completed texts,

[38] Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image Music Text*, trans. by Stephan Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), p. 147.
[39] Ibid, p. 148.
[40] Michel Foucault, 'Authorship: What Is an Author?', *Screen*, 20.1 (1979), 13–34 <https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/20.1.13>; Robert Siegle, 'The Concept of the Author in Barthes, Foucault, and Fowles', *College Literature*, 10.2 (1983), 126–38.

for creative writing, viewing genre from only a form perspective and not considering the functional aspects of genre undermines the craft and process of writing itself. Texts do not spontaneously emerge into existence. When analysing the craft of writing, author intent must be examined.

1.2 Genre in Systemic Functional Linguistics

Applied linguistics also sees genre as 'an identifiable category of literary composition',[41] yet the discipline also emphasises the importance of being familiar with genre conventions in text creation:

> …a genre imposes several identifiable characteristics on a use of language, notably in relation to subject-matter, purpose (e.g. narrative, allegory, satire), textual structure, form of argumentation and level of formality.[42]

In order to write, the writer must understand the purpose behind their creation, because that purpose will dictate appropriate language choice and structure of the work. Therefore, an applied linguistics application of genre sees genre knowledge, whether implicit or explicit, as an essential aspect of the writing process.

Genre as it is traditionally used in literature has been influenced by groundwork in applied linguistics undertaken by Michael Halliday through the 1970s and 1980s.[43] Halliday proposed a system, SFL, for considering different text types within their social context in order to analyse how particular texts are structured in particular ways and how the social context affects the language used in those texts.[44] The SFL framework analyses texts under field (experiential functions), tenor (interpersonal functions) and mode (textual functions) to determine a text's register. The register refers to the 'meaning potential' of a text, or what possible meanings a text can have given the

[41] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, p. 210.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Halliday, 'Grammar and the Construction of Educational Knowledge'; Halliday and Hasan.
[44] Halliday, 'Grammar and the Construction of Educational Knowledge'.

social context of the text.[45] In order to determine a text's meaning potential, the text needs to be analysed under field, tenor and mode. These functions sit within the purpose, or genre, of a text. Halliday's work saw genre start to be applied more broadly, from literature works to any type of text, including essays, obituaries, speeches and reports. This led to a shift away from focusing only on the form of genre to focusing on the social function of genre. In 2002, Bhatia discussed whether or not genre description from an applied linguistics perspective reflects the social reality of genres as fluid and ever-shifting.[46] He suggested there is more scope for linguists to consider the social context of genre when undertaking generic analysis. Since then, linguists have considered genre more broadly in terms of the social contexts in which different genres apply.[47]

Anis Bawarshi explores this shift and writes about the differences and intersections between a literary application of genre and a linguistics application of genre. [48] He emphasises the fact that much of the work in the repositioning of genre has occurred outside of literary studies (predominately in the fields of linguistics, education and sociology) as in literary studies, genre has mostly 'occupied a subservient role to its users and their (con)texts, at best used as a classificatory device… at worst censured as formulaic writing'.[49] To some extent, this thinking is still prevalent in literary studies, although attitudes are changing.[50] In a later article, Bawarshi goes on to explore the role of genre in the writing process through the lens of 'ecocomposition' and further writes that 'we create our contexts as we create our texts', acknowledging that texts are not created in isolation from social contexts, but also that social contexts can dictate and determine new text types and genres.[51] For example, social media has heavily influenced the way discussion and analysis of ideas

[45] M.A.K Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning* (London: Arnold, 1979), p. 111.
[46] Bhatia, 'Applied Genre Analysis'.
[47] Anis Bawarshi, 'The Genre Function', *College English*, 62.3 (2000), 335–60 <https://doi.org/10.2307/378935>; A.M. Johns and others, 'Crossing the Boundaries of Genre Studies: Commentaries by Experts', *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 15.3 (2006), 234–249.
[48] Bawarshi, 'The Genre Function'.
[49] Ibid, p. 336.
[50] Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro; Wilkins; Westwood.
[51] Anis Bawarshi, 'The Ecology of Genre', in *Ecocomposition: Theoretical and Pedagogical Approaches*, ed. by Christian R. Weisser and Sidney I. Dobrin (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 69–80 (p. 70).

takes place. Bite-sized commentaries and opinions can be easily and widely disseminated, thus contributing to broader analysis of ideas. Furthermore, Twitter bore a literature dubbed 'twitterature', where writers write original narratives or summarise classics in 140 characters or less. [52] Literature written in a character-limited environment is an art form in itself and, as Michael Rudin points out, while micro literature has existed since at least Hemingway, the emergence of social media platforms such as Twitter influenced the way people interact and, in turn, the popularisation of micro writing and the way readers engage with narratives.[53] This context has implications for the language and structure writers choose to employ. For example, in 2012, *The Guardian* asked 21 authors to write a piece of twitterature and published the results. Scottish crime writer Ian Rankin wrote:

> I opened the door to our flat and you were standing there, cleaver raised. Somehow you'd found out about the photos. My jaw hit the floor.[54]

By changing the social context from a novel to a piece of twitterature, Rankin necessarily had to adapt his language and structure to suit the different context. He writes in short sentences and uses a combination of the first and second person to structure the narrative. This is a stark example, given the very different social contexts of a novel and Twitter, but it demonstrates the way that a different social context shifts the language and structural choices made by the writer and consequently the importance of considering genre during the writing process. By considering genre in this way, genres become a tool with which writers can construct their texts, rather than merely prescriptive guidelines used by marketing departments to sell more books.

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[52] In November 2017, Twitter increased its character limit from 140 characters to 280 characters to cater to a wider range of languages. Aatif Sulleyman, 'Twitter Introduces 280 Characters to All Users', *The Independent*, 11 July 2017 <https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/news/twitter-280-characters-tweets-start-when-get-latest-a8042716.html> [accessed 18 April 2020]; Michael Rudin, 'From Hemingway to Twitterature: The Short and Shorter of It', *The Journal of Electronic Publishing*, 14.2 (2011) <https://doi.org/10.3998/3336451.0014.213>.
[53] Rudin.
[54] Geoff Dyer and others, 'Twitter Fiction: 21 Authors Try Their Hand at 140-Character Novels', *The Guardian*, 12 October 2012 <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/oct/12/twitter-fiction-140-character-novels> [accessed 18 April 2019].

It is important to note that within the literature on genre from an applied linguistics perspective, there is no universally agreed upon definition for the terms 'genre', 'text type' and 'register'.[55] Some linguistics scholars use the terms 'text type' and 'genre' interchangeably, while others see the terms 'genre' and 'register' as interchangeable.[56] Despite the differences in terminology, while the three distinct Genre Schools that exist within this area of applied linguistics apply genre analyses differently, they all use similar main ideas of what encompasses genre.[57] In this exegesis, I use the SFL interpretation of the terms because of the 'clarity and consistency' in SFL's underlying theoretical principles of the terms as noted by Melissourgou and Frantzi.[58] 'Text type' refers to the form of a text, for example, fiction or nonfiction. 'Genre' dictates the communicative purpose of the text and includes 'register', where a text can be analysed for its structural make up.[59] For example, expository writing fits into the text type of nonfiction, yet the genre itself is expository essay. Within this thesis, the text types are creative arts thesis (the thesis as a whole), creative nonfiction (creative component) and nonfiction (exegetical component), while the genres are language journalism and an exegesis.

According to Halliday's SFL, in order for a writer to write, the writer needs to know the purpose (what story do I want to tell and how?) and intended audience for their work so that they choose appropriate linguistic and stylistic conventions.[60] Purpose dictates genre, and thus the choice of language and form. My own decision to pursue a creative writing PhD rather than an applied linguistics PhD was in part due to genre considerations. I have an academic background in both fields, and my research in each field incorporates aspects of the other. I wished to combine both

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[55] Maria N. Melissourgou and Katerina T. Frantzi, 'Genre Identification Based on SFL Principles: The Representation of Text Types and Genres in English Language Teaching Material', *Corpus Pragmatics*, 1.4 (2017), 373–92 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41701-017-0013-z>; Sunny Hyon, 'Genre in Three Traditions: Implications for ESL', *TESOL Quarterly*, 30.4 (1996), 693–722 <https://doi.org/10.2307/3587930>.
[56] Melissourgou and Frantzi.
[57] It is outside the scope of this exegesis to explore the different Genre Schools in more detail. More detail can be found in Hyon.
[58] Melissourgou and Frantzi, p. 380.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*; Halliday and Hasan; Halliday, 'Grammar and the Construction of Educational Knowledge'.

fields in my doctoral research, and the structure of a creative writing thesis (consisting of a creative component and exegesis) allowed me to do so more seamlessly than in an applied linguistics thesis. Such a structure enables me to explore the role of genre in the creative writing process and to put this perspective into practice. Therefore, a creative writing thesis better suited my purpose for undertaking my doctorate.

A study by three researchers with experience in teaching high school English further emphasises the communicative purpose of genre. Whitney et al. identified that high school students have little understanding of how writing is relevant outside of the assignments they write for their teachers.[61] The aim of their research was to use genre as a way of teaching students about writing to deepen their understanding and awareness of form and structure and how genre is constructed by social functions. They write that:

> …over time, people in recurring social situations develop consensual, conventional ways of understanding and responding. These genres are not only forms for action within situations, but they also shape the situations themselves and constrain, in helpful ways, the meanings one might make therein. Thus, genres are not fixed structures that some great arbiter of writing and its forms has decreed long ago from on high, much as it might seem that way to student writers. Instead, genres are living traditions--temporary, flexible agreements about how to get communicative jobs done.[62]

Genre conventions are fluid and these conventions change over time to accommodate different social contexts and ways of communication. Therefore, genre enables the creative process rather than constraining it. A literary example of this is the genre of 'cli-fi' (climate change fiction), which has emerged over the past few years as writers tackle the huge topic of climate change. While some writers, such as James Bradley, reject the term cli-fi as a marketing term and as 'boxing'

[61] Whitney, Ridgeman, and Masquelier, p. 525.
[62] Ibid, p. 526.

writers into a particular category, the term, and the body of work that sits within it, did not emerge in a vacuum.[63] As Bradley himself highlights, climate change is past the point of return for humanity, and we need to start conceptualising how we are going to live in an environment that is rapidly changing. Literature provides a framework within which we are able to consider those ideas.[64] Victorian writer Briohny Doyle's 2016 novel *The Island Will Sink* is an example of a work that considers a dystopian future due to climate change, and uses satire to explore what this future may look like.[65] Cli-fi has emerged from science fiction and speculative fiction as a result of the social purpose of the writers who are grappling with these ideas.

Novelist Kim Wilkins also wrote about the fluidity of genre in relation to her 2004 novel *Giants of the Frost*.[66] Wilkins explores how her own intentions, along with how readers reacted to her novel and the influence of booksellers, publishers and tertiary institutions, caused her novel to be categorised differently according to the different social contexts the work was published in. Wilkins' different publishers each represented different elements from the novel on the front covers to reflect the different publishing contexts: her Australian publisher highlighted the fantasy and historical aspects of the book, her UK publisher historical fiction, and her US publisher romance fiction.[67] Furthermore, different reviewers situated *Giants of the Frost* within many different genres, including fantasy, dark romance and horror.[68]

However, genre is more complex than a labelling system and marketing tool for works of literature. Genres emerge based on influences from wider society and on communicative need, and how writers choose to engage with these different social contexts. Academic writing is an example of how genre dictates choice of language and form. As linguist John Swales discusses, there are

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[63] James Bradley, 'Writing on the Precipice', *Sydney Review of Books*, 21 February 2017 <https://sydneyreviewofbooks.com/essay/writing-on-the-precipice-climate-change/> [accessed 18 April 2018].
[64] Ibid.
[65] Briohny Doyle, *The Island Will Sink* (Melbourne: Brow Books, 2016).
[66] Wilkins.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.

many different genres within academic writing, depending on the discipline and text type.[69] Yet broadly, the purpose of academic writing is to engage with other scholars in the field and for the writer to communicate their own original research and ideas. Therefore, academics must choose discipline-specific technical language and a set structure, dependent on the specific academic genre, to compose such a text. If an academic then wished to write about their research in a media outlet for a non-expert, general readership, the choice of language and structure would be different because the purpose has changed.[70] Ghil'ad Zuckermann's research into language revival in Australia illustrates this idea. Zuckermann published his research as an academic paper along with Michael Walsh in 2011, titled 'Stop, revive, survive: lessons from the Hebrew revival applicable to the reclamation, maintenance and empowerment of Aboriginal languages and cultures.' The first two sentences of the paper read as follows:

> The main aim of this paper is to suggest that there are perspicacious lessons applicable from the relatively successful Hebrew revival to the reclamation, maintenance and empowerment of Aboriginal languages and cultures. 'Language is power; let us have ours', wrote Aboriginal politician Aden Ridgeway on 26 November 2009 in the Sydney Morning Herald [sic]. Previous revival efforts have largely failed (for obvious reasons, we are not going to single out specific failures here).[71]

The research was then adapted for publication in *The Australian,* titled simply, 'Stop, revive, survive' and published in June 2012 as an opinion piece. The first two sentences of that article are as follows:

[69] John M. Swales, *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings* (Cambridge University Press, 1990); John M. Swales, *Research Genres: Explorations and Applications* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[70] Joshua Rothman, 'Why Is Academic Writing So Academic?', *The New Yorker*, 20 February 2014 <https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/why-is-academic-writing-so-academic> [accessed 17 June 2016]; John M. Swales and Christine B. Feak, *Academic Writing for Graduate Students: Essential Tasks and Skills* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004); Swales, *Genre Analysis*.

[71] Ghil'ad Zuckermann and Michael Walsh, 'Stop, Revive, Survive: Lessons from the Hebrew Revival Applicable to the Reclamation, Maintenance and Empowerment of Aboriginal Languages and Cultures', *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 31.1 (2011), 111–27 <https://doi.org/10.1080/07268602.2011.532859>.

> LINGUICIDE (language killing) and glottophagy (language eating) have made Australia the unlucky country. With globalisation, homogenisation and Coca-colonisation there will be more and more groups added to the forlorn club of the lost-heritage peoples.[72]

The choice in language, sentence structure and form differ between the two extracts. The tone of the first extract is formal, as evidenced by the immediate setting out of 'the main aim of this paper' and the phrase 'perspicacious lessons applicable'. In comparison, the second extract is informal in tone. It begins with two technical terms with short explanations in brackets, and then links to the stereotype of Australia as the 'lucky country': 'LINGUICIDE (language killing) and glottophagy (language eating) have made Australia the unlucky country.' The first two sentences of each piece are enough to show the reader that, while the pieces cover the same subject matter, they have different purposes, and are therefore structured differently. Even without the knowledge of where each piece was published, a reader could look at an extract of each side by side and recognise their differences in form and therefore function.

Furthermore, different academic disciplines require different structures in their academic writing.[73] These different structures have emerged over time. For example, scientific disciplines divide papers into specific sections, including background, methodology, results and discussion, because the nature of research in those disciplines is most clearly presented in this way. In the humanities an essay structure is more common, because it better suits the discursive purpose of humanities research. More specifically, as creative writing is a practice-based discipline, within the field creative writing itself is increasingly accepted as a form of academic writing.[74] Consequently,

[72] Ghil'ad Zuckermann, 'Stope, Revive, Survive', *The Australian*, 6 June 2012 <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/opinion/stop-revive-and-survive/news-story/b73e6b6f4af08cf453eff7034e58b404> [accessed 4 March 2016].

[73] Swales, *Genre Analysis*; John M. Swales and Hazem Najjar, 'The Writing of Research Article Introductions', *Written Communication*, 4.2 (1987), 175–91.

[74] Shane Strange, Paul Hetherington, and Anthony Eaton, 'Exploring the Intersections of Creative and Academic Life among Australian Academic Creative Writing Practitioners', *New Writing*, 13.3 (2016), 402–16 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790726.2016.1192195>.

it is important for writers to be aware of the conventions of the genre or genres they wish to write in, so the writer can make appropriate language choices for the social context of the genre.

The importance of genre in the writing process can also be seen in the way that genre is used as a tool in teaching writing, in both first and subsequent languages. In learning how to write in a second language, students already have a wealth of knowledge about texts from their first language.[75] This prior knowledge is helpful when deciphering texts in a second language, as recognising familiar layouts of particular text types or genres assists the students to make meaning of the foreign text. A recipe is a good example of this. Recipes have a clear structure: a list of ingredients, followed by the method of how to create the dish, written in the imperative form. When being presented with a recipe in a foreign language, students are therefore able to predict what grammatical structures and what vocabulary is likely to occur in the text, as they are familiar with the structure and purpose of a recipe from their own language. This knowledge therefore also helps students in structuring their own texts in foreign languages, as they are familiar with the genre expectations.

Where the text types students are required to produce may be unfamiliar to students in their first language, understanding the generic features of the text types assists students in producing the required texts. Swales has researched extensively in this area and analysed the generic features of academic texts to support students to write academically in English.[76]

The same theory also applies to more literary examples of writing and to students who are writing in their first language. In Whitney et al.'s study, the researchers created a semester-long program to teach students about writing through genre.[77] The students undertook a Nature Writing assignment and an Unfamiliar Genre assignment, where the students were encouraged to explore and write in a genre they were previously unfamiliar with. While the students read examples of

[75] Feez.
[76] Swales, *Genre Analysis*.
[77] Whitney, Ridgeman, and Masquelier.

work which fit into their chosen genre and kept particular conventions in mind, the focus was on how the genre connects with the social purpose of the piece of writing. The researchers 'hoped students would see genres as tools and, in turn, see themselves as users of those tools, as writers who could select, study, and shape genres themselves rather than just completing assignments.[78] While current genre conventions were the starting point for the students in the study, they were encouraged to explore and shape the conventions of those genres themselves. Genre became a tool the students could use to create their own texts, rather than prescriptive guidelines they must not overstep.

Additionally, linguistically, genre is seen as a key component of understanding texts as readers, in particular for people reading in their second language or a foreign language.[79] Situating texts within their social context and considering textual features such as purpose and form provides contextual information to readers before they start reading the content and therefore allows the reader to predict what the content will be before they start to read.[80] A research article published in an academic journal has the purpose of disseminating new knowledge in the field to other researchers within the field.[81] Therefore, immediately, the reader understands the language will be of a formal nature and use terminology from the field. The title will most likely be a short description of the content of the article, rather than the more abstract titles found on literary works, and headings will be used to organise the information. The abstract will give a summary of the article. By drawing on this knowledge and the social context of the writing, the reader has compiled enough contextual information to assist in making meaning of the article's content. The very reason for including these features is to make the information within more easily digestible for the reader.

It is also important to acknowledge that genre applies not only to academic or creative texts but also to professional writing for texts such as business reports, press releases, proposals and

[78] Ibid, p.257.
[79] Feez, p. 7.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Rothman; Swales, *Research Genres*.

contracts. Linguists including Bhatia have undertaken extensive research into genres within professional writing and the generic features of these texts. I will not expand on professional texts here as professional writing sits outside the scope of my thesis.[82]

Genre is not solely a creation of writers or publishers, bookshops and marketers, but genre conventions are in constant negotiation and renegotiation with readers and social contexts. Firstly, by classifying literary works into genres according to stylistic and content conventions, readers have an idea of what to expect from specific genres before they start to read. This is part of the reason why Ishiguro's refusal to label *The Buried Giant* as fantasy frustrated other writers, readers and critics. They could identify markers of fantasy within Ishiguro's work, and so they interpreted his refusal to label it as such an attack on the genre itself. Similarly, the choice by Broadway Books to label Kim's novel as memoir and not investigative journalism skewed the book's reception as it was judged against markers of a memoir and not markers of a work of investigative journalism.

Readers' knowledge of genres guide them towards particular books and expectations about content. If a reader chooses to read a work classified as a memoir, they would expect to read about the writer's life from the writer's perspective. Reader expectation is important and cannot be ignored. Writer and editor Dinah Lenney discusses genre blurring and reader expectation in a piece for the *Los Angeles Review of Books*. She wrote the piece in response to a number of books being published as autobiographical but later revealed to be fiction.[83] She argues it is problematic when readers are deceived in this way, as a nonfiction writer's job is to tell truths.

A well-known example of this is author James Frey. His book *A Million Little Pieces* was published in 2003 as memoir and selected for Oprah Winfrey's book club in 2005 before being

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[82] For further reading see: Vijay K. Bhatia, *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Vijay K. Bhatia, 'Interdiscursivity in Professional Communication', *Discourse & Communication*, 4.1 (2010), 32–50; Sky Marsen, *Professional Writing* (Great Britain: Red Globe Press, 2019).

[83] Dinah Lenney and others, 'Why Genre Matters', *Los Angeles Review of Books*, 23 August 2013 <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/why-genre-matters/> [accessed 15 October 2015].

revealed as fiction.[84] The narrative tells the story of a drug and alcohol addict in his mid-twenties and follows his story as he goes through a rehabilitation program. Readers felt cheated as Frey essentially broke a social contract with his readers by claiming the book was true when in fact it was largely fictionalised. It was not merely a case of pushing genre boundaries but of readers feeling as though they had been misled. Frey initially maintained that he was open and honest about the exaggerations and fabrications in the book throughout the publicity process, but later retracted those claims and apologised for misrepresenting the genre of the book.[85]

Another example is the Sokal Hoax, where academic Alan Sokal wrote a fabricated research paper about postmodernism with the aim of demonstrating the senselessness of some academic discourse. He submitted it to the respected journal *Social Text* and it was accepted and published.[86] In 2017, three academics repeated the experiment with twenty research papers, the majority of which were published or made it through at least the first round of peer-review and edits.[87] These two examples illustrate that for nonfiction writing, readers expect and therefore accept that any writing labelled within a nonfiction genre will be truthful, and rightly so. Subverting that expectation is not merely blurring the boundaries of genre but deceiving readers.

From a genre blurring perspective, Australian author Markus Zusak's novel *The Book Thief* is an interesting case. The novel is set in Germany during World War II and is narrated by Death, yet the protagonist is a young girl called Leisel Meminger.[88] The book was first published in Australia in 2005 as adult fiction, before being published in the United States as young adult fiction

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[84] Allan G. Borst, 'Managing the Crisis: James Frey's "A Million Little Pieces" and the Addict-Subject Confession', *Cultural Critique*, 75, 2010, 148–76; 'A Million Little Lies: Exposing James Frey's Fiction Addition', *The Smoking Gun*, 1 April 2004 <http://www.thesmokinggun.com/documents/celebrity/million-little-lies> [accessed 17 June 2016].
[85] CNN, 'CNN Larry King Live: Interview with James Frey Transcript', 2006 <http://edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0601/11/lkl.01.html> [accessed 17 June 2016]; Julie Rak, 'Memoir, Truthiness, and the Power of Oprah', *Prose Studies*, 34.3 (2012), 224–42 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01440357.2012.751260>.
[86] Yascha Mounk, 'What an Audacious Hoax Reveals About Academia', *The Atlantic*, 5 October 2018 <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/10/new-sokal-hoax/572212/> [accessed 19 April 2020].
[87] Ibid.
[88] Markus Zusak, *The Book Thief* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2005).

and simultaneously as both adult and young adult fiction in the United Kingdom.[89] American young adult author John Green reviewed the book for *The New York Times* as a young adult novel and observes that 'some will argue a book so difficult and sad may not be appropriate for teenage readers…[I] strongly suspect it was written for adults.'[90] Even so, he states it is 'a great young adult novel' even if 'many teenagers will find the story too slow to get going, which is a fair criticism.'[91] Literary studies scholar Jenni Adams refers to the novel as a 'crossover novel' occupying both the adult and young adult space concurrently.[92] Yet while there are differing views of what constitutes young adult fiction, scholar and critic Jonathan Stephens demonstrates that *The Book Thief* is missing two common characteristics associated with the genre: the protagonist is not a teenager, and the narration does not carry a distinctive teen voice.[93] Even so, Stephens does not discount *The Book Thief* as a young adult novel based on this. The line is clearly blurred, not only by the characteristics of the text itself, but in how different countries chose to market the book to entice sales.

Classifying works according to genre therefore guides the reader before they choose a text. Writers can cross genre boundaries, as many readers and critics believe Zusak does in *The Book Thief,* but only once a writer is aware of the expectations of the genre. The reader can then better understand what the author is trying to do and appreciate the creativity and complexity within such texts.

While there has been extensive research in applied linguistics on the role of genre in text creation, this research has largely focused on academic and professional text types, the role of genre in the foreign language classroom and in education settings. SFL analyses are beginning to cover literary text types, yet, outside of education settings, these analyses mostly focus on the finished

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[89] John Green, '"The Book Thief" by Markus Zusak: Fighting for Their Lives', *The New York Times*, 14 May 2006 <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/14/books/review/14greenj.html> [accessed 19 April 2019]; Jenni Adams, '"Into Eternity's Certain Breadth": Ambivalent Escapes in Markus Zusak's The Book Thief', *Children's Literature in Education*, 41.3 (2010), 222–33 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10583-010-9111-2>.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Adams.
[93] Jonathan Stephens, 'Young Adult: A Book by Any Other Name . . .: Defining the Genre', *The ALAN Review*, 35.1 (2007) <https://doi.org/10.21061/alan.v35i1.a.4>.

texts rather than the process of *creating* those texts.[94] Therefore, my exegesis will analyse current works of language journalism to determine what conventions currently exist for the genre and how these conventions have been developed in response to wider social contexts. The analysis will then explore how I used the characteristics of the genre to inform the creation of both components of my thesis.

1.3 Genre Analysis Framework

Melissourgou and Frantzi write that from an SFL perspective, genre encompasses register.[95] While genre and register are dependent on each other, 'genre can also be studied on its own when the focus of the investigation is on purpose and structure.'[96] Additionally, Bhatia explains:

> A complete devotion to the analysis of textual data may give us an excellent linguistic description of the text in question; however, such a description is unlikely to reveal as to how or why the text has been textualized the way it is.[97]

It is outside the scope of this exegesis to undertake a full SFL analysis under field, tenor or mode of works of language journalism and it is not my aim to produce to a linguistic description of the genre. Such an analysis would comprise an applied linguistics thesis, not a creative writing exegesis. Furthermore, while such an analysis is useful on a finished text to determine the overall structure and linguistic features, my aim is to analyse how I use genre as a tool in the writing process, and a linguistic description approach is therefore not suitable. Yet in order to analyse how I used genre as a tool in the construction of my thesis, I firstly undertake a genre analysis to

[94] Anna Jones Rollins, 'Systemic Functional Linguistic Discourse Features in the Personal Essay' (Marshall University, 2012) <https://mds.marshall.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1216&context=etd> [accessed 30 January 2020]; Whitney, Ridgeman, and Masquelier.
[95] Melissourgou and Frantzi, p. 360.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Bhatia, 'Applied Genre Analysis', p. 6.

determine what features characterise a work of language journalism. I then explore how I used or subverted those characteristics in my writing process, and how those choices influenced the final product.

As genre encompasses the social purpose of a piece of writing, I firstly analyse the social contexts that have led to language journalism emerging as a distinct genre of writing. I also analyse the expected conventions of an exegesis. Melissourgou and Frantzi proposed a framework for manually undertaking a genre analysis on small corpora of texts.[98] They base their framework on an SFL understanding of genre and text types, and draw on Coutinho and Miranda's method of identifying characteristics of genre by manually scanning texts for 'genre markers' that are either 'referential' or 'inferential'.[99] Coutinho and Miranda describe genre markers as 'an assembly of elements that indicate the actualization of [a] genre.'[100]

Referential genre markers are found in the labelling of a particular text. In the case of Melissourgou and Frantzi's study, they categorised writing examples in student textbooks into genres. Therefore, in their case, a referential marker was the genre labels given to the writing example in the task instructions.[101] In the case of an academic article, an example of a referential marker is the place of publication, such as an academic journal.

Inferential markers are 'phrases from the body of the texts which help the experienced reader activate genre knowledge and distinguish categories of texts.'[102] In Melissourgou and Frantzi's analysis, an inferential marker of the writing samples was whether the student was required to write for or against a particular viewpoint. If so, that example could be categorised as an

[98] Melissourgou and Frantzi, p. 380.
[99] Maria Antónia Coutinho and Florencia Miranda, 'To Describe Genres: Problems and Strategies', in *Genre in a Changing World*, ed. by Charles Bazerman, Adair Bonini, and Débora de Carvalho Figueiredo (Fort Collins: Parlor Press, 2009), pp. 35–55.
[100] Ibid, p. 45.
[101] Melissourgou and Frantzi.
[102] Ibid, p. 381.

expository essay.[103] In an academic article, the inclusion of an abstract and reference list are inferential markers.

I have adopted Melissourgou and Frantzi's framework in my analysis of language journalism. I manually analysed a corpus of works that could be classified as language journalism to identify referential and inferential genre markers that categorise a work of language journalism (Appendix I). After identifying the characteristics, I analysed how I used or subverted the characteristics in the construction of the exegetical and creative components of my thesis (Chapters 3 and 4). Applying an SFL perspective of genre to the creative writing process enables me to analyse the functions of genre in the construction of a creative arts thesis.

Conclusion

Literature applies genre mostly from the perspective of form, while applied linguistics and specifically SFL focuses much attention on the function of genre. Understanding and applying genre from both a literary and linguistic perspective illustrates the important role of genre in text creation and in the writing process. From a creative writing perspective, genre cannot only be viewed through the perspective of form but must also be considered from the view of function. Genre is fluid and constantly shifting depending on different social contexts, and therefore an interdisciplinary view best caters for analysing the different forms and functions of genre. Genre is not only a marketing tool, but rather assists both writers and readers in text creation and text consumption. It is by thinking about genre and crossing genre boundaries that new genres emerge in a renegotiation of the changing social contexts in which writers create their works.

[103] Ibid.

CHAPTER 2: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF GENRE: LANGUAGE JOURNALISM AND THE EXEGESIS

Social context plays a crucial role in the creation, development and popularity of genres, as the example of twitterature from the previous chapter illustrates. Yet genre trends are also borne out of the unprecedented success of book series. JK Rowling's Harry Potter series (1997-2007) was the catalyst for a strong resurgence of not only children's literature but of fantasy and the supernatural, dubbed 'the *Harry Potter* effect'.[104] Young adult fantasy and dystopian fiction followed, with series such as Stephanie Meyer's *Twilight* (2005-2008) and Suzanne Collins' *The Hunger Games* (2008-2010) becoming popular for both teenage and adult readers alike. These trends have created or responded to a demand in the market for such books, shifting the parameters of the genres.

The creative arts is a relatively new inclusion into higher education, and its presence has demanded changed thinking about what constitutes scholarly research and how that research is presented. The structure of creative arts doctoral theses therefore differ from traditional doctoral theses, to reflect the different nature of creative arts research. [105] Understanding what constitutes creative arts research and how that research is measured, and, in the case of creative arts doctorates, examined, are the subjects of ongoing debates and discussions.[106] Creative arts theses consist of a creative artefact accompanied by an exegesis that contextualises and articulates the original contribution to research that the creation of the artefact represents. Research is most often practice-led, where the creation of the artefact leads to the creation of new knowledge. In the case of creative writing doctorates, the artefact is a creative text in a form of the candidate's choosing. For the

[104] Nadia Crandall, 'The UK Children's Book Business1995–2004: A Strategic Analysis', *New Review of Children's Literature and Librarianship*, 12.1 (2006), 1–18 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13614540600563445>.
[105] Jeri Kroll and Jen Webb, 'Policies and Practicalities: Examining the Creative Writing Doctorate', *New Writing*, 9.2 (2012), 166–78 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790726.2012.665930>; Robyn Elizabeth Glade-Wright, 'New Insights Effectively Shared: Originality and New Knowledge in Creative Arts Postgraduate Degrees', *Qualitative Research Journal*, 17.2 (2017), 89–98 <https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-04-2016-0023>.
[106] Ibid.

creative component of my thesis, I chose to write a work of creative nonfiction in the genre of language journalism.

Language or linguistics journalism is a genre that shares similarities with science writing, memoir, reference and historical nonfiction, as well as with academic writing in the field of linguistics.[107] There is a large body of work of writing about language emerging which share enough similarities to form a new genre categorisation and this indicates that writers are responding to specific changes in social contexts over the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. My contribution to this genre and the accompanying exegesis are the basis for the structure of my thesis, and in order to analyse how I used or subverted the conventions of genre to shape and construct my thesis, it is essential to firstly situate each component and genre within its social context.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the creative component of this thesis, and how language journalism as a genre has emerged from a creative nonfiction tradition. I will then explore three societal changes that have contributed to the emergence of the genre: Noam Chomsky's impact and influence in the field of linguistics beginning in the 1950s, the rise of English as a global language and mass migration caused in part by war, terrorism and climate change. I will then discuss the creative arts exegesis as an academic genre.

2.1 The Creative Component

2.1.1 Creative nonfiction

Language journalism as a genre has emerged from the text type of creative nonfiction. There is much debate around the term 'creative nonfiction', what it actually is and whether or not the term

[107] Erard, 'What Is Language Journalism?'

and categorisation of books as such is a useful one.[108] Robin Freeman and Karen Le Rossignol examine first-person forms of creative nonfiction and explain:

> Creative nonfiction has been characterised in multiple ways since it evolved from a conflation of the curiosity and investigative research skills of the journalist with the creative writing techniques and practices of the literary fiction writer in the 1960s in an attempt to tell stories rather than to report events.[109]

Creative nonfiction became popular in the 1960s and 70s. A well-known example of a work some people would categorise as creative nonfiction is Truman Capote's 1965 book *In Cold Blood*, a work that investigated the murder of a family in a small American town.[110] Capote used the third person voice to play out the narrative from the perspectives of the victims, the perpetrators, policemen and townspeople, building suspense through shifting the narrative voice between the different characters. In doing so, he wove a detailed story through the events, rather than reporting on the events. After the publication of the book, Capote himself declared to have created a 'new art form': the 'nonfiction novel', where he made a conscious choice to use literary techniques to write about a real crime.[111] Following this, in the early 1970s, writer Tom Wolfe wrote many essays advocating for what he called 'new journalism' and the term began to gain credibility.[112] From here, the term 'creative nonfiction' was adopted into official use in the mid-1980s, according to creative

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[108] Lee Gutkind, *You Can't Make This Stuff up: The Complete Guide to Writing Creative Nonfiction--from Memoir to Literary Journalism and Everything in Between* (Boston: Da Capo Press/Lifelong Books, 2012); Robin Freeman and Karen Le Rossignol, 'Classifying Creative Nonfiction through the Personal Essay', *TEXT Journal*, 15.2 (2011) <http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct11/freeman_rossignol.htm> [accessed 20 April 2020]; Sky Marsen, 'Detecting the Creative in Written Discourse', *Writing & Pedagogy*, 4.2 (2012), 209–31 <https://doi.org/10.1558/wap.v4i2.209>; Sue Joseph, *Behind the Text: Candid Conversations with Australian Creative Nonfiction Writers* (Hybrid Publishers, 2018).

[109] Robin Freeman and Karen Le Rossignol, 'Writer-as-Narrator: Engaging the Debate around the (Un)Reliable Narrator in Memoir and the Personal Essay', *TEXT Journal*, 19.1 (2015) <http://www.textjournal.com.au/april15/freeman_lerossignol.htm>.

[110] George Plimpton, 'The Story Behind a Nonfiction Novel', *The New York Times on the Web*, 1966 <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/97/12/28/home/capote-interview.html> [accessed 13 July 2016]; Truman Capote, *In Cold Blood: A True Account of a Multiple Murder and Its Consequences* (London: Penguin, 2000).

[111] Plimpton.

[112] *The New Journalism*, ed. by Tom Wolfe, Picador, New ed (London: Pan Books, 1996) cited in Freeman and Le Rossignol, 'Classifying Creative Nonfiction through the Personal Essay'.

nonfiction writer and editor of *Creative Nonfiction*, a publication dedicated to the form, Lee Gutkind.[113]

Gutkind views creative nonfiction as 'an essay, a journal article, a research paper, a memoir, or a poem; it can be personal or not, or it can be all of these'.[114] The breadth of writing that falls into creative nonfiction questions the usefulness of including 'creative' in front of nonfiction at all, although Freeman and Le Rossignol note that Canada's Creative Nonfiction Collective argues 'it is perhaps easier to start with what creative nonfiction does NOT include' and identifies 'technical or instructional works, conventional newspaper reportage and nonfiction work characterized by a neutral (so-called objective) third person perspective' as not belonging to creative nonfiction.[115] Conversely, Gutkind justifies the 'creative' by claiming that the word refers to the use of 'literary craft' traditionally employed by fiction writers.[116] It is not clear what Gutkind means by 'literary craft', but he further claims the goal is to 'make nonfiction stories read like fiction so that your readers are as enthralled by fact as they are by fantasy. But the stories are true.'[117] This suggests that 'literary craft' as Gutkind uses it refers to the way the narrative is framed and how the subjects are characterised.

As writer, journalist and academic Sue Joseph points out, most definitions of creative nonfiction have emerged from America, where there are more opportunities to publish long-form creative nonfiction.[118] Joseph explains that even though creative nonfiction writing is prevalent in Australia, Australian authors writing in this space do not associate themselves with the term.[119] She interviewed eleven Australian nonfiction writers about their writing process and how they define their work and found that most of the writers did not see the need to define writers writing in this

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[113] Gutkind, p. 6.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Freeman and Le Rossignol, 'Classifying Creative Nonfiction through the Personal Essay'; Creative Nonfiction Collective, 'What Is Creative Nonfiction?', 2020 <https://creativenonfictioncollective.ca/about/what-is-creative-nonfiction/> [accessed 28 September 2020].
[116] Gutkind, p. 6.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Joseph.
[119] Ibid.

space into a specific group. Still, Joseph states she ‘enjoy[s] the term “creative nonfiction”. [She] knows what it is, and [champions] it as a term to be recognised and regarded in Australia’.[120]

This reluctance from some writers to use the term to categorise their work could be due to a perceived redundancy in drawing a line between different kinds of nonfiction writing where none exists. Narrative theorist Sky Marsen argues that the distinction between creative nonfiction and nonfiction is somewhat arbitrary, as all writing contains some level of creativity.[121] In an analysis of different texts falling into different genres, including fiction, nonfiction, literary, scholarly and professional texts, Marsen found that all texts fall along a continuum of low to high creativity and the level of creativity is dependent on ‘the text-reader relationship... and the function of the text in specific reading contexts.’[122] The further a writer shifts away from the expected conventions of a specific text type or genre, the greater the creativity in the text.

While the merits of distinguishing between nonfiction and creative nonfiction are debated, for the purpose of my thesis it is a useful distinction to make. Both components of my thesis are nonfiction texts, and both are underpinned by linguistics research and encompass writing about language. However, as I discuss in detail in Chapters 3 and 4, there are very distinct differences in how I chose to construct each text, in part because each component individually serves a different purpose within the social context of my creative arts thesis to together form the complete thesis.

By the above definitions, language journalism can be said to have emerged from a creative nonfiction tradition, as the aim of language journalism is to write about linguistics and language research and ideas for a non-specialist audience. The popularisation of creative nonfiction created the groundwork required for the emergence of language journalism as a genre within the text type of creative nonfiction.

[120] Ibid, p. xvi.
[121] Marsen, ‘Detecting the Creative in Written Discourse’.
[122] Ibid, p. 227.

2.1.2 Language journalism

Linguist and writer Michael Erard defined language journalism in 2014 as ‘writing and reporting, using the tools and conventions of journalism, about aspects of language, languages, and the people who use and study and work with them.’[123] He further argues that language journalism ‘uses linguistics to open up avenues in a topic, even when it is not ostensibly about language. Or maybe it is, but it has a depth that can yield the true treasure of human insight if you dig with linguistic tools.’[124] These quotes come from Erard’s founder’s essay in the first issue of *Schwa Fire*, a now defunct online magazine dedicated to long-form language journalism. The magazine ran from 2014 to 2016, and published writing from established language writers including Arika Okrent and Robert Lane Greene. Language journalism is also referred to as ‘linguistics journalism’ and sometimes ‘language writing’, although in his essay Erard rejects the notion that language journalism is ‘outreach for any specific discipline, though promoters of linguistics and language journalists can have the same goals’.[125]

Language journalism is similar to narrative journalism, another genre that sits within the text type of creative nonfiction. Narrative journalism has been broadly defined as ‘the genre that takes the techniques of fiction and applies them to nonfiction’, yet differs from the broad text type of creative nonfiction in that narrative journalism applies specifically to journalistic texts, and does not include the broad spectrum of nonfiction texts, for example, memoir, biography, essays.[126] It differs from language journalism in that language journalism is specific to writing about language and linguistics.

[123] Erard, ‘What Is Language Journalism?’

[124] Ibid.

[125] Erard, ‘What Is Language Journalism?’; Linguistic Society of America, ‘LSA Honors and Awards’, *Linguistic Society of America*, 2020 <https://www.linguisticsociety.org/about/who-we-are/lsa-awards#lja> [accessed 20 April 2020].

[126] Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard (2013), ‘Narrative Journalism’ cited in Marie Vanoost, ‘Defining Narrative Journalism Through the Concept of Plot’, *Diegesis*, 2.2 (2013), 77–97 (p. 77); Vanoost.

Writing about language and linguistics for a non-specialist audience is not new, yet the term 'language journalism' and what it means for writing to be labelled as language journalism are newer discussions.[127] David Crystal is a prolific linguist-writer and his long bibliography indicates his strong contributions to the field.[128] He shifted from scientific writing about language early on in his career to a narrative approach in later years. Crystal's work takes a more narrative approach in the mid-1990s, starting with his 1997 book *English as a Global Language*.[129] This suggests a shift towards a narrative approach as the vehicle for exploring linguistics research and ideas, with the aim of making linguistics accessible to the non-specialist.

There are also many recent examples of writing about language and linguistics for a non-expert audience, including Arika Okrent's *In the Land of Invented Languages* (2010); Robert Lane Greene's *You Are What You Speak* (2011); *Found in Translation* by Nataly Kelly and Jost Zetzsche (2012); Michael Erard's *Babel No More: The Search for the World's Most Extraordinary Language Learners* (2012); *Lingo: A Language Spotters Guide to Europe* by Gaston Dorren (2014) and David J Peterson's *The Art of Language Invention* (2015) among many others.

There is further evidence that language and linguistics writing is coming into its own as a distinct genre by the launch of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA) Award for Linguistics Journalism in 2015.[130] The award 'honors the journalist whose work best represents linguistics during the 12-month consideration period indicated in the call for nominations' and 'is based on a single news story or body of work that reflects accuracy and timeliness as regards to the material but also is appealing to non-specialist audiences'.[131] The first recipient was writer and linguist Ben

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[127] Erard, 'What Is Language Journalism?'
[128] David Crystal, 'Books and Articles', *David Crystal* <http://www.davidcrystal.com/?id=-1592&cid=-1592&taxonomyselectid=-1487&report__pageno=1> [accessed 20 April 2020].
[129] David Crystal, *English as a Global Language* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Crystal, 'Books and Articles'.
[130] Linguistic Society of America, 'LSA Honors and Awards'.
[131] Ibid.

Zimmer.[132] Zimmer writes about linguistics for mainstream media, including *The New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal* and others.[133] Zimmer said this of the award:

> The fact that the LSA created the award in the first place speaks to how writers with academic backgrounds in linguistics are increasingly working their way into widely read media outlets. That's a welcome development, since writing about language in the mass media has often fallen to journalists and pundits with only a passing familiarity with linguistic scholarship. I'm glad to be a part of the new wave of language journalism, and I'm very optimistic about its prospects.[134]

The LSA created the award in direct response to the number of linguist-writers writing about language and linguistics in mainstream media, to ensure that their work in this genre gets recognition. Writer and linguist Arika Okrent won the award in its second year, in 2016.[135] No prize was awarded in 2017. In 2018, Robert Lane Greene was the winner, and the prize was awarded to Patrick Cox in 2019 and Thomas Curwen in 2020.[136]

Erard questions why language writing is not considered science journalism, and suggests it is because ‘linguistics, as a discipline, is *sui generis*: at once too human and too social to be a hard science, too empirical and logical to belong to the humanities.’[137] He further wonders whether language journalism should ‘demand to be included in science journalism’ and therefore accepted as a science and enjoy the same advocacy as received by science journalism through the World Federation of Science Journalists (WFSJ) or the National Association of Science Writers

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[132] Ibid.
[133] Mark Allen, ‘Zimmer leads the way in linguistics journalism’, *Copyediting: Language in the Digital Age*, 31 October 2014 <http://www.copyediting.com/zimmer-leads-way-linguistic-journalism> [accessed 19 August 2015].
[134] Ibid.
[135] Linguistic Society of America, ‘Arika Okrent Announced as Winner of LSA Linguistics Journalism Award’, 2015 <https://www.linguisticsociety.org/news/2015/10/22/arika-okrent-announced-winner-lsa-linguistics-journalism-award> [accessed 21 April 2020].
[136] Linguistic Society of America, ‘Linguistics Journalism Award Previous Holders’, *Linguistic Society of America*, 2020 <https://www.linguisticsociety.org/content/linguistics-journalism-award-previous-holders> [accessed 21 April 2020].
[137] Erard, ‘What Is Language Journalism?’

(NASW).[138] Yet the emergence of a large body of writing focusing on language and linguistics, together with writing awards celebrating such writing, indicates that there is a demand for a dedicated genre to encompass language and linguistics writing. Part of this demand has stemmed from the influence of Noam Chomsky in the field of linguistics from the 1950s and from the global dominance of English, as well as the impact of mass migration on society.

2.1.3 Noam Chomsky's influence on the emergence of language journalism

Noam Chomsky is a divisive and controversial figure in linguistics and a well-known linguist and political commentator even outside linguistic and political circles. His work in linguistics in the 1950s was hailed as ground-breaking by some in the field, while others argue that claiming Chomsky's findings as such ignores the extensive and pivotal work of linguists in the preceding decades.[139] One example of the debates around Chomsky and his work appeared in *The Conversation* in 2011. In a piece for the publication, academic Annabelle Lukin argued that Chomsky's insistence that linguistics as a field must be grounded in biology in order to be 'taken seriously as a discipline' disregarded the important work of other linguists in the field. One week later, academic Peter Slezak countered Lukin's arguments with an essay of his own, also published in *The Conversation*, claiming that Lukin 'misrepresented' Chomsky and his work and 'misunderstood' his ideas.[140]

Chomsky first rose to prominence as a linguist with the publication of an influential linguistics paper in 1957 entitled 'Syntactic structures'.[141] Chomsky's work was immediately hailed as an 'intellectual and sociological revolution' in the field and ignited the work of many other

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[138] Ibid.
[139] Annabelle Lukin, 'The Paradox of Noam Chomsky on Language and Power', *The Conversation*, 14 November 2011 <http://theconversation.com/the-paradox-of-noam-chomsky-on-language-and-power-4174> [accessed 21 April 2020].
[140] Peter Slezak, 'Chomsky, Linguistics, Politics and a Response to an Unfair Allegation', *The Conversation*, 22 November 2011 <http://theconversation.com/chomsky-linguistics-politics-and-a-response-to-an-unfair-allegation-4391> [accessed 21 April 2020].
[141] Frederick J. Newmeyer, 'Has There Been a 'Chomskyan Revolution'in Linguistics?', *Language*, 62.1 (1986), 1–18.

researchers in not only linguistics but also other fields including psychology, cognitive science and education.[142] One of Chomsky's most well-known theories is that of Universal Grammar (UG), which argues that the human brain is biologically prewired for acquiring language.[143] Chomsky's work generated widespread debate in linguistic circles with researchers setting out to both prove and disprove Chomsky's theories.[144] In an interview in 2012, in response to a question on how the idea of UG holds up today, Chomsky claimed that it is 'virtually a truism', yet acknowledges that there is a lot of misunderstanding about the term which he 'can't deal with' because 'it's perfectly obvious that there is some genetic factor that distinguishes humans from other animals and that is language-specific.'[145] Research on Chomsky's theories continues to this day.

Whether or not Chomsky's theories are accurate, his claims marked a major change in the field of linguistics as much of the research in the field after this time focused on Chomsky's findings. Furthermore, the changes drew public attention to the discipline outside of the field itself, and began to create an environment where mainstream writing about language and linguistics could thrive. The social context shifted to a point where there was widespread public interest in the field and consequently created a demand for writing on language and linguistics for a general audience.

One example of a work which, in part, emerged from Chomsky's linguistics is a book written by former missionary and linguist Daniel Everett. Published in 2008, *Don't Sleep, There are Snakes: Life and Language in the Amazonian Jungle* details the time Everett and his family spent living with the Pirahã tribe in the Amazon.[146] Everett's time in the jungle led him to become one of Chomsky's biggest critics. Everett initially moved to the Amazon as a missionary with the intent of learning the Pirahã language to translate the Bible and bring Christianity to the Pirahã.[147] Over time,

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[142] Ibid.
[143] Steven Pinker, *The Language Instinct: The New Science of Language and Mind* (London: Penguin, 1995), pp. 22–23.
[144] Newmeyer.
[145] Graham Lawton, 'Noam Chomsky: Meet the Universal Man', *New Scientist*, 14 March 2012 <https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg21328560-200-noam-chomsky-meet-the-universal-man/> [accessed 20 August 2016].
[146] Daniel Everett, *Don't Sleep, There Are Snakes: Life and Language in the Amazonian Jungle* (New York: Vintage Departures, 2009).
[147] Everett, *Don't Sleep, There Are Snakes*.

Everett began to understand the incompatibility of religion with the tribe's culture and even ended up renouncing his own faith. Through his research in documenting and learning Pirahã, Everett came to believe that aspects of the Pirahã language do not conform to Chomsky's UG theory and subsequently, Everett argues, disproves the theory.[148] Chomsky rejects these claims: 'It can't be true. These people are genetically identical to all other humans with regard to language. They can learn Portuguese perfectly easily, just as Portuguese children do. So they have the same universal grammar as the rest of us'.[149] While Everett stands by his claims, he also acknowledges that they are difficult to verify, as he is the only person outside of the Pirahã who knows their language well enough to investigate.[150] Still, the debates around the validity of Chomsky's theory continue.[151]

While Everett's story of his time living with the Pirahã may very well have been published even if he had not discovered data which he claims rejects Chomsky's theory, the layer that this context adds to the book makes it more closely resemble language journalism than merely a memoir. A documentary called *The Grammar of Happiness* was filmed based on how Everett's findings dispute Chomsky's claims.[152] Everett has further written a book, *Language: The Cultural Tool*, where he directly writes against Chomsky's theories.[153] Everett's books are only two examples of many which have developed from Chomsky's influence on linguistics. Chomsky's impact led to many writers responding to the research being undertaken in linguistics in order to convey this information in a way that non-specialists could understand. The debate surrounding Chomsky's theories and his prominence as a linguist contributed to the social context leading to the emergence of a distinct body of work revolving around linguistics, thus supporting the development of language journalism.

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148 Everett, *Don't Sleep, There Are Snakes*.
149 Lawton.
150 Daniel Everett, 'An Evaluation of Universal Grammar and the Phonological Mind', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7 (2016) <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00015>; Michael O'Neill and Randall Wood, *The Grammar of Happiness* (Essential Media & Entertainment, 2012).
151 José-Luis Mendívil-Giró, 'Is Universal Grammar Ready for Retirement? A Short Review of a Longstanding Misinterpretation', *Journal of Linguistics*, 54.4 (2018), 859–88 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226718000166>.
152 O'Neill and Wood.
153 Daniel Everett, *Language: The Cultural Tool* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012).

2.1.4 The influence of English as a global language on language journalism

The status that English currently holds as a global language is another social context which has contributed to the emergence of language journalism and has led to a large body of writing on the topic. While British colonisation contributed to the dominance of English, it is due to technological advances and the internet that English has retained its position as the world language.[154]

The majority of internet users are English speakers at 25.9%, closely followed by Mandarin speakers at 19.4% and then Spanish speakers at 7.9%.[155] Furthermore, the majority of content on the Internet is published in English, at an estimated 59.7% of all websites using English.[156] The ability of the internet to hold an infinite amount of data and content has led some to refer to the technology as the repository of global knowledge.[157] Yet Japanese writer Minae Mizumura rejects this idea as a naïve statement made by native English speakers, as those in the world who do not speak English do not have access to read nor contribute to this supposed repository of global knowledge.[158] Mizumura explains that this has led, and will continue to lead, to an increase in the number of non-native English speakers writing in the language on the internet and an increase in the number of people learning English overall, further strengthening the role English plays as a global language.[159]

This journey of English from a small, endangered language to global tongue has captured the attention of many linguists and writers, from two different perspectives. Firstly, there are writers who document the story of English and the way it is used as a global tongue: *Globish* by Robert

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[154] Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, p. 115.
[155] Miniwatts Marketing Group, 'Top Ten Internet Languages in The World - Internet Statistics', *Internet World Stats*, 2020 <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm> [accessed 26 April 2020].
[156] Minae Mizumura, *The Fall of Language in the Age of English*, trans. by Mari Yoshihara and Juliet Winter Carpenter (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Crystal, *English as a Global Language*; W3Techs, 'Usage Statistics and Market Share of Content Languages for Websites, April 2020', *W3Techs Web Technology Surveys*, 2020 <https://web.archive.org/web/20200419043747/https://w3techs.com/technologies/overview/content_language> [accessed 26 April 2020].
[157] Mizumura, pp. 161–65.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid, p. 61.

McCrum (2010); *The Story of English: How an Obscure Dialect Became a Global Tongue* by Joseph Piercy (2016); *The Adventure of English: The Biography of a Language* by Melvyn Bragg (2005); *Scientific Babel: The Language of Science from the Fall of Latin to the Rise of English* by Michael Gordin (2015); *Mother Tongue: Story of the English Language* by Bill Bryson (2009); *How English Became the Global Language* by David Northrup (2013); and *English as a Global Language* by David Crystal (1997), to mention only a few examples. These titles are written by linguists and non-linguists alike, and all document the rise of English to a global language. An explanation for why there are numerous titles examining English in this way could be that there are many different perspectives to view the story of English through: linguistic, historical, social, political. Crystal's *English as a Global Language*, for example, first considers what a global language actually is, before exploring the historical context and finally the sociocultural aspects of the language's use.[160] The topic appeals to writers with a variety of different interests and expertise, all of whom have a different perspective to contribute to the discussion.

Even so, regardless of whether writers who choose to write in English are writing on the topic of English as a global language or not, the very act of writing in English means that the writers are participating, whether consciously or subconsciously, in the social context of English as a world language. It is an unavoidable consequence of writing in English. There are writers who choose to take this perspective and focus on what the rise of English as a global language means for other languages. One example is Mizumura's *The Fall of Language in the Age of English*.[161] The book was originally written in Japanese and published in Japan in 2008 to critical acclaim.[162] Mizumura was born in Tokyo in the 1950s and emigrated to New York as a twelve-year-old. She never felt at home in her adopted country and language, and returned to Tokyo twenty years later to become a novelist in her native language.[163] Writing from a Japanese context and considering Japanese

[160] Crystal, *English as a Global Language*.
[161] Mizumura.
[162] Mari Yoshihara and Juliet Winter Carpenter, 'Introduction', in *The Fall of Language in the Age of English* (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 1–7.
[163] Mizumura.

language and literature, Mizumura analyses the impact English's dominance is having on other languages and literatures, and how a large majority of the population are learning and using English to the detriment of their mother tongues.[164] While the book became a bestseller in Japan, the irony of this particular title is that the book needed to be translated into English in order to gain a wide readership outside of Japan, emphasising Mizumura's point that the knowledge a person can gain is restricted by the language(s) the person knows. While the dominance of English itself is an interesting story, the other side of the story is the suppression of other languages and, in turn, other literatures.

Mizumura made a deliberate decision to write in Japanese despite spending a large part of her youth in the US. This is a choice faced by other writers who speak and write more than one language. Author Elena Lappin grew up to speak fluent Russian, Czech, French, German, Hebrew and English, and ultimately chose English as the language she would write in because that was the language she found her voice as a writer in.[165] Lappin's 2016 memoir *What Language Do I Dream In?* details her life and journey through all of her languages and countries.[166] As Lappin anchors her life story in a linguistic perspective, it is another title which can be considered a work of language journalism.

English's dominance as a global language is not unchallenged, as Mandarin continues to chase English for the title of the most-used language on the internet. Even so, the global dominance of English has shifted the world to a context where it is advantageous to speak the world language. This changing context is reflected in the writers choosing to write about this subject and subsequently contributing to the genre of language journalism.

[164] Ibid.
[165] Elena Lappin, *What Language Do I Dream In?,* (Great Britain: Virago Press, 2016).
[166] Ibid.

2.1.5 Mass migration and language journalism

Another changing context of the past fifty years which has influenced the emergence of language journalism is that of human migration. Wars, political unrest, terrorism and climate change have created an environment wherein many people in the world are displaced and cannot remain living in their countries of birth. Furthermore, the freedom of movement agreement between members of EU states and long-term visa arrangements between many countries have contributed to the movement of people between and across countries.[167] Movement of this kind, whether temporary or permanent, forces migrants to face questions of linguistic and cultural identity. From these confrontations many works which may be considered language journalism have emerged. In the case of Australia, migration led to Australian society being considered multicultural, due to the nation's linguistic and cultural diversity. These circumstances led to pockets of community languages being spoken around Australia within the wider English-speaking society. This shift in identity has also seen an increased awareness of the importance of reviving and maintaining Indigenous languages.[168]

Australia as a nation has actively encouraged migration since the end of World War II.[169] With a population of only seven million people in 1946 and a huge land mass to protect, as well as a need to fill shortages in the labour market, the Australian government launched an immigration program which saw the country's population grow to thirteen million in only thirty years.[170] Three million of those people were migrants or refugees.[171] Australia's discriminatory White Australia Policy ensured only migrants of particular backgrounds could migrate to the country. Since the

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[167] European Parliament, 'Fact Sheets on the European Union: Free Movement of Persons', *European Parliament*, 2020 <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/147/free-movement-of-persons> [accessed 6 October 2020].
[168] Australian Government, 'The changing face of modern Australia- 1950s to 1970s', Australia, 2015 <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/changing-face-of-modern-australia-1950s-to-1970s> [15 August 2016].
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.

formal end of the White Australia Policy in 1970, people of many more diverse cultural backgrounds have migrated to Australia. By 2020, Australia's population had increased to twenty-five million and to a nation with inhabitants from over 300 different backgrounds and who speak hundreds of distinct languages.[172]

Australia is only one example, but migration stories are found all over the world and there is a large body of writing which expresses the experiences of being a migrant or of living abroad. These are often published as memoirs, yet some also focus on the language aspect of uprooting one's life and settling in a place where one does not speak the language. Rachel Weiss' *The Thing About Prague* is one such example. Published in 2014, the book is a memoir of Weiss' decision to leave Sydney and permanently move to Prague, the city her father was born in.[173] Weiss encounters difficulties in finding an apartment and work due to cultural differences, despite her working knowledge of the Czech language. Weiss' choice to move countries was not out of necessity, but out of a desire for a different lifestyle. Linguistic challenges and differences form a large part of the migrant experience, no matter the reasons for migration.

Two Australian anthologies have explored these issues in more detail. *Dialect*, an anthology of writing published by Express Media and edited by Kat Muscat in 2014 publishes the voices of Australian writers from migrant and refugee backgrounds.[174] The anthology emerged from a program called Global Express run by Express Media, an organisation providing opportunities for young writers. The aim of Global Express was to 'engage with young writers from diverse cultural backgrounds in two cohorts to develop a publication that was representative of their skills and interests.'[175] After an intensive four-month program where the young writers had the opportunity to

[172] Department of Immigration and Border Protection, *The People of Australia: Statistics from the 2011 Census/ Department of Immigration and Protection* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Protection, 2014) <https://www.omi.wa.gov.au/StatsInfoGuides/Documents/lga_guides/The_People_of_Australia.pdf> [accessed 24 November 2016].
[173] Rachael Weiss, *The Thing About Prague ..: How I Gave It All up for a New Life in Europe's Most Eccentric City* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2014).
[174] *Dialect*, ed. by Kat Muscat (Melbourne: Express Media, 2014).
[175] Alia Gabres, 'Foreword', in *Dialect*, ed. by Kat Muscat (Melbourne: Express Media, 2014).

develop their writing skills, they wrote pieces for inclusion in *Dialect*. While not many of the pieces published in the anthology focus solely on language, it is a recurring undertone throughout. Part of the anthology is dedicated to micro fiction, and each story is published, side by side, in both English and the native language of the writer.[176] Another section is reserved for satirical instructionals. Nirvana Bhandary writes 'How to be a More Confident Immigrant' and one step in her method is titled 'Use your bi (or tri) lingual skills to your advantage'. She writes:

> And if you want to make some uptight white people really uncomfortable just for the hell of it, throw some random, potentially confronting sounding words from your language into a sentence. For example: 'It really pisses me off when these *kharbuja ghoolbedas* kill *samachar bujena* terrorism. I mean c'mon!' Translation: 'It really pisses me off when these watermelon tomatoes kill news don't know terrorism. I mean, c'mon!' Apply liberally and enjoy the results.[177]

While cultural differences as a whole rather than specifically linguistic differences is the dominant theme in the collection, culture and language are so intricately connected that a focus on one enforces a focus on the other. Furthermore, the anthology was a project chosen to give space to writers from migrant and refugee backgrounds to contribute their voices to Australia's literary landscape and to share their experiences of being Australian. These sentiments, and the anthology's title, allude to the fact that while the way in which these writers capture their Australian experiences may differ to other Australians, their voices are a valid and important part of Australian literature, as migration has played an important role in Australia's history.

Another anthology exploring the migrant experience in Australia is *Growing Up Asian in Australia*, an anthology edited by Alice Pung and published in 2008. The anthology is part of a series of anthologies published by Black Inc Books examining the experiences of different minority

[176] Muscat.

[177] Nirvana Bhandary, 'How to Be a More Confident Migrant', in *Dialect*, ed. by Kat Muscat (Melbourne: Express Media, 2014), pp. 98–101 (p. 100).

communities living in Australia.[178] Pung's anthology is a collection of writing by Australian writers from an Asian background, documenting their experiences as Australians with Asian heritage.[179] This anthology dedicates a section, called 'Strine' (a term used to refer to Australian English), to the linguistic challenges faced when a person is straddling two or more different linguistic worlds. Amy Choi and Ivy Tseng write short pieces about coming to the realisation that learning the language of their parents and grandparents is important for understanding and communicating with their elderly relatives, if not for anything else.[180] Tom Cho writes about learning English and subsequently becoming inducted into the celebrity culture embedded in Western culture, and Sunil Badami writes about adopting an anglicised version of his name in order to fit in with his Australian school friends.[181] These experiences are a direct result of migration and the challenges faced by Australians born to parents who migrated to this country, or who migrated to Australia themselves. As with *Dialect*, these stories and experiences form part of Australia's narrative as a nation and are therefore essential stories to be told as part of Australian literature.

Both *Dialect* and *Growing Up Asian in Australia* are anthologies which touch on language, yet it is not a main focus for either of the anthologies and therefore it cannot be said that either anthology falls into the genre of language journalism. What these anthologies do show is that stories of migration are increasingly being heard in Australian literature[182] and that language, even if it is not the main focus, is a consistent subject emerging within such writing. Works such as Elena Lappin's *What Language Do I Dream In?* in part contextualises the migrant experience from a

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[178] See also: *Growing up African in Australia*, ed. by Maxine Beneba Clarke, Ahmed Yussuf, and Magan Magan (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2019); *Growing up Aboriginal in Australia*, ed. by Anita Heiss (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2018); Black Inc Books, 'Powerful Life Stories from the Growing Up Series', *Black Inc.*, 2020 <https://www.blackincbooks.com.au/news/powerful-life-stories-growing-series> [accessed 6 October 2020].

[179] *Growing up Asian in Australia*, ed. by Alice Pung (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2008).

[180] Amy Choi, 'The Relative Advantages of Learning My Language', in *Growing up Asian in Australia*, ed. by Alice Pung (Melbourne: Black, 2008), pp. 7–8; Ivy Tseng, 'Chinese Lessons', in *Growing up Asian in Australia*, ed. by Alice Pung (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2008), pp. 16–24.

[181] Tom Cho, 'Learning English', in *Growing up Asian in Australia*, ed. by Alice Pung (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2008), p. 15; Sunil Badami, 'Sticks and Stones and Such-Like', in *Growing up Asian in Australia*, ed. by Alice Pung (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2008), pp. 9–14.

[182] See: Mascara Poetry Inc., 'About Us', *Mascara Literary Review*, 2020 <http://mascarareview.com/about-us/> [accessed 26 February 2020]; Liminal Magazine, 'Liminal Magazine', *Liminal*, 2020 <https://www.liminalmag.com> [accessed 6 October 2020]; Alice Pung, *Unpolished Gem* (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2006).

linguistic, rather than solely a cultural, perspective. Lappin's memoir shows how language and culture cannot be separated out as distinctive, separate challenges that migrants must navigate. Rather, Lappin explores how language and culture constantly interact with and influence each other, and the impact that this constant negotiation has on her experiences as a migrant. Migration leads to people forming new homes for themselves in places which are linguistically and culturally different from the places they migrated from. Recounting these experiences therefore increasingly include aspects of language loss, acquisition and barriers, and contributes to the growing literature on language and linguistics. For a more detailed history and analysis of migrant writing in Australia, see Part IV of the creative component of this thesis.

As genres develop out of social contexts, so too do the individual works which make up a genre. Often, individual titles are written in response to a more specific social context. My creative component has emerged out of the social context of Australia choosing to position itself as a multicultural nation, despite the fact that most Australians are monolingual English speakers. The rise of English monolingualism in English speaking nations is directly correlated to the rise of English as a global language.[183] It is not only the fact of English monolingualism, but the negative attitudes towards languages other than English in Australia stemming from this monolingual mindset that has inspired the topic of the creative component of my thesis. Given the subject matter, I chose language journalism as the vehicle to express my research and ideas on the topic as I wanted the writing to be accessible to a general readership while not compromising on the linguistic aspects which comprise part of the research for the creative component.

[183] Michael G. Clyne, *Australia's Language Potential* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2005).

2.2 The Creative Arts Exegesis

The creative arts exegesis has been, and continues to be, the focus of much debate and discussion about its purpose and importance within a creative arts doctorate.[184] Nigel Krauth wrote about the history of creative arts doctorates in Australia and explains that the format of a creative artefact accompanied by an exegesis emerged from the visual arts practice of keeping a reflective journal during the process of creating artworks.[185] In creative writing, where both the creative artefact and exegesis are written texts, creative writing scholars and doctoral students saw opportunities to experiment with the form of the exegesis, and the genre has since evolved to engage with the creative artefact in innovative ways.[186] The exegesis contextualises and situates the creative component and/or the process of creating it within the methodology and scholarship underpinning the work's creation.[187] The split between the creative and exegetical components of a creative writing doctorate varies across institutions between a fifty-fifty split, where each is given equal importance, up to an eighty (creative) twenty (exegesis) split where the majority of the thesis is the creative work.

Even so, the necessity of conforming to the traditional structure of a creative arts thesis comprising of both an exegesis and a creative component is debated. Jen Webb and Andrew Melrose argue for the new contribution to knowledge to be recognised as being embedded *within* the creative artefact itself and not only embedded within a separate exegesis.[188] Rachel Robertson et al. question the accepted model of the creative and exegetical components being separated at all,

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[184] See: TEXT Journal Special Issue 44: The Exegesis Now October 2017 <http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue44/content.htm>; Tara Brabazon, Tiffany Lyndall-Knight, and Natalie Hills, *The Creative PhD: Challenges, Opportunities, Reflection* (Emerald Group Publishing, 2020).
[185] Nigel Krauth, 'Evolution of the Exegesis: The Radical Trajectory of the Creative Writing Doctorate in Australia', *TEXT Journal*, 15.1 (2011) <http://www.textjournal.com.au/april11/krauth.htm> [accessed 6 October 2020].
[186] Ibid.
[187] Jeri Kroll, 'Uneasy Bedfellows: Assessing the Creative Thesis and Its Exegesis', *TEXT Journal*, 3.2 (1999) <http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct99/kroll.htm> [accessed 23 May 2020]; Kroll and Webb; Rachel Robertson and others, '"An Ambiguous Genre": Thoughts on Creative Nonfiction and the Exegesis'', *TEXT Journal*, Special Issue 44 The Exegesis Now (2017) <http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue44/Robertson_et_al.pdf>.
[188] Jen Webb and Andrew Melrose, 'Understanding the Value and the Impact of the "Shock": Examining the Creative Writing Doctorate', *New Writing*, 11.1 (2014), 134–48 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790726.2013.849744>.

and argue that particularly in theses where the creative work is a work of creative nonfiction, the boundaries between each component blur to the point where the components can be intertwined.[189] As the purpose of the exegesis as a way to engage with the discipline and contextualise the creative work is clear, in the context of a creative thesis, the exegesis itself can conceivably be presented in a number of different ways, and is not limited to the structure of a traditional research paper.

While the purpose of the exegesis is clear, the structure of the exegesis can vary depending on the project, and therefore understanding how to structure an exegesis is a more demanding task than with other genres. In the context of my thesis, this is a core consideration, as both the creative and exegetical components are works of nonfiction. Furthermore, given the interdisciplinary nature of my project, there were different options for how I could have structured my exegesis: a traditional research structure or a discursive structure would equally fit into the context of my thesis as a whole. To differentiate the exegesis from the creative component, I have structured the exegesis in a traditional research structure. This is discussed in depth in Chapters 3 and 4.

Conclusion

As writers engage with changing social contexts, the ways in which they create texts in response to these contexts also shifts.[190] Different genres provide writers with the tools to construct texts within such contexts.[191] Language journalism is emerging as a distinct genre out of creative nonfiction due in part to Chomsky's work in linguistics in the 1950s, the rise of English as a global language and mass migration. These circumstances have led not only to an interest in linguistics outside of academia, creating a demand for writers to write about linguistic research for a general readership, but also to a context where writers in all languages are creating works in a world dominated by English, a phenomenon that has been widely written about. Furthermore, migrants are facing

[189] Robertson and others.
[190] Wilkins; Whitney, Ridgeman, and Masquelier.
[191] Feez; Whitney, Ridgeman, and Masquelier.

linguistic challenges as they adapt to their new homes and creating works analysing and reflecting on these changes.

The social context of a creative writing exegesis within a creative writing doctorate is partly dependent on the context of the candidate's project, and an understanding of the best way to communicate the original contribution to research through the exegesis. It is therefore a more complicated task to determine the most appropriate way to communicate the ideas. Some of this uncertainly also stems from the ongoing debate and discussion of the role and function of an exegesis within a creative writing doctorate.

For writers, it is not always a conscious decision to take part in a particular social context within their writing, yet subconsciously it is not possible to completely remove oneself from societal influences. It is difficult to determine whether a conscious or subconscious shift towards works about language and linguistics has taken place, but it is impossible to ignore the fact the large body of work on the subject is demanding the genre of language journalism. Accepting and defining this genre provides a framework for future writers wishing to tackle such topics. Furthermore, years into the future when the genre has lost popularity and the boundaries have shifted once more, the body of work called language journalism marks a moment in literature and time for future historians to gain insight into the ideas, concerns and debates of the day.

CHAPTER 3: REFERENTIAL GENRE MARKERS

The social contexts of genres influence the way that texts within those genres are constructed, as writers make formal and stylistic choices to communicate their ideas in a way that is suitable for the social context. Writers activate their knowledge of genre to inform the creation of their work. As outlined in Chapter 1, genre markers are one way of analysing a corpus of texts, and Coutinho and Miranda characterise genre markers into two distinct categories, 'referential' and 'inferential'.[192] Referential genre markers are markers that situate a particular text within a social setting. These markers give a reader an indication of the genre *before* the text itself is read. I analysed twenty-one texts which could be considered language journalism (Appendix I) and the literature on linguistics/language journalism to determine which genre markers are common to works in the genre. Based on my analysis, there are three main referential markers that identify works of language journalism: the writer has a background in linguistics, the research underpinning the work has been conducted using linguistic tools and research methods, and the work focuses on the social aspects of language. Fifteen of the texts I analysed included all three referential markers. While these markers are common to works of language journalism, and therefore evident in the creative component of my thesis, these markers are also found in this exegetical component. This chapter analyses the ways in which the referential markers of language journalism have informed how I chose to construct both components of my thesis.

3.1 Linguistic Background of the Writer

There is a strong consensus within the field of linguistics that writing with a focus on language that is published in mainstream media outlets needs to be written by writers with a background in

[192] Coutinho and Miranda.

linguistics.[193] Despite this agreement, the specifics of what having 'a background in linguistics' actually means is not clear. According to David Crystal, 'linguist' is 'the normal term for a student or practitioner of the subject of linguistics.'[194] The definition goes on to add that 'confusion sometimes arises from the earlier, and still current, sense of someone proficient in several languages.'[195] Arguably, a person who speaks multiple languages has become well-versed in aspects of linguistics in the process, and could be said to be a student of linguistics and therefore a linguist. Due to the proliferation of myths on language perpetuated by writers without a background in linguistics, many linguists believe that writing about language is best left to the experts.[196] Yet there are professions other than linguist which involve spending all day working with words and language. Writers are one example. Writers by nature are people who spend all day working with words and language, writing, rewriting, and rethinking words and phrases. At what point does a writer qualify as an expert on language, given the amount of time they spend with words? Furthermore, given the emphasis placed on the language aspect of language journalism, there appears to be little concern for language journalists to possess qualifications in journalism.

Bill Bryson is a writer who has tackled linguistics topics in his writing, despite his expertise being in journalism.[197] Laurie Bauer and Peter Trudgill, in the introduction to their edited volume *Language Myths*, believe that linguists with formal qualifications should be the authority when it comes to writing on language topics.[198] They pick out Bryson as an example of a writer who has got it wrong. This sentiment is agreed upon by Robert Lane Greene, author of the 2011 book *You Are What You Speak*, who dismantles the ideas presented in Bryson's 2009 book *The Mother Tongue*.[199]

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[193] *Language Myths*, ed. by Laurie Bauer and Peter Trudgill (UK: Penguin Books, 1998); Linguistic Society of America, 'Linguistics Journalism Award Previous Holders'; Ben Zimmer, 'Ben Zimmer in the News', *Ben Zimmer*, 2014 <http://benzimmer.com/category/news/page/6/> [accessed 21 April 2020].
[194] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, p. 282.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Laurie Bauer and Peter Trudgill, 'Introduction', in *Language Myths* (London; New York: Penguin Books, 1998).
[197] Bill Bryson, *Mother Tongue: The Story of the English Language* (London: Penguin, 2009).
[198] Ibid.
[199] Robert Lane Greene, *You Are What You Speak: Grammar Grouches, Language Laws, and the Politics of Identity* (USA: Delacorte Press, 2011), p. 9.

Lane Greene acknowledges that Bryson's book is supposed to be 'an entertaining but serious look at the English language', yet he admonishes Bryson's ill-informed 'facts' about language:

> The "X people" have no word for trope is a staple of curious but only half informed language writing. It is based on the expectation that a foreign lexicon is mysteriously different if one word in that language equates to two or more of ours (*maison* for "house" and "home") or if we need two English words to translate a foreign one. Bryson says we have no word for the Danish *hygge*, then goes on to tell us exactly what it means: "intensely satisfying and cozy" (though he's confused parts of speech: *hygge* is a noun, and so it's "coziness").[200]

Lane Greene shows how Bryson examines linguistic and language concepts without undertaking the in-depth research required to verify the truthfulness of such popular myths about language. An article published online in *Overland* titled " 'Grief bacon' and other untranslatable things" by Annie Hariharan also explored the popular idea that words in other languages are untranslatable.[201] While Hariharan correctly translates *hygge* as 'coziness' in her article, the article itself demonstrates a shallow understanding of the depth and breadth of language and the role it plays in people's identities. Not only does it explore the idea that untranslatable words exist, but one section reads: 'I have often wondered if people who are bilingual feel a sense of split personalities when they switch language, and research seems to indicate that yes, they do.'[202] Hariharan is correct in writing this, yet the 'seems to indicate' undermines the extensive research undertaken in the field.[203] The point is not explored in enough depth to give the reader even a surface understanding of this phenomenon.

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[200] Ibid, p. 8.
[201] Annie Hariharan, '"Grief Bacon", and Other Untranslatable Things', *Overland Literary Journal* (Overland literary journal, 2017) <https://overland.org.au/2017/11/grief-bacon-and-other-untranslatable-things/> [accessed 20 November 2020].
[202] Ibid.
[203] See: Aneta Pavlenko, 'Bilingual Selves', in *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression, and Representation*, ed. by Aneta Pavlenko (Multilingual Matters, 2006), pp. 1–33; Luis R. Marcos, Judith E. Eisma, and Jose Guimon, 'Bilingualism and Sense of Self', *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 37.4 (1977), 285–90 <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01248343>; Nairán Ramírez-Esparza and others, 'Do Bilinguals Have Two Personalities? A Special Case of Cultural Frame Switching', *Journal of Research in Personality*, 40.2 (2006), 99–120 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2004.09.001>.

The background of the writer in language journalism is important not only to ensure the validity of the analysis undertaken in such writing, but to ascertain the *potential* such an idea offers in the way of exploration and analysis from a language perspective. Stipulating the writer having a background in linguistics for a piece to be considered language journalism places something of a peer review on a piece of writing. That is not to say a piece written by a writer with a linguistics background would be without error or oversights; but background knowledge of the field provides opportunity for in-depth and more considered analysis than a writer without expertise in the field.

In his introductory essay to his online language journalism magazine, *Schwa Fire*, linguist Michael Erard also advocates for language journalists to have a linguistics background, although he prioritises good journalism using a language perspective over the writer having a linguistics background.[204] Some of the writers published in *Schwa Fire* possess a linguistics background, while others have expertise in journalism and lack formal linguistic qualifications. Zachary Elwood wrote the article 'Poker Talk' published in the second issue of *Schwa Fire's* first season. Elwood is a professional poker player and not a trained linguist or writer, yet he has written books about poker.[205] Writer Emily Liedel also wrote a piece for the publication, 'A Canal Where a Language Used to Be', yet her background is in science and specifically science journalism. She is not a trained linguist.[206] These pieces demonstrate that good examples of long-form language journalism can be written by writers without a background in the field, but without that expertise, potential avenues for the story can be lost. As outlined in Chapter 2, the insistence of linguistic expertise as a criteria for writers writing language journalism is further reiterated in the Linguistic Society of America's (ASA) creation of the Award for Linguistics Journalism. To allow in-depth writing on linguistics topics in mainstream media, it is important that the writers are familiar with the field of

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[204] Erard, 'What Is Language Journalism?'

[205] Zachary Elwood, 'Poker talk', *Schwa Fire*, 1.2 (2014) <http://stories.schwa-fire.com/poker_talk> [accessed 6 June 2015].

[206] Emily Liedel, 'A Canal Where a Language Used to Be', *Schwa Fire*, 2.3 (2015) <https://schwafire.atavist.com/linguistic_peril_canal> [accessed 6 June 2015].

linguistics and the research being undertaken in the area. This way, ideas and information are less likely to be misconstrued or misinterpreted.

There is a clear consensus that language journalism should be written by writers with a background or formal qualifications in linguistics, yet there is little concern given to the journalism credentials of the language journalist. Many language journalists, such as Arika Okrent, Robert Lane Greene and David Crystal, have been published widely and hold qualifications in both linguistics and writing or literature, yet few hold a formal journalism qualification. This suggests that the skill and craft involved in good writing and good journalism is not prioritised over knowledge of the subject matter itself. Danielle Clode is a writer with a background in science, and she was once asked by a literary editor why she is such a good writer, as she has a background in science, not in the humanities.[207] Clode believes that '[her] writing- academic, professional, creative- originates from and is inspired by science' and she argues that a scientific background is a good foundation to become a good writer: 'All scientists write. Their work does not exist unless it is written up, peer-reviewed and published…scientists write in order to discover the truth in what they have found.'[208] While some writers learn the craft through the formal study of writing and literature, writing skills are important for a number of industries, and therefore can be developed through other means. Even so, the lack of focus on the writing qualifications of language journalists could be due to the lack of focus given to writing qualifications in general, where many argue that qualifications in writing are not useful and that, rather, practicing the craft itself is how people learn how to write.[209] Yet given this logic, could the same not be said for expertise in linguistics?

There are many avenues to study and gain information and insight into any possible subject matter other than studying for a formal qualification in the field. This is particularly true for certain

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[207] Danielle Clode, 'This Essay Mixes Styles: Is Personal and Scholarly', *New Writing*, 11.2 (2014), 307–16 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790726.2014.904891>.
[208] Clode.
[209] Cecelia Capuzzi Simon, 'Why Writers Love to Hate the M.F.A.', *The New York Times*, 4 September 2015 <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/12/education/edlife/12edl-12mfa.html?_r=0%3E> [accessed 29 August 2016].

areas of applied, rather than theoretical, linguistics, where the research is based on how language is used or learned in everyday situations. Every person uses language in some capacity each day, and therefore everyone has some kind of expertise in language. An example of this is the rise of 'citizen sociolinguistics', which has come from the term 'citizen science'. Citizen science refers to the general public's involvement in scientific research and is used as an effective way to gather large datasets, which is particularly useful in linguistics.[210] 'Accent tagging' is an example of citizen sociolinguistics, where people upload videos of themselves to YouTube saying words in their particular accent, to document how their background and location influence the way they speak.[211] Linguists have started to use the videos as part of their research to map language variation across different countries.[212] While the analysis itself is undertaken by linguists, the contribution from the general population to the dataset is essential to the research.

Furthermore, many people speak more than one language. Polyglots such as Irishman Benny Lewis have forged careers for themselves out of blogging about their experiences of learning different languages and posting tips and advice for others wishing to learn languages.[213] Lewis holds no formal linguistics qualification, yet his passion for the topic and experience with languages has equipped him with enough expertise on the topic to be considered somewhat of an expert in the area. If a person learns enough languages, they will inevitably learn and discover aspects of how language works in both social and functional capacities.

Are the insights of citizen linguists and polyglots such as Benny Lewis not as important and valuable as those with an academic background in linguistics? They are contributing to the field in a less formalised way than academics, yet they have reckoned with research started by linguists and

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[210] Zurich Center for Linguistics, 'What Is "Citizen Science"?', *Zurich Center for Linguistics* (Universität Zürich, 2016) <https://www.linguistik.uzh.ch/en/forschung/agora/Citizen-Science.html> [accessed 29 August 2016].
[211] Debbie Nathan, ''Accent Tagging Schwa Fire', *Schwa Fire*, 3.2 (2015) <https://schwafire.atavist.com/accent_tag_nation> [accessed 6 June 2015].
[212] Ibid.
[213] Benny Lewis, 'About Benny', *Fluent in 3 Months*, 2016 <https://www.fluentin3months.com/about/> [accessed 29 August 2016].

contributed their own experiences to it. Furthermore, their research is more readily accessible to a general readership through media articles and blogs. To advocate for the linguistic expertise of a language journalist over the journalism credentials of a language journalist negates the argument that only those with formal linguistics qualifications should tackle the subject matter. Those who are genuinely curious and interested in the field can produce quality language journalism, provided they thoroughly vet their information to avoid perpetuating myths. The advantage to possessing linguistic qualifications is seeing different possibilities for stories that a non-linguist may not see.

In the context of this thesis, I have an academic background in both creative writing and applied linguistics. This situates me as a writer (not a journalist, but a writer) and a linguist. My work in each field is informed by my background in the other, as demonstrated by this very thesis and the intersections between the two fields. Therefore, I possess one of the referential markers that is identified as essential to authoring a quality work of language journalism.

Despite my credentials, the subject matter and form of my thesis are in areas that I had little formal experience in. It is only since enrolling in my PhD that I have come to see myself first and foremost as a nonfiction writer and that I have published nonfiction work in literary journals. Even so, my plan from the beginning was to construct a creative nonfiction text for the creative component of this thesis. My applied linguistics background is in the areas of TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and SFL. While I draw on an SFL perspective of genre in the exegesis, the creative component is situated in sociolinguistics and historical linguistics. Despite my background in applied linguistics, at the start of my project it was difficult to argue for my expertise in the specific areas of linguistics I draw on in the creative part of my thesis. However, it is *because* of my background in both creative writing and applied linguistics that I chose this very project for my research. It is through my process of inquiry, research and writing, building upon my already existing knowledge of linguistics research methods and the craft of writing, that I have come to claim expertise in the subject matter I am writing about. This is a common approach in works of language journalism.

Michael Erard's *Babel No More* and Arika Okrent's *In the Land of Invented Languages* both take the reader on the research journey with the writer.[214] In Erard's book, readers go with him to the libraries of Italy and the homes of some of the world's hyperpolyglots. The reader is privy to tracing Erard's line of inquiry with him, as he shares his process of analysing the information he uncovers, rather than only sharing the analysis.[215] Okrent uses the same approach. In her book, the reader is alongside Okrent as she attends her first Esperanto World Congress, trying out the language she began to learn only a few weeks beforehand.[216] Neither Erard nor Okrent were experts in the subject matter of their respective books before they began their investigations, which emerged from questions that fuelled their curiosity: *How many languages is it possible for one human to learn?* (Erard) and *Why do people invent languages and how difficult are they to learn?* (Okrent). Erard and Okrent each used their background in linguistics to navigate their investigations. This is no different to a person such as Benny Lewis investigating the best methods to learn different languages based on his passion for languages. Therefore, expertise in linguistics need not be garnered from formal qualifications. Enough experience with language to posit a linguistically interesting question and an understanding towards how to approach answering such a question from a linguistic perspective should be expertise enough. As for credentials in writing, it is taken as a given that these skills will be developed through the process of inquiry. Even so, given my background in applied linguistics, both components of my thesis meet one of the referential genre markers of language journalism.

[214] Michael Erard, *Babel No More: The Search for the World's Most Extraordinary Language Learners* (New York: Free Press, 2012); Arika Okrent, *In the Land of Invented Languages: A Celebration of Linguistic Creativity Madness, and Genius* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2010).
[215] Erard, *Babel No More*.
[216] Okrent.

3.2 Research Using Linguistic Tools and Methods

Another referential marker of a work of language journalism is the use of linguistic research methods and tools to inform the writing.[217] Linguistics is a huge discipline, and therefore there is a variety of research methods that linguists can draw on in their research. It is beyond the scope of this exegesis to discuss the range of linguistic research methods in depth. Instead, I focus on the methods I have used in researching my thesis: fieldwork and observation, interviews and text analysis. These methods are particularly relevant as they also overlap with methods used by investigative journalists.[218]

Yvonne Chua writes that investigative journalism is often as rigorous as academic research, yet it is not considered to be scholarly work.[219] She argues that the research component of investigative journalism mirrors that of scientific research, and that the one difference is in how the results are written up. Suki Kim's book *Without You There is No Us* demonstrates the intense fieldwork she undertook in what could be described as an ethnographic research method in writing about life in North Korea.[220] The work highlights the extensive research undertaken by investigative journalists, often as rigorous as or more rigorous than academic research, yet because the purpose of the work differs from the purpose of scholarly work it is not considered to be scholarly writing. This is the point on which language journalism differs from scholarly writing about language. While the research methods may be as rigorous as academic writing, due to language journalism being intended for a general readership and not an academic audience, it is fulfilling a different role to academic linguistics research. Therefore, while the research methods are often the same, the way the research is reported differs. In the sections that follow, I will discuss my use of text analysis,

[217] Erard, 'What Is Language Journalism?'
[218] Yvonne T. Chua, 'Investigative Journalism as Academic Research Output?: That Will Be the Day', *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 25.1 (2015), 13–20 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1326365X15575565>.
[219] Ibid, p. 14.
[220] Kim, *Without You, There Is No Us*.

fieldwork and observation, and interviews as the linguistic tools underpinning my research in the construction of my thesis.

3.2.1 Text analysis

Text analysis is not a core aspect of the creative component of my thesis, yet it is the underlying research method used in my exegesis. As discussed in the introduction and Chapter 1, I made a conscious decision to not undertake a full SFL analysis of works that have been categorised as language journalism. While such an analysis is a valid way to approach such research, it is outside the scope of my exegesis. Furthermore, while a full SFL analysis provides insight into the way finished texts have been constructed, not all aspects of SFL are relevant to the craft of creative writing and constructing a piece of writing. Therefore, as outlined in detail in Chapter 2, my text analysis in this exegesis focuses purely on the genre (or register) aspects of SFL, by identifying key genre markers common to language journalism. Appendix I details the 21 different texts I analysed, and which of the texts I looked at represent which markers of language journalism. This analysis informed my writing process, and my analysis of how I used or subverted those characteristics in the construction of both the creative and exegetical components of my thesis.

3.2.2 Fieldwork and observation

Fieldwork, involving observation, is a favoured method used by applied linguists and sociolinguists to gain insight into how language is used in real situations.[221] As a sociolinguistic tradition, fieldwork emerged from work mapping the location of where different languages are spoken. While systematically collecting fieldwork data began in the late nineteenth century, more recent technological advancements have made the collection of data whilst conducting fieldwork more accessible.[222] Linguistics research of this kind also has a strong foundation in work originally undertaken by religious missionaries, who were often sent to remote communities to spread their

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[221] *Research Methods in Sociolinguistics: A Practical Guide*, ed. by Janet Holmes and Kirk Hazen (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), p. 26.
[222] Ibid.

religion to farther corners of the globe. The first step in this process was usually to learn the language of the community, so that religious texts and teachings could be translated into the local language.[223] As discussed in Part III of the creative component of this thesis, the language documentation work of missionaries contributed to modern fields of linguistics such as revivalistics and language reclamation.[224] Two South Australian examples are the Kaurna language, spoken on the Adelaide plains, and the Barngarla language, spoken north of Adelaide in an area stretching from Port Augusta to Whyalla.[225] Both of these languages were able to be revived thanks to short dictionaries written by German Lutheran missionaries in the 1830s. These documents provided enough information as a starting point to 'awaken' the sleeping languages.[226] Additionally, linguist Daniel Everett first started working with languages when he was sent to the Pirahã community in the Amazon as a missionary. His role was to translate the bible into their language, and in order to do so, Everett also documented their language.[227] As discussed in Chapter 2 of this exegesis, his experiences, compiled from intense fieldwork and observation, led to discoveries about language which challenged the theories of Noam Chomsky, the most well-known linguist of the twentieth century.[228] This highlights the importance of fieldwork in linguistics as a way to confirm or challenge theoretical linguistics theories, and to observe and document real language in use.

Fieldwork is also used in journalism, in the way journalists piece together primary sources of information to construct an article. Journalist and lecturer Helen Sissons particularly advocates for the observation skills of a journalist and encourages journalists to get out of the office to

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[223] Everett, *Don't Sleep, There Are Snakes*; Lois Zweck, 'Kavel and the Missionaries', *Lutheran Theological Journal*, 47.2 (2013), 91–101.
[224] Zuckermann and Walsh.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Rob Amery, *Warraparna Kaurna!: Reclaiming an Australian Language* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2016); Anna Goldsworthy, 'Voices of the Land', *The Monthly*, 1 September 2014 <https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2014/september/1409493600/anna-goldsworthy/voices-land> [accessed 19 May 2017]; Mark Clendon, *Clamor Schürmann's Barngarla Grammar: A Commentary on the First Section of A Vocabulary of the Parnkalla Language* (University of Adelaide Press, 2015) <https://doi.org/10.20851/barngarla>; Ghil'ad Zuckermann, *Revivalistics: From the Genesis of Israeli to Language Reclamation in Australia and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
[227] Everett, *Don't Sleep, There Are Snakes*.
[228] O'Neill and Wood; Everett, *Language*; Everett, 'An Evaluation of Universal Grammar and the Phonological Mind'.

uncover potential stories.[229] In this context, the journalist goes out into the field unsure of what they may find, while a linguist goes into the field with specific research questions in mind.

Fieldwork played a key role in my writing of the creative component of this thesis. Over the course of a eighteen months, I participated in the monthly gatherings of the Kaffee und Kuchen group in South Australia's Barossa Valley, to inform my writing about the revival of German as a community language in the region. Attending the gatherings gave me firsthand experience of the community regaining their German roots:

> The gatherings are strictly a German speaking occasion, although when absolutely necessary, English is tolerated. At times the group has English speaking guests in attendance, and on those occasions, the person sitting beside such a visitor takes it upon themselves to whisper translations of the most pertinent points.[230]

The observation above reveals the welcoming nature of the group and their willingness to accept visitors and new members, even when that means putting German aside and using English. It is insights like these that layer and create a complete picture for the reader, and details that would have gone un-noted had I not immersed myself in their gatherings.

3.2.3 Interviews

Interviews are another research tool used by linguists and journalists alike, yet depending on the context of the research, they are used in different ways by each profession. In sociolinguistics, interviews are used for the purpose of eliciting particular examples of speech from the interviewee to then transcribe and analyse for particular patterns of language use.[231] In contrast, in journalism, interviews are used to gain eye-witness accounts, insights from experts and the experiences of particular individuals to provide enough detail for the journalist to accurately piece together a story.

[229] Helen Sissons, *Practical Journalism: How to Write News*, 1st ed (London: SAGE Publications, 2006), p. 188.
[230] Raelke Grimmer, thesis creative component, Part II: Erbesprachen, p. 62.
[231] Holmes and Hazen, p. 33.

Sissons describes three main types of interviews used by journalists: the informational interview, the expositional interview and the interpretative interview.[232] The informational interview is used to gain descriptions and information about an event that has occurred, while the expositional interview is used to ascertain the stance or opinion of a politician or public figure and is an opportunity for the interviewer to challenge the interviewee on their stance to create a balanced perspective on the topic. The interpretative interview is used when asking members of the public their opinion on specific issues.[233]

In language journalism, both linguistic and journalistic interviews are used as research tools to source information. Therefore, it is difficult to separate interviews as a linguistic tool from interviews as a journalistic tool, as there is an overlap in the way interviews are used in each profession, particularly when it comes to the writing of language journalism. For example, in ‘Vodaphone Cliché’, a piece of language journalism written by Daniel Suslack and published on *Schwa Fire*, Suslack uses journalistic interview techniques to research his article.[234] The article investigates the way in which Vodafone exploited the widely-believed myth that the last two speakers of the Ayapaneco language had a falling out and refused to speak to each other, dooming the language to extinction. Vodaphone created a television advertisement which suggests that thanks to Vodafone, the two speakers decided to talk to each other again, thus saving the language.[235] Suslack interviewed the two speakers involved and was then forced to speculate on particular aspects of the story after he was refused interviews with executives at Vodafone:

> When Vodafone and Jung von Matt began planning “Viva Ayapaneco,” they may or may not have heard about these ongoing efforts to help the speakers of Ayapaneco save their

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[232] Sissons, p. 156.
[233] Ibid, pp. 156-7.
[234] Daniel Suslack, ‘Vodaphone’s Cliché’, 1.2 (2014) <http://stories.schwa-fire.com/who_save_ayapaneco> [accessed 17 November 2015].
[235] Ibid.

language. (Vodafone and Jung von Matt declined all of my requests for information, as did James Fox, so this is speculation).[236]

Suslack acknowledges his efforts in attempting to gain interviews with the subjects to give a voice to both sides of the argument. While the subject matter of the article itself is linguistic in nature and Suslack is a linguist by profession, it cannot be said that Suslack necessarily uses linguistic tools to research this piece of journalism. Rather, his background in linguistics informed his writing on the subject and gave him an expert's perspective on the topic. This allowed him to unravel the misinformation used by Vodafone to increase their profits.

I use interviews in the research for the creative component of my thesis; however, much like Suslack, my interviews are in the tradition of journalism rather than linguistics. In interviewing members of the German speaking community of the Barossa Valley I drew on my linguistics background, yet the interviews are informational in their purpose, rather than used to elicit specific language structures from the interviewees.[237] However, while I conducted my interviews in English, in one interview my interviewee kept switching to German, so I eventually followed her lead and started using German:

M: A few little books and, es hat wirklich wirklich gut gefallen.

R: Ja, es ist super.

M: Ganz super. Es war eine freude fuer mir nach Deustchland.

R: Wann war dir in Deutschland?

M: 2002.

R: Ach so. Okay.

[236] Ibid, Section 4, para 1.

[237] Ethics approval for the interviews conducted as part of this research was sought from and granted by Flinders University's Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee, project number 7115.

M: Fuer sieben und halb Wochen.

R: Ah Perfekt. Eine gute Zeit fuer die Sprache zu besseren.[238]

The very act of choosing to conduct the interview in English, despite the fact we both had some proficiency in German, led to a spontaneous switch of languages. As the interview continued, we each scaffolded the other's use of German, drawing out some linguistically interesting exchanges while at the same time extracting information to inform my writing about German in the Barossa Valley.[239] Even so, the purpose of the interview was not to elicit specific uses of language, as my use of interviews was based on journalistic interviews, rather than interviews in the linguistics tradition.

3.3 People at the Centre of the Story

Michael Erard encourages language journalists to put people at the centre of the story.[240] Journalism itself is a focus on stories and the people within those stories: people are at the core of good journalism, no matter what the subject matter is. For language journalism, this means investigating the ways in which language and linguistics impact our society and thus our lives. Furthermore, it should focus on how language is used and embedded in our cultures and identities. Erard believes that language journalism should strive to find the linguistic angles in stories and explore the impact on either society or individuals.[241] *Found in Translation* by Nataly Kelly and Jost Zetzsche, and Lappin's *What Language Do I Dream In?* are two works which incorporate this characteristic of language journalism, while Gaston Dorren's *Lingo* is an example of a work which could be

[238] From transcript of interview with Marie Heinrich, November 25 2016, Tanunda, Barossa Valley. The errors in German in the transcript reflect the errors I made when speaking German during the interview.
[239] For further on the exchanges, see Part II creative component, pp. 74-6.
[240] Erard, 'What Is Language Journalism?'
[241] Erard, 'What Is Language Journalism?'

considered language journalism yet is missing this marker of the genre.[242] The way languages are intertwined in people's lives is at the core of the creative component of my thesis.

In *Found in Translation*, Kelly and Zetzsche explore the ways in which translation is essential to the running of the world.[243] Rather than focusing on translated texts themselves, the authors focus on the people behind the translations and those who are impacted by the translations. They give the example of global events such as the Olympics relying on interpreters to negotiate exchanges between speakers of different languages.[244] Kelly and Zetzsche recount stories of translators and interpreters from around the world, as well as their own stories. Volunteer translators contributed enormously to the relief effort after the 2010 Haitian earthquake, where the only line of communication available in the region was SMS, many of which were written in Haitian Creole. A team of volunteers from all around the world was set up to translate the messages to assist the relief effort.[245] The book is very deliberately structured to focus on the social impact of translation. Translation and interpreting are often viewed and written about from the technical side of things, where an emphasis is placed on the craft of transliterating sentiments from one language to another while remaining as close to the original meaning as possible. Viewing translation in this way places a focus on the translation itself, or on the process of the translator, rather than on exploring the impact of translation in wider society.

In comparison, the book *Multiples* edited by Adam Thirlwell focuses on the technicalities of translation. The anthology contains a collection of short stories translated into one language and then into another language and another, before translating the story back into its original language.[246] It is an experiment in how the process of a story going through multiple languages

[242] Gaston Dorren, *Lingo: A Language Spotter's Guide to Europe* (Profile Books, 2014).
[243] Nataly Kelly and Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *Found in Translation: How Language Shapes Our Lives and Transforms the World* (New York: Perigee, 2012).
[244] Kelly and Zetzsche, pp. 195–97.
[245] Ibid, pp. 12-13.
[246] *Multiples: an anthology of stories in an assortment of languages and literary styles*, ed. by Adam Thirlwell (London: Portobello, 2013).

changes the story once it arrives back in its original language. While it is a fascinating process and there is certainly insight to be gained about language from such experiments, it is difficult to see the practical application of how such experiments impact humanity. In a world where machine translation and interpretation is becoming increasingly accurate and accessible, Kelly and Zetzsche use the stories in their book to show why, in their view, machine translation will never trump human translation. They illustrate that without the work of translators and interpreters, the world would come to a halt. *Found in Translation* explores the impact of translation on society, whereas *Multiples* focuses exclusively on the mechanics of language and therefore does not consider the social implications.

A third example is Lappin's memoir, which explores the impact the multiple languages she spoke growing up had on her life.[247] Lappin maps her life through the languages she 'lived in', from speaking Russian with her parents and grandparents, speaking Czech with her brother, completing her high school years in German to continuing her education and working life with Hebrew and English. Her story grapples with the question of whether or not a writer should write in a language that is not their mother tongue, as she herself came to write in English, the fifth language she learned.[248] Lappin's research was a lifelong ethnography living out different linguistic identities in different parts of the world, and her memoir analyses the impact her multilingual upbringing has had on her life. By anchoring her memoir in language, Lappin reveals a different aspect of language to the reader.

In contrast, Gaston Dorren's *Lingo: A Language Spotter's Guide to Europe* is an example of a work which looks like language journalism but which does not focus on the social side of language.[249] Dorren takes the reader through the different quirks and eccentricities of the languages of Europe, yet does so through a more technical perspective. *Lingo* focuses on the technical aspects

[247] Lappin.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Dorren.

of language in a narrative way, by looking at the historical context of why European languages have grammars and vocabularies as they do today, and why the languages are spoken in the regions they are spoken in:

> All Slavic languages look a lot like each other. So if you know one of them, you know a whole bunch- it's the linguistic equivalent of a bargain offer. Take the word 'Slavic', for example. In Russian it's *slavjanski*, in Polish *slowianski* and in Serbo-Croatian *slavenski*. And these are languages that are fairly far removed from one another, belonging as they do to three different groups: the East, West and South Slavic branches, respectively.[250]

Dorren focuses on language as an organism within itself, rather than connecting the technical aspects of language to the social aspects of language. This suggests that Dorren's work is more of a reference book rather than a work of language journalism because it is missing the core aspect of exploring language through a human perspective.

The role of language in society is embedded in both the creative and exegetical components of my thesis. The creative component investigates Australian society's attitudes to languages other than English and Australia's language ecosystem, through the example of Barossa German and the story of my own German heritage. People are at the centre of the narrative. It is through the experiences of my great-grandfather and the German speaking residents of the Barossa Valley that I illustrate the value of community languages:

> In April of [1917], he was stopped on Grote Street in the Adelaide CBD by a police officer and questioned about his nationality. My great-grandfather admitted he was born in Saxony, in Germany, but believed he had received Australian naturalisation papers upon his arrival in Melbourne in 1889. The police officer told him to secure new papers and in the meantime report himself to his local police station. My great-grandfather failed to do either of these

[250] Ibid, p. 33.

things. In July, he was fined fifty pounds (roughly $4000 in today's currency) and given one month to pay. If he did not pay, he would be imprisoned for three months.[251]

Including my great-grandfather's experiences in Adelaide during the war acts as a case study for my wider analysis of languages in Australia, and provides a people centred way of engaging readers in the bigger themes of the narrative. In this way, the themes become accessible to the reader.

While my exegesis is structured in a more technical way, my analysis of language journalism and my own writing process in producing a work of language journalism examines language in use. My analysis of my writing is centred in the social context of the text types and genres that encompass my thesis, in order to situate my thesis within my purpose for constructing it. Furthermore, in deconstructing my writing process and how I used genre markers to inform the writing of my thesis, I examine how conventions of genre are informed by the wider social context and how my own engagement with this context therefore informs the choices I made in constructing my thesis.

Conclusion

The referential genre markers that mark works as language journalism can be found in both the exegetical and creative components of my thesis. Even so, the creative component of this thesis is more easily identifiable as a work of language journalism than the exegesis, and that is due to the social context of the role each component plays in this thesis. The creative component is positioned as the creative artefact and can therefore deviate from the expected constraints of a more traditional humanities or social sciences thesis. I consciously constructed the creative component with the referential genre markers of language journalism in mind, to situate the work within a specific genre's social context. This in turn shaped the structure and stylistic decisions I made.

[251] Raelke Grimmer, creative component, Part II: Erbesprachen, p. 56

In the case of the exegesis, the role the exegesis plays in the thesis is the accompanying research statement contextualising the creative artefact. Therefore, the expectation is that the exegesis will articulate the key components of a traditional research thesis (literature review, methodology, analysis, discussion). Yet, given that the exegesis is part of a creative arts thesis, there is scope to be creative in the way this information is presented, so long as it serves the ultimate purpose of contextualising the creative artefact. Referential markers of language journalism can therefore be identified in my exegesis because my background in linguistics has also informed my text analysis and my analysis of my creative process. However, in the case of my exegesis, these were not conscious choices I made, but patterns that emerged as I wrote. It was due to my knowledge of language journalism that I then identified those aspects in my work.

It is at this intersection that genres start to blur and fuse together. Analysing the referential genre markers of language journalism present in both components of my thesis suggest that both works could be read as works of language journalism, and therefore my complete thesis is a work of language journalism, sitting within the text type of a creative writing thesis. Considering this, the thesis can be viewed as the very genre it is analysing and deconstructing. Yet there are clear differences in the style of the creative and exegetical components, due to the different role each component plays in the context of my thesis. It is not enough to look only at the referential genre markers, but the inferential genre markers common to language journalism must also be considered. It is these markers that start to consider audience in depth, and therefore the way the information is presented, and thus consumed.

CHAPTER 4: INFERENTIAL GENRE MARKERS

While referential genre markers provide identifiers external to the writing itself, inferential genres markers are found within the text. As discussed in Chapter 1, Melissourgou and Frantzi discuss Coutinho and Miranda's approach using inferential genre markers as 'phrases from the body of the text which help the experienced reader activate genre knowledge and distinguish categories of texts.'[252] My text analysis revealed that two key inferential genre markers found in language journalism are framing the narrative to prioritise story over research and the use of the first-person perspective. Twelve of the twenty-one texts I analysed (Appendix I) incorporated both of these aspects of language journalism. I use these techniques in both the creative and exegetical components of this thesis to not only distinguish between the two components and situate each within their text type and genre, but to demonstrate how each component speaks to the other to form a cohesive and complete creative writing thesis.

4.1 Narrative Frame: Prioritising Story Over Research

The narrative frame is a core component that distinguishes language journalism from scholarly writing about languages. The difference is partly due to the difference in intended audiences. Scholarly linguistics writing is for peers in the field, and the purpose is to share new knowledge with other experts in the field. Therefore, the expectation is that the writing will be set out with a standard research article structure, outlining methodology, results and discussion. The aim is to share ideas and knowledge, and therefore the knowledge itself must be the driver of the article. The reader is not interested in the personal story of the ups and downs of the research journey; but rather the rigour, implementation and outcome of the research. On the other hand, while excellent examples of language journalism will still offer substance for a specialised audience, the primary

[252] Coutinho and Miranda; Melissourgou and Frantzi, p. 381.

concern is communicating linguistics research and ideas to a general readership. Therefore, the way the narrative is framed necessarily prioritises story over research.[253]

Linguist David J. Peterson's 2015 book *The Art of Language Invention* takes the reader into the history of invented languages, and also guides the reader through the process of how to create a 'conlang' (constructed language). In the blurb, the book is pitched as '[this] might be the most fun you'll ever have with linguistics', and begins with Peterson detailing his reaction to hearing the language he invented for the television series *Game of Thrones* (2011-2019), Dothraki, for the first time:

> My initial reaction to hearing Dothraki, the language of the longbraided, horse riding warriors, though, was one of dismay. The first line one hears in the series is the pilot, when IIlyrio Mopatis, welcoming Khal Drogo and his band into the courtyard to arrange a marriage, says *Athchomar chomakaan*- "Welcome" when said to one person. I misremembered how I'd translated it, though, and thought he should have said *Althomar chomakea*- "Welcome" when said to more than one person. So even though Roger Allam's performance was fine and I was the one who was mistaken, I was a little miffed.[254]

Game of Thrones' popularity makes it the ideal way to frame the narrative. Peterson is an accomplished conlanger (language creator) and has worked on invented languages for many other television shows and movies. Yet his work on *Game of Thrones* is the most well-known, and therefore most familiar to potential readers. By offering readers an insight into his work on the show, Peterson justifies and articulates why language invention is an important art form, before breaking down the process of how to invent a language. Furthermore, despite his expertise in the

[253] There are exceptions to this, yet exceptions are considered outside the norm of academic writing, and, in the case of the creative arts as outlined in Chapter 2, creative works are still not universally recognised as scholarly output for creative academics. In Australia, creative works are recognised as non-creative research outputs.

[254] David J. Peterson, *The Art of Language Invention: From Horse-Lords to Dark Elves, the Words behind World-Building* (New York: Penguin Books, 2015), p. 1.

area, Peterson also acknowledges the sophistication, and thus expertise, of audiences viewing or reading work that includes invented languages:

> Few people, comparatively speaking, will care if an actor makes a mistake with their conlang lines. But thanks to the internet, those few people will find each other, and when they do, they'll be capable of making *big* noise…In order to meet the heightened expectations of audiences everywhere, we have to raise the bar for languages created for any purpose.[255]

Peterson not only invites the reader into the narrative by sharing his experience of creating Dothraki, but also by acknowledging the audience's own expertise on language. Even though Peterson is the expert, and the book goes into extensive detail on the phonology and orthography involved in inventing a language, Peterson acknowledges that the audience's expertise, while different to his own, is just as important to the art of language invention: if audience members did not notice when inconsistencies occur in invented languages, there would be no need to invent such rich and complex languages for fictional worlds. His work would be redundant. By framing the narrative in this way, Peterson invites readers into the narrative, rather than shutting them out.

In contrast, scholarly writing about language invention is framed in a way that prevents a general audience from easily accessing the information. Federico Gobbo investigated whether or not planned languages are less complex than natural languages.[256] From the very beginning, the article is geared towards an expert readership:

> The main hypothesis of this contribution is that complexity is a multifaceted concept that should be captured by different factors. The case studies of planned languages (which will

[255] Ibid, pp. 6-7.

[256] Federico Gobbo, 'Are Planned Languages Less Complex than Natural Languages?', *Language Sciences*, 60 (2017), 36–52 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2016.10.003>.

be defined below) will be the testbed for the conceptualization of complexity that is proposed here.[257]

The language ('the main hypothesis', 'the case studies', 'testbed for the conceptualization of complexity') and sentence structure (descriptive) frame the writing as an objective research study, with specific outcomes. A general reader is immediately alienated due to the disciplinary terminology and cannot easily engage with the text. The narrative is framed for an expert audience, and not a general audience. Aside from the fact the article was published in an academic journal and therefore demands an academic structure, there is also an argument to be made that Gobbo is not necessarily a linguist who invents languages, only analyses invented languages, and therefore the only logical choice is to frame the narrative in this way. He does not have practical experience, the way Peterson does, to enliven his analysis for the reader. Yet writer/linguist Arika Okrent's book *In the Land of Invented Languages*, unlike Peterson, does not detail how to create an invented language, but instead tells the story of her experiences in learning invented languages and becoming part of a community of speakers of invented languages.[258] Like Gobbo, Okrent was analysing invented languages and not inventing them herself, yet due to the difference in intended audience, she chose to frame the narrative around her experiences. The framing of the narrative is therefore a crucial inferential marker of language journalism, as it makes inaccessible linguistics research more accessible.

The framing of the narrative in my thesis as a whole was consequently an integral consideration in the construction of my thesis. In the context of my thesis, the way I framed the narrative played several roles. Firstly, given that both the creative and exegetical components of my thesis are works of nonfiction, the way I chose to frame each component played a role in clearly marking which text is the creative component and which text is the exegetical component. Secondly, while the individual framing of each component is critical, the way they speak to each

[257] Ibid, p. 36.
[258] Okrent.

other is also key, and therefore the framing of my thesis as a cohesive whole is important. Lastly, as both components integrate linguistics and creative writing theory and practice, the framing of the thesis also plays a role in clearly marking the thesis as a creative writing thesis, and not as a linguistics thesis. I am a creative writing PhD candidate, not a linguistics PhD candidate, and therefore the way in which I use the linguistics theories and research needs to be incorporated in a way that serves a creative writing thesis.

In the creative component of my thesis, I made a conscious choice to frame the narrative within each chapter by sharing insight into my research journey. The introduction and conclusion of each chapter begins and ends with my own research journey, as a way to guide the reader in how to read the research and analysis that sits between the two:

> The train slipped beneath the cavernous roof covering the platforms at Munich's main station and pulled to a stop. The station was exactly how I remembered it: a maze of shops and platforms and escalators with each commuter zigzagging a different path through it. My host sister spotted me across the station and ran to greet me. For the sake of the land we stood on we began our interactions in German; but it wasn't long before I couldn't keep up and reached for English. We had long since fallen into the habit of speaking English together, for the simple reason that her English was far superior to my German: our conversations had more depth, and more fluency, when we used English.[259]

While Peterson positions himself as an expert in language invention in his book, rather than positioning myself as an expert, I position myself as a researcher, sharing my research journey and uncovering information and considering ideas along with my reader. The excerpt above is the introduction to Part V, where I explore and analyse language education in Australia. A first draft of that chapter saw me immediately begin with an analysis of the climate of language education in Australia:

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[259] Raelke Grimmer, creative component, Part V: 私は…です, p. 135.

> Language teaching policies in Australia have been sporadic or non-existent for the past seventy years. Changing governments and changing political and economic priorities are some factors which have influenced inconsistency in language teaching policies. In particular, the 1950s was a major turning point for language education in this country, when two different high school examinations replaced the previous system of one examination: one for students wishing to go on to tertiary study and another for students wishing to undertake a trade.[260]

Yet without the frame of my own experience of struggling to fall back into a once-learned language, there is no acknowledgement to the reader on my part of my own difficulties with language learning. Initially, the chapter read as though I was lecturing the reader, rather than inviting the reader to explore the topics with me. The first draft was a poor attempt at a linguistics research paper, rather than a creative work exploring the status of languages in Australia. As the research overshadowed the narrative, my intended audience got lost in the process. I prioritised the *information* rather than the process of *finding* the information. In doing so, I was positioning myself as an expert speaking down to my reader, rather than inviting the reader along my journey of discovery with me.

Maria Tumarkin's *Axiomatic*, while not a work of language journalism, is an excellent example of how to invite the reader along on the research journey.[261] Tumarkin explores loss, grief and mourning in her work, and she interviewed people about their experiences over several years. Everything is transparent in *Axiomatic*: Tumarkin's thought processes, her analysis of the interviews and her interviewees, questions that go unanswered. In this process, there is an

[260] Raelke Grimmer, creative component draft 1, p. 85
[261] Maria M Tumarkin, *Axiomatic* (Melbourne: Brow Books, 2018).

immediacy in the way the work is crafted, and Tumarkin is with the reader as the *reader* processes the information and the narrative, rather than preaching to the reader from a position of authority:

> It should be obvious by now that Monique is not the casserole type. A couple of her friends lost family members and she sent flowers two weeks after everyone else. Possible description of human life: salad days at our peak, casserole days when it's over. And for those we leave behind, the post-casserole eternity.[262]

While Tumarkin is the one who researched and wrote the book, she is no closer to finding the ultimate answer than the reader, and this is exactly what Tumarkin demands of her reader: she is not there to provide the answers for her readers, but rather to confront her readers with questions they may not have considered, and demand they consider them.

I had difficulty finding the right narrative frame in many chapters in my creative component. To resolve this, I had to step back and remove the information from the context of my thesis. Instead, I rewrote the chapters pretending I was writing a piece for submission to a literary journal. By reconsidering the chapter in a different context, I thought more carefully about my intended audience, and thus shifted the way I presented the information and the narrative. In one chapter, I wrote about the proposed introduction of a language test for citizenship, situating the proposed legislation in the context of Australia's history of using language to discriminate. Initially, that chapter was a dense history of Australia's Dictation Test and bilingual education policies:

> Australians have a history of looking down on others from their English ivory tower.
>
> From Federation, language became a way in which Australia determined who may or may not migrate to the country. The Immigration Restriction Act 1901, implemented at Federation, imposed the Dictation Test on those wishing to migrate to or enter Australia.[263]

[262] Ibid, p. 12.
[263] Raelke Grimmer, creative component draft 3, p. 15.

This example from an early draft of Part I of the creative component gets the information across, yet it is sitting there on its own, with no connection to how past actions fit into Australia's present. There is no narrative in the information. When I reworked the idea, I thought more carefully about how to pull the reader into the narrative and how to make the information relevant and accessible for a general readership:

> Furthermore, given Australia's language diversity and mix of Indigenous and community languages alongside English, requiring such a high language component is in direct opposition to the multiculturalism Australia promotes.
>
> Language has been used since Federation to selectively include or exclude people from our nation's multicultural fold, and the proposed changes to citizenship suggest a shift back to anti-foreign sentiments.[264]

In this example, how the historical perspective shapes our reading of the present day is clearly signposted for the reader. By including the first-person with 'our', I aim to position myself as 'one of us' and as part of the problem, rather than preaching and talking down to the reader. It changes my tone, I hope, from that of an academic journal article, pitched at other researchers in the field, to one of sharing my investigation and analysis, pitched at a general readership. I intended for these small nuances to create a big impact on the overall accessibility of the work, but I found these aspects difficult to balance. In order to find my preferred narrative frame, I had to remove the information from the thesis itself and consider it in isolation, for a different creative context. When I forced myself to carefully consider my audience, I had no choice but to interrogate how the narrative hung together. Even so, the example above is still didactic. While it connects the present with the past, I am *telling* the reader the situation, rather than *sharing* my insights. In the final version, the passage appears as follows:

[264] Raelke Grimmer, creative component draft 4, p. 17.

> English's dominance on the global stage underpins the role of English in Australia and despite the nation's history as a multilingual land, from Federation in 1901, English was the chosen weapon for cultivating a white English-speaking nation. The weapon was wielded through the Immigration Restriction Act 1901.
>
> The Act consolidated the individual colonies' selective migration policies into an overarching policy and imposed the Dictation Test on anyone wishing to migrate to or enter Australia. The policy ensured language remained a way in which Australia determined eligibility for entering Australian territory.[265]

The language in the final version is sharper than the previous iterations ('English was the chosen weapon') to demonstrate to the reader the severity of the Act's impact. It is also more succinct overall. The proposed citizenship test has not yet been introduced to the reader. The aspect of the narrative I am prioritising is the juxtaposition between Australia's multiculturalism and the little visibility given to Australia's multilingualism. To communicate why the proposed language test for citizenship is so controversial, firstly the reader needs to understand the discriminatory history underpinning the use of such tests in Australia.

In contrast, the exegetical component of my thesis demands a more research-focused structure. This is not the case with the exegetical component of all creative writing theses; however, as I draw heavily on applied linguistics scholarship in my analysis, the content lends itself more readily to a traditional research structure. Furthermore, as the purpose of the exegesis is to justify the original contribution to knowledge that my creative component represents, the *research* therefore needs to be front and centre in the narrative. Structuring the exegesis in this way therefore serves my purpose in all three ways: it clearly delineates the creative component from the exegetical component; it speaks to the creative component and articulates the original contribution to knowledge; and it also enables me to use a linguistics analysis on my creative process, and therefore

[265] Raelke Grimmer, creative component, Part I: Language Royalty, p 24.

clearly marks the thesis as a creative thesis and not a linguistics thesis. In the exegesis, the research comes first, and this very chapter clearly exemplifies this point. My discussion begins with an introduction that outlines inferential genre markers, and which ones I will discuss in relation to my thesis being a work of language journalism. Furthermore, the formal structure of each component of the thesis further guides the reader in how to read each component. The creative component is set out in five parts, with no subheadings within each part, while the exegesis is set out closer to linguistics academic writing, with subheadings within each individual chapter. These aspects further indicate to the reader that the different components of the thesis are serving different purposes, while they still come together to form, I hope, a cohesive creative writing thesis.

The framing of the narrative plays a crucial role in distinguishing language journalism from academic texts about linguistics. In the context of my thesis, choosing the right frame for the narrative, in both the creative component and the exegesis, is critical not only within the narrative of each component and in clearly marking each component as distinct from the other, but also in ensuring each component speaks to the other and that, despite the linguistic analysis, as a whole, the thesis can be read as a creative writing thesis. The framing choices I have made in this thesis are informed by my knowledge of text types and genre (of language journalism, academic linguistics writing and scholarly creative writing), and enacted during the creative process, to ensure that my overall purpose- constructing a creative writing thesis- is achieved.

4.2 First-person Perspective

The use of the first-person is another common trait shared by different works of language journalism (Appendix I), and it acts as an inferential marker for the genre. Using the first-person not only distinguishes language journalism from academic writing about language, but the technique

serves the way the narrative is framed, by prioritising the research journey.[266] The first-person is commonly employed across all forms of creative nonfiction and is not unique to language journalism. John Tulloch explains that: 'using the first-person in the narration of journalism is now nearly universal… only the genre of news still maintains some pretensions to a third-person objectivity based on the third person point of view.'[267] David Abrahamson agrees, yet cautions that 'the first-person is perhaps a double-edged sword.'[268] He explains that while the first-person can be an excellent tool for writing journalism, it is also easy for the use of the first-person to go wrong, if it is used for the wrong reasons.[269] As an example, Abrahamson writes that he makes a point of telling his students that if they are going to use the first-person perspective, they need to be sure readers 'will care' and have 'some authentic reaction' to the narrator.[270] He also argues that the use of the first-person can disrupt a narrative's flow. However, in his analysis of creative nonfiction essays published in 2005's *In Fact: The Best of Creative Nonfiction*, Michael Pickett observes that the 'author's presence within the story greatly outnumbered those essays in which the author was not present'.[271] Using the first-person in creative nonfiction writing is now not only accepted, but an integral part of creative nonfiction. In considering the text types (creative writing thesis, creative text, exegetical text) and genres (language journalism and exegesis) I am writing for my thesis, the first-person perspective plays critical, but different, roles in each component of my thesis, and thus in my thesis as a whole.

My decision to narrate the creative component of my thesis in the first-person was informed by my knowledge and experience of creative nonfiction in general, as well as my analysis of the genre markers of language journalism. In doing so, I placed myself as central to the narrative.

[266] Okrent; Erard, *Babel No More*.
[267] John Tulloch, 'Ethics, Trust and the First-person in the Narration of Long-Form Journalism', *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 15.5 (2014), 629–38 (p. 636) <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884914523233>.
[268] David Abrahamson, 'There Be Dragons: The Dangerous Pedagogy of the First-person', *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 73.3 (2018), 358–62 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695817719138>.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Michael Pickett, 'An Analysis of Narrative and Voice in Creative Nonfiction', *Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 2.7 (2013), 1–14 (p. 8) <https://doi.org/10.18533/journal.v2i7.168>.

Tulloch analysed the use of the first-person perspective in the works of Ian Jack and Gitta Sereny and explains that while each writer uses the first-person in different ways, they 'share in their work a quality of personal exposure, a presence that identifies them with their subject.'[272] Specifically, Tulloch explores how Sereny wrote about the topic of senior Nazis and the topic of child murderers. In order to do so, Tulloch explains that 'only by placing herself *within the frame* of her narrative as a moral, historical being, can she establish the relationship with her subject and the accompanying ethical dialogue.'[273] Similarly, Suki Kim uses the first-person perspective in her book *Without You There is No Us* to recount her time teaching English in North Korea, inserting herself as a core main character in the story.[274] Kim's voice in the narrative is essential, as the analysis of North Korea she communicates to the reader is one built through her world view. It is her Western view that provides the contrast to North Korea's regime, creating a familiar comparison point for her readers:

> I was not allowed to tell them that their intranet was not the same as the Internet- that the rest of the world was connected while only they were left out. I would look for signs that one of them guessed the truth, but I saw none. Without having experienced the World Wide Web, could I have imagined it? Even if someone had described it to me, I would not have been able to fathom it.[275]

Where the reader cannot relate to life within North Korea, they can relate to Kim's experiences of living within that regime, without the freedoms of the West. In Kim's case, the first-person narration also provides something of a disclaimer: her observations about North Korea are hers alone, based on her experiences only. She is not presenting her narrative as an absolute truth, but as her experience of the regime.

In the case of my creative component, it is integral to the overall narrative structure that readers understand where I am positioned within the discussion of multilingualism in Australia. My

[272] Tulloch, p. 633.
[273] Ibid, p. 634.
[274] Kim, *Without You, There Is No Us*.
[275] Kim, *Without You, There Is No Us*, p. 75.

name often leads to the assumption that I am not Australian or even, on occasion, that I am not white. I therefore needed to be clear with my readers upfront that I am approaching my subject matter as a white, Australian woman: 'I am a white Australian woman, despite the fact my name suggests otherwise.'[276] Stating this emphatically at the beginning of the narrative immediately removes any assumptions a reader may make in that respect. It also challenges the idea of Australian society divided down lines of 'Australians' and 'Australians from elsewhere' and sets the frame for my interrogation of my German heritage. If I am going to ask my readers to interrogate their own heritage, I must be willing to do so myself.

My decision to narrate in the first-person also came from the desire to clearly demarcate the creative component as a creative work about languages, rather than an applied linguistics research study. It is a common technique used in works of language journalism. Abrahamson writes that 'the first-person narrator is not only a story-teller but also something of a travel guide, the reader's partner, adding both authenticity and texture to the journey.'[277] Using the first-person in this way is widespread in language journalism. Okrent's *In the Land of Invented Languages* takes the reader through the history of invented languages. Okrent herself is not a conlanger like Peterson, but she is a linguist and a writer, and was curious about the world of invented languages. As part of her research for the book, she learned different invented languages, including Esperanto and Klingon, and attended events to meet with other speakers of these invented languages. Okrent uses the travel guide technique to recount her experience attending the annual World Esperanto Congress:

> The earthly setting of my first Esperanto experience was the MIT campus, the 2003 venue for the annual congress of the Esperanto League of North America. As I drove from New Jersey through hellish Fourth of July traffic toward Cambridge, the clearest mental picture of an Esperanto congress I could muster was five gray-haired radicals on folding chairs bantering about the Spanish civil war and their stamp collections. I imagined they would be

[276] Raelke Grimmer, creative component, Introduction, p. 1.
[277] Abrahamson, p. 2.

> speaking Esperanto, but not for everything. Surely, as soon as something worth saying came up, they would lapse back into English. Just in case, though, I studied up. I brought my dictionary and grammar book and practiced having the maturity not to giggle when I spoke the textbook phrase for "How are you?" or more specifically "How are you faring?" which is rendered as " Kiel vi fartas ?"[278]

By inserting herself into the narrative in this way, Okrent invites the reader into the world of invented languages as their expert guide. In this scenario, Okrent is both the expert and an outsider. She is an expert, as she is a linguist, but an outsider at the Esperanto event, as she is new to the language and it is her first time attending the congress. By sharing she is an outsider despite being an expert in the field, the reader not only relates to Okrent but can join her on the journey.

Similarly, Michael Erard's *Babel No More* also guides the reader through the research journey Erard took in writing his book. The reader visits Italy and the homes of many hyperpolyglots (people who speak more than ten languages) along with Erard, and Erard shares his thought processes with the reader along the way:

> When the topic of hyperpolyglots comes up, the historical character Giuseppe Mezzofanti inevitably does, too, so it made sense for my quest to begin with him. I headed to Bolonga, Italy, where I hoped to uncover, with 150 years of linguistic and neurological research to my advantage, evidence that his admirers and biographers had overlooked. It wasn't just the number of languages ascribed to Mezzofanti that impressed me; it was the speed at which he was said to learn them, and his ability to switch between them. How could he do that? *Could* he really do that? Did he know languages rather than facts about languages, and could he use them in a specialized, substantial way? The answers would anchor a deeper investigation into the nature of linguistic talents.[279]

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[278] Okrent, pp. 92–93.
[279] Erard, *Babel No More*, p. 16.

By using the first-person, Erard invites the reader in to his research process and is transparent about his methods. This encourages the readers to consider the issues for themselves before reading Erard's own views and what he discovered through his research, thus allowing the reader to go on the research journey with him. It also creates the narrative within Erard's work: the narrative in *Babel No More* is not only a historic one about Giuseppe Mezzofanti, but is also Erard's research journey of uncovering the secrets of hyperpolyglots.

I also use the 'travel guide' technique in the creative component of my thesis. While researching the manuscript, I regularly drove to the Barossa Valley from Adelaide, and I wanted the reader to go on that journey from the city to the country with me. I wanted to contrast the small-town atmosphere in the Barossa with the hustle and bustle of Adelaide, for the reader to gain an understanding of how German as a language shaped the small Barossa community:

> There are two possible ways to reach the Barossa from where I used to live: a scenic drive through the Adelaide Hills, or a traffic-choked trek through Adelaide's concrete centre. Google insists the city route is the quicker option, and this is the route I choose to follow. The drive takes me along the length of three-quarters of South Road, a road that stretches the entire city from north to south. They built South Road along the track that the Kaurna people of the Adelaide plains used to get from one side of their land to the other. They had pinpointed the most direct route, and so the colonists built Adelaide's vein along it. Eventually, South Road gives way to Port Wakefield Road, where road trains heading for Northern Australia trap vehicles in the city longer than is strictly necessary. Then finally, the turn-off for the North-Eastern Expressway guides the remainder of the journey. Industrialism gives way to greenery, paddocks and vineyards.[280]

[280] Raelke Grimmer, creative component, Part II: Erbesprachen, p. 57

My use of this technique is a '*meta-story* approach', where I have included my narrative of learning about German in the Barossa Valley within the main narrative of languages in Australia.[281] I want the reader to experience not only the bigger picture of the status of languages in Australian society, but understand the effects that diminishing languages at the higher level can have on the community level. The best way for me to communicate this with my readers was to insert myself into the narrative and share my research trail with them.

While using the first-person perspective in creative nonfiction is not uncommon and so my choice to use it in the creative component is not unusual, the use of the first-person in academic writing is perceived to be informal in some disciplines.[282] While conventions around the use of the first-person differ between disciplines, style guides for English academic writing often advise avoiding personal pronouns in academic writing.[283] As one of the aims of academic writing is to express ideas clearly, when well-executed, writing formally ensures ideas are not misunderstood. Personal pronouns are associated with informal language and subjectivity and are therefore seen by some academics and disciplines as inhibiting research objectivity. Even so, in response to a perception in the literature that academic writing has become more informal over time, linguists Ken Hyland and Feng Jiang undertook a corpus analysis of academic papers to determine if the formality of academic texts is decreasing over time.[284] They created a corpus of texts in four different disciplines (applied linguistics, sociology, electrical engineering and biology) from 1965, 1985 and 2015 and analysed the texts for features of informal language to detect what shifts had occurred. One of the features they looked at was the use of first-person pronouns. They found that out of the four disciplines, applied linguistics was the only discipline where the use of first-person pronouns decreased.[285] Hyland and Jiang suggest that this is 'perhaps as a result of the self-

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[281] Abrahamson, p. 4.
[282] Ken Hyland and Feng (Kevin) Jiang, 'Is Academic Writing Becoming More Informal?', *English for Specific Purposes*, 45 (2017), 40–51 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2016.09.001>; Karen Bennett, 'English Academic Style Manuals: A Survey', *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 8.1 (2009), 43–54 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2008.12.003>.
[283] Bennett.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid.

consciousness of language-sensitive writers aware of the attention this draws to the individual and the strong claims it makes for agency in research'.[286] While academic English style guides still advocate for avoiding the first-person in academic writing, the use of the first-person in academic writing can be found across disciplines.

While I made a conscious decision to employ the first-person in the creative component of my thesis, my use of the first-person in the exegesis is by design, rather than a stylistic choice. To write about my writing process and the construction of my thesis, I need to use the first-person in my analysis. Rather than using the first-person to frame the narrative, in the exegesis my use of the first-person is for the analysis of passages from my thesis, as supporting evidence for my ideas. The analysis paragraphs of my framing and language illustrate this point. I analyse examples from two works of language journalism, before demonstrating how my analysis applies to my own writing. The discussion is largely framed through the third-person, before I bring in the first-person for my analysis of my own writing. In addition, given the interdisciplinary nature of my thesis, it is important for me to employ the first-person in the exegesis to firmly situate myself and my research at the intersection of both disciplines.

Conclusion

Framing the narrative to prioritise story over research and the use of the first-person perspective are two key inferential genre markers that distinguish works of language journalism from academic writing about linguistics. In language journalism, the narrative frame and first-person perspective differentiate the delivery of the ideas and analysis from that of academic linguistics writing. It is through these techniques that language journalists invite their reader along on the research journey with them, so that they are not speaking to their reader from a position of being an expert, but as a joint exploration of linguistic ideas. The expertise informs the narrative, rather than driving the narrative. While the first-person perspective can occur in academic linguistics writing, it is then the

[286] Ibid, p. 45.

way the narrative is framed that clearly distinguishes language journalism from linguistics research: in language journalism, the story is prioritised and frames each section, while in academic linguistics research, the background and information frame the use of the first-person in order to contextualise why the first-person perspective is relevant to the research questions at hand. The methodology, approach and background information are presented to the reader as a narrative of how and why the writer came to explore the ideas, rather than presented as fact. In being transparent, language journalism demystifies the processes and procedures around linguistics research and takes the reader along on the investigation. The best pieces also use the reader as a sounding board, inviting their queries, criticisms and questions.

I made a conscious decision to include these techniques in the creative part of my thesis, based not only on my knowledge of genre, but on the story I wanted to tell. Yet while my exegesis frames the narrative differently to the creative component, by prioritising research rather than story, due to the nature of the analysis in my exegesis, I also use the first-person perspective, albeit in a different way to how I use it in the creative part. In doing so, the genre lines between the creative and exegetical components begin to blur.

The creative and exegetical components of my thesis share some of the inferential markers of language journalism. Even so, the framing of each text and the different ways first-person pronouns are used in the components situate each individually within a different social context. Despite this, I cannot ignore the fact that each component is also influenced by the need to pull them together cohesively as a creative writing thesis. Therefore, they are further influenced by the role each plays within the text type of a creative writing thesis, and the expected markers of a creative thesis. While the genres blur together and speak to each other, understanding the inferential genre markers of each and how I can use those to differentiate between and aid my storytelling in each component provides me with important tools I can use during the writing process to construct not only the individual components, but my thesis as a whole.

CONCLUSION

Out of necessity, many writers move between different professional domains. Often, these shifts are not clear cut and remnants of each surface across a writer's different professions, each informing, contextualising and colouring the other. The critical lens that writing holds up to society in both fiction and nonfiction demands that writers interact with the differing contexts of their worlds and society to create work that reflects and interrogates these realities. For myself and my own writing practice, my background and professional experience as a linguist are often infused into my writing. Likewise, I apply linguistics perspectives to my analysis of literature and writing, in both my own work and the work of other writers. I work and create within these two disciplines. My domains of creative writing and applied linguistics permeate this thesis through my use of an interdisciplinary genre analysis of my process of constructing my interdisciplinary thesis. The integration of these two fields creates the need to carefully consider the ways in which I use language to communicate my ideas.

Defining genre is as fluid as genres themselves. The meaning of the term changes depending on the context and the discipline. Genre is an essential concept in both creative writing and applied linguistics, yet each uses and applies the term in different ways. In creative writing, many writers see genre as arbitrarily boxing works into predetermined categories, thus undermining the complexity of some texts.[287] In contrast, an SFL perspective sees genre as situating texts within specific social contexts, and consequently providing writers with specific conventions and structural tools to create works for specific purposes.[288] Employing these tools in the writing process contributes not only to clarity of purpose for the writer, but to clarity of meaning for the intended audience.

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[287] Neil Gaiman and Kazuo Ishiguro; Wilkins; Westwood.

[288] Halliday and Hasan; Halliday, 'Grammar and the Construction of Educational Knowledge'; Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*; Melissourgou and Frantzi; Coutinho and Miranda.

My application of an SFL perspective of genre to my creative writing process demonstrates the importance of considering genre during the writing process. Writing does not exist in isolation, uninfluenced, from previously published works, just as writers do not create works in isolation from their professional identities and the world around them. The creative component of this thesis emerged from my observations of my society through the linguistic frameworks, concepts and theories I work with daily. It was a combination of an SFL analysis and my knowledge of different text types and genres that informed the way I chose to construct not only the creative component, but this exegesis and my thesis as a whole. Knowledge of text types and genres inform the creation of new works and thus the way a piece of writing is constructed. While genres are used as arbitrary labels ascribed to individual texts for marketing and bookselling purposes, their function goes far beyond assisting readers in choosing books they will enjoy. Writers use their knowledge of genre to situate their writing within specific social contexts, by either conforming to, or subverting, genre expectations. It is through this function that genre does not box writers in but provides tools writers can use to experiment with form, structure and writing conventions, and to blur genre lines.

My thesis consists of two text types (creative nonfiction and nonfiction) and two genres (language journalism and exegesis). I made a conscious decision to structure my thesis in this way before I started to write, and, in part due to the fact both components of my thesis are nonfiction text types, there is a complex relationship between each part. Firstly, in the way each component stands individually within its respective genre, and secondly, as they stand together to comprise a cohesive creative writing thesis. Applying an SFL analysis to my writing process enabled me to explore how I negotiated these relationships in constructing this thesis.

While the delineation between creative nonfiction and fiction is debated, within the context of my thesis, the distinction is a useful one to make. It not only assists in signposting and differentiating the creative artefact from the exegetical text but provides a starting point for comparing and contrasting the differences and similarities between the way each component was constructed. Therefore, the use of the two terms not only clearly situates each text within the social

purpose and thus its role within my thesis but opens an avenue for analysis. Applied more broadly, differentiating texts in this way signposts for readers more generally what they can expect from a particular work and guide their reading preferences.

At the genre level, language journalism as a genre within creative nonfiction has emerged out of the changing social contexts of the past sixty years.[289] Noam Chomsky's controversial impact on the field of linguistics created wider public interest in the discipline, creating a demand for writing about language and linguistics that is accessible to non-experts.[290] In addition, the unprecedented role of English as a global language has shifted the way languages are used in everyday life, creating a phenomenon impacting people all over the world.[291] On top of these changes, mass migration, partly caused by war, terrorism and, increasingly, climate change, has contributed to the creation of large multilingual speaking societies and further complexities around the lived experiences of language and identity.[292] These social changes have created an environment where we are constantly confronted with the social aspects of language and linguistics, leading to more writers choosing to explore these aspects in their writing.

In order to contribute a creative text to the genre, I analysed the genre markers that characterise language journalism to inform the structural and stylistic choices I made in constructing the creative component of my thesis. Based on my analysis of the referential markers of different works of language journalism, I chose to use text analysis, fieldwork and interviews as my research methods. To focus on the social aspects of language in the creative text, I chose to write about how language is used to shape identity within Australian society and explore why the nation rejects multilingualism as part of its multiculturalism. These referential markers of language journalism demonstrate the ways in which my creative artefact can be read as belonging to the

[289] Erard, 'What Is Language Journalism?'
[290] Newmeyer; Noam Chomsky, 'Some Core Contested Concepts', *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 44.1 (2015), 91–104 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10936-014-9331-5>; Lukin.
[291] Crystal, *English as a Global Language*.
[292] Lappin; Mizumura.

genre. In addition to the referential markers, I identified and incorporated two key inferential markers into my work: the narrative frame and use of the first-person perspective. These aspects further mark the creative text as sitting within language journalism.

While I approached the creative component in a systematic way, this did not mean the writing process was straightforward. Rather, the genre markers provided a guide I could draw on to ensure my writing communicated my purpose. This was an especially useful tool to have in this context, as both the creative and exegetical components are works of nonfiction that fuse creative writing and linguistics. Therefore, in writing the two components concurrently, it was easy to unintentionally slip into the style and tone of the other. Language journalism's genre markers enabled me to shift the creative component back to a creative piece intended for a non-specialist audience, with research informing the narrative rather than the research dominating the narrative.

On the other hand, my exegesis emerged much less systematically. My knowledge of creative exegeses was more limited, as my research background is more strongly grounded in applied linguistics than creative writing. Additionally, due to the nature of creative writing research, each example exegesis I read rendered in a very different way, depending on the creative project the writer undertook.[293] Therefore, so long as my exegesis proposed and sought to answer my research questions, the form of the exegesis could take whatever shape best served my thesis as a coherent whole. It is for this reason I chose to structure the exegesis as an applied linguistics study, explicitly outlining my research questions, literature review, methodology, analysis and discussion. Structuring my thesis in this way not only aided me in maintaining a delineation between the creative and theoretical components of my thesis, but also physically demonstrates the contrast between a work of language journalism, intended for a non-specialist audience, and academic linguistics writing, intended for an expert audience. This physical representation extends the

[293] Robertson and others.

analysis and discussion in the exegesis of the similarities, differences and tensions between these aspects.

It is at this juncture that the text type of a creative writing thesis comes into play. Individually, I have written a creative artefact in the genre of language journalism and an exegesis; yet, they must come together to form a creative writing thesis. This adds an additional layer of considerations. My creative work necessarily includes more rigorous referencing than what would otherwise be expected, had I written it for a different purpose, and, while I chose to structure my exegesis in the tradition of applied linguistics research and use an applied linguistics framework for my analysis, the reality is that the exegesis is serving a creative writing, not an applied linguistics, thesis. Therefore, I have consciously included markers that clearly signpost the exegesis as a creative writing exegesis: my use of the first-person perspective and the essay-style prose. While these characteristics are not absent in academic applied linguistics writing, they are the exception rather than the norm, the way they are in the creative writing discipline.[294] Considering this, and the similarities between the creative component and the exegesis, what prevents my creative work as being read as a scholarly linguistics work, and my exegesis as a work of language journalism?

As demonstrated in the analysis and discussion chapters in this exegesis, both components of my thesis share many genre markers associated with language journalism. The core difference between the two is the way the narrative is framed in each component: in the creative, narrative is prioritised over research, while in the exegesis the research is the priority. But remove each component from the text type of a creative writing thesis, and consider each component in a different social context, and each would read very differently. While each component serves a different purpose within this thesis, in a different context the creative could be seen as a scholarly linguistics work, while the exegesis could be read as a work of language journalism: they are both works of nonfiction, they both incorporate aspects of linguistics and creative writing, they both use

[294] Clode; Hyland and Jiang.

linguistics research methods and the first-person perspective. At the core of the thesis is interdisciplinary research, causing the lines of genre to blur: between language journalism and scholarly linguistics writing; between creative nonfiction and nonfiction; between a creative component and an exegesis; and between a creative writing thesis and an applied linguistics thesis.

Writing this thesis required me to draw on and balance my knowledge of these text types and genres to decide which conventions and markers to draw on, and which to ignore. Ultimately, it is the genre choices I made that allows this thesis to sit comfortably in the social context of a creative writing thesis, despite the interdisciplinarity of the work. Far from the formulaic structures that dictate academic writing genres, the genre markers acted as a compass, allowing me to use the markers that pointed me in the direction I wanted to go, and discard those that did not.

While an SFL perspective of genre demonstrates how genre dictates the form of a work, that is not to say that a literary perspective of genre, that focuses on the function of a work, does not have an important role to play. While rejected by writers as pigeon-holing writers and works into rigid categories, the reality is that genre categorisation not only helps readers in choosing what to read and marketers in marketing books, but provides frameworks within which writers and literary scholars can analyse and situate texts. A literary view of genres provides a starting point for analysis, where the complexity within hybrid and nonconforming texts can be discussed. At that point, the role genre played in shaping the form of a work gives way to the role genre plays in the reading and discussion of completed texts. The creation phase and the role genre played in that phase is over, and is handed over to readers, critics and literary scholars.

This demonstrates that when applied to the discipline of creative writing, a hybrid approach to genre, incorporating aspects of both SFL and literary perspectives of genre, provides a strong theoretical grounding for both the text creation aspect of writing and for the analysis of completed texts. Creative writing as a discipline sits at this divide, where analysis of completed texts informs the creation of new texts contributing to bodies of work within specific genres. The writing informs

the analysis as the analysis informs the writing, and therefore it is imperative to not only use a literary perspective of genre to understand the ways in which texts are constructed and received by readers, but to incorporate an SFL perspective to understand the purpose of a piece of writing and how best to communicate that purpose and the ideas to the reader. This thesis is one example of how a hybrid approach enriches the writing process and provides a starting point for further research into how this approach applies to text creation in different creative writing genres.

Once my thesis is submitted and examined, I will return to it, extract and rewrite, recontextualising and restructuring my ideas to be published in different social contexts, for different purposes. As I do, different genres markers will guide my rewriting and reconceptualisation of the ideas for different audiences. Even so, each new iteration will carry with it leftover markers that forever signal that the research and ideas within these new iterations started out as a creative writing PhD thesis. I hope those markers don't remain

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APPENDIX I: LANGUAGE JOURNALISM GENRE MARKER ANALYSIS*

Text	Text Type	Form	Referential Genre Markers			Inferential Genre Markers	
			Author has a linguistics background	Use of linguistic research methods	Focus on social aspect of language	First-person perspective	Framing of narratives prioritises story
Bellos, David, *Is That a Fish in Your Ear?: Translation and the Meaning of Everything* (USA: Farrer, Straus and Giroux, 2011)	creative nonfiction	book	Linguist and translator	Text analysis	Yes- how translation works in practice/ story of translation	✓ (limited)	✓
Clyne, Michael G., *Australia's Language Potential* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2005)	nonfiction	book	Linguist	Historical linguistics/ sociolinguistics	Yes- role of languages in Australia	x	x
Cobb, Russell, 'The Way We Talked: Imagining a Golden Age of American Regional Dialects', *Schwa Fire*, 1.1 (2014) [access 6 June 2015]	creative nonfiction	essay	Writer and linguist	Observations of dialects in use, interviews	Dialect nostalgia; people longing for dialects of the past	✓	✓
Crystal, David, *How Language Works* (London: Penguin Books, 2008)	nonfiction	book	Linguist, writer, journalist	Analytical linguistics	No (focus on analysing language structures	x	x
Dorren, Gaston, *Lingo: A Language Spotter's Guide to Europe* (Profile Books, 2015)	nonfiction	book	Linguist and polyglot	historical/ analytical linguistics	Explores how different languages are used in practice	✓ (very limited)	x
Elwood, Zachary, 'Poker talk', *Schwa Fire*, 1.2 (2014) <http://stories.schwa-fire.com/poker_talk> [accessed 6 June 2015]	creative nonfiction	essay	Not a trained linguist or writer; but has written books about poker	Uses mostly own experience to construct narrative around language/body language cures in poker	Importance of language and body language in poker	✓	✓

Erard, Michael, *Babel No More: The Search for the World's Most Extraordinary Language Learners* (New York: Free Press, 2012)	creative nonfiction	book	Graduate degrees in linguistics	Interviews/historical linguistics	Explores the social aspect of being a hyperpolyglot	✓	✓
Everett, Daniel, *Don't Sleep, There Are Snakes: Life and Language in the Amazonian Jungle* (New York: Vintage Departures, 2009)	creative nonfiction	book	Linguist (Chair of Linguistics at the University of Illinois)	Fieldwork	Memoir style about his life living with the Piraha and learning their language	✓	✓
Goldsworthy, Anna, 'Voices of the Land', *The Monthly*, 1 September 2014 <https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2014/september/1409493600/anna-goldsworthy/voices-land [Accessed 19 May 2017]	creative nonfiction	essay	writer	Interviews/ fieldwork	Reports on the Barngarla reclamation in Port Augusta	x (only one instance)	✓
Greene, Robert Lane, *You Are What You Speak: Grammar Grouches, Language Laws, and the Politics of Identity* (USA: Delacorte Press, 2011)	nonfiction	book	No formal linguistic qualifications but speaks 9 languages	Text analysis/historical linguistics	Explores the role language plays in shaping social beliefs and identity	✓ (sparingly- used to frame whole narrative not individual chapters)	x
Hagège, Claude, *On the Death and Life of Languages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011)	nonfiction	book	Linguist	Historical linguistics/ language analysis	Explores language death and revival	x	x
Kelly, Nataly, and Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *Found in Translation: How Language Shapes Our Lives and Transforms the World* (New York: Perigee, 2012)	creative nonfiction	book	Translators and writers	Text analysis, fieldwork, interviews	Social impact of translation	✓	✓
Lappin, Elena, *What Language Do I Dream In?* (Great Britain: Virago Press, 2016)	creative nonfiction	book	Not a linguist- but grew up across four different countries and speaks five languages fluently	No- a memoir	Memoir structured around her different languages	✓	✓
Liedel, Emily, 'A Canal Where a Language Used to Be', *Schwa Fire*, 2.3 (2015) <https://schwafire.atavist.com/linguistic_peril_canal> [accessed 6 June 2015]	creative nonfiction	essay	Journalist, not a trained linguist	Fieldwork/interviews	Importance of the canal to the survival of the	✓	✓

					Rama language		
McCrum, Robert, *Globish: How the English Language Became the World's Language* (New York: W.W Norton & Co, 2010)	creative nonfiction	book	A writer/ journalist; not a linguist	Historical linguistics	Yes- narrative of the history of English	x	✓
Mizumura, Minae, *The Fall of Language in the Age of English*, trans. by Mari Yoshihara and Juliet Winter Carpenter (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014)	nonfiction	book	Writer	Historical linguistics/ text analysis	Yes- the demise of other language in the wake of English as a global language	✓	✓
Nathan, Debbie, ''Accent Tagging Schwa Fire', *Schwa Fire*, 3.2 (2015) <https://schwafire.atavist.com/accent_tag_nation> [accessed 6 June 2015]	creative nonfiction	essay	Writer and linguist	Interviews	Accent tagging and its contribution to linguistic research	x	✓
Okrent, Arika, *In the Land of Invented Languages: A Celebration of Linguistic Creativity Madness, and Genius* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2010)	Creative nonfiction	book	Writer/linguist	Interviews/ fieldwork	Learning invented languages and the stories behind their inventors and the communities around them	✓	✓
Peterson, David J., *The Art of Language Invention: From Horse-Lords to Dark Elves, the Words behind World-Building* (New York: Penguin Books, 2015)	creative nonfiction	book	Linguist (invented Dothraki for *Games of Thrones*)	Analytical linguistics	Yes- his experiences of inventing languages interwoven into how to invent languages	✓	✓
Suslack, Daniel, 'Vodaphone's Cliché', 1.2 (2014) <http://stories.schwa-fire.com/who_save_ayapaneco> [accessed 17 November 2015]	creative nonfiction	essay	Anthropologist/ linguist	Fieldwork	Vodaphone's exploitation of the myth of last two speakers of	✓	✓

					Avapaneco refusing to speak to each other		
Thirlwell, Adam, ed., *Multiples: an anthology of stories in an assortment of languages and literary styles* (London: Portobello, 2013)	fiction	book	Writers/ translators	Text analysis/ translation	No- focused on the technical aspects of translation	x	x

***Key:**

Grey highlight: text includes all language journalism genre markers (9 texts)

Blue highlight: text includes only inferential genre marks (3 texts)

Green highlight: text includes only referential genre markers (6 texts)

Unhighlighted: text includes a mix of some (not all) referential and inferential genre markers (3 texts)

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