Language Loyalty and Language Purity in a Language Contact Situation: South Australian Czech

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Abstract: This paper is a parallel study to "Czeching Out a Language Contact Situation: Grammatical Replication and Shift in South Australian Czech" (Castle forthcoming) and investigates the reasons why grammatical borrowing and attrition processes occur within the South Australian Czech community. In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with six participants, yielding results including reports of cognitive pressure, structural influence and similarity, and outside societal pressure to speak English. Utilizing Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework, it was found that Czech Australian participant speech was marked by characteristics placing it at level three on the borrowing scale: function words and sentence structure are borrowed from English, which correlates with participant experience with a more intense level of contact and social pressure from the larger Australian majority. Additionally, "need" (van Coetsem 2000: 215), comprising social pressure, structural similarity, and cognitive pressure, is the key factor in grammatical borrowing, transfer, and attrition processes in the Czech South Australian community.

1. Introduction

This study aims to identify potential drivers of grammatical borrowing in South Australian Czech as established in Castle (forthcoming), including cognitive pressure to assimilate, gap filling, and increasing simplicity and structural similarity, with a focus on possible compounding sociocultural motivations. It also aims to explore reasons behind other grammatical phenomena occurring in the South Australian Czech community, including attrition processes and loss.

This paper interacts with and builds on findings from previous studies of Czech diasporic communities (Vaculík 2004, 2009; Dejmek 2007; McCabe 2016) and Czech as a diasporic language (Henzl 1982; Machann and Mendl 1983; Sherwood Smith 1991; Šašková-Pierce 1993; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Gallup 1998; Hannan 2004; Eckert 2006; Cope 2006, 2011; Eckert and Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009; Vaculík and Kucík 2014). It aims to contribute to filling the gap in the literature with regards to the drivers of grammatical borrowing in this

diasporic community. Previous papers have focused on the drivers of attrition processes in such communities (Sherwood-Smith 1991; Šašková-Pierce 1993; Dutková 1998; Cope and Dittman 2020), which this paper will also address and build on, or have shown that contact-induced grammatical borrowing **occurs** in such communities (Henzl 1982; Kučera 1989; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Zajícová 2009, 2012), but have not tried to identify the sociolinguistic, cognitive, and linguistic processes behind it.

The paper has the following structure: in Section 2, I give a background of other similar Czech diasporic communities, the history of the South Australian Czech community, and define the language contact terminology used in this article. Section 3 outlines the method, including design, procedure, and participant data. In Section 4, I share the results in three main headings: language maintenance, acquisition, and attrition; borrowing; and how borrowing occurs. The language maintenance, acquisition and attrition section can be compared with the background information on other diasporic communities and addresses attrition processes and loss. The sections on borrowing aim to address the potential drivers of grammatical borrowing.

In section 5, a data summary is given which discusses each participant opinion on the potential reasons behind grammatical borrowing from their interview data. Community comparisons in terms of the intergenerational shift process and the reasons behind this are then shared. Subsequently, I compare social pressure experienced by participants discussed in interviews to actual language use from the observation sessions (Castle forthcoming). Finally, I analyse the source of the grammatical borrowing using van Coetsem's (2000) model. Major findings on the sources and motives of grammatical borrowing and limitations of the study are summarized in the conclusion.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The South Australian Czech Community

The first major wave of immigration to Australia occurred post-WWII, following the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948 (Vaculík 2009; Migration Museum 2020a). There were smaller waves which came prior to this time, but many returned, as Australian interest in agricultural workers declined and unemployment rose in other industries (Vaculík 2009). After 1948, many refugees fled to Germany and chose to further migrate to Australia, with 1,500 Czechoslovakians settling in South Australia during this time (Migration Museum 2020a). New migrants initially stayed in Woodside, Mallala, and Smithfield Migrant Hostels, and were bound to a two-year employment contract with the Australian government as laborers or domestic workers in exchange for passage from Europe (Migration Museum 2020a). These refugees were generally not welcomed by those who had come pre-WWII, and thus new

"reactionary" sporting and social clubs were formed as community refuges (Vaculík 2009: 242–44). Two participants in this study (referred to below as P5 and P6) were in this group. Participant 6's family moved to South Australia in 1952 after a brief time in Paris, where she was born. Participant 5 was born in South Australia after her parents left the Czechoslovak Republic in 1948.

A second major wave occurred in the early 1970s following the end of Prague Spring, and 1000 Czechoslovakians settled in South Australia (Migration Museum 2020a). The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Compatriots Association in Australia and New Zealand aided these second-wave refugees to ease their hardships (Vaculík 2009). In both the first and second waves, migration occurred for political and social reasons; it was a reaction to living under a totalitarian system (Brouček et al. 2019). The third major group began arriving as refugees in 1989, after the fall of the Czechoslovak communist government and the Velvet Revolution (Migration Museum 2020a). Many Czechs have migrated to Australia and New Zealand for life, professional, and language experience from the mid-1990s onwards (Brouček et al. 2019). Two participants in this study (referred to below as P1 and P4) moved post-1989 for personal reasons. One participant (P3) moved in the early 1980s as a young child, whilst another participant (P2) was born in South Australia after her parents moved in the late 1970s.

The Czechoslovak Club in South Australia was established in 1949 and incorporated as an official body in the early 1950s (Charles Sturt Council 2019; Migration Museum 2020a). An old church, purchased for the Club in 1959, was soon demolished and used to build a hall (Migration Museum 2020a). This Club continues today, with an aim to "connect all Czechs and Slovaks from South Australia in a strong community that keeps and promotes national ideas based on united friendship and mutually honest social relations" (Charles Sturt Council 2019). The Club provides cultural activities and events such as St Nicholas Day[1], the anniversary of the declaration of Czechoslovak Independence, New Year's Eve, sports days, barbecues, Mother's Day, and Father's Day, as well as welfare services, weekly dinners, children's language classes, and private language lessons for students of all ages (Migration Museum 2020a). The Club also has a community informational bulletin called *Život* 'life'. According to the Club manager, there are around 280 members of the Czechoslovak Club.

According to the 2016 census, there are 473 Czech-born South Australians and 1679 South Australians of Czech descent (ABS 2017a; Migration Museum

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[1] This celebration is a Czech Advent tradition which takes place on the eve of the name day of *Svatý Mikuláš* 'Saint Nicholas'. Throughout the course of the evening, Saint Nicholas, accompanied by an angel and a devil, ask children whether they have been good for the year. If so, treats are given. If not, it is lumps of coal or potatoes for the children.

2020a). The population of Czechs is scattered throughout the metropolitan area (Migration Museum 2020a). There are 317 Slovakian-born South Australians, and 781 people of Slovakian descent (ABS 2017b; Migration Museum 2020b). Therefore, there are 49.2% more Czech-born South Australians than Slovakian-born South Australians, and 114% more South Australians with Czech descent than those with Slovak descent. There also exists a separate Slovak Club of South Australia, which evolved in the early 1950s and registered as an official body in 1980 (Migration 2020b).

Given how many Czech South Australians there are in comparison to the number of Club members, one could say that the community is scattered. However, there is a club group with closer social ties, and within that group there are closer-knit groups of people. This is particularly true for older generations for whom fellow club members once acted as family during a time when they could not return to their own families for political reasons. During that time, the only people that they could speak Czech with outside of their immediate families were fellow club members, as linguistic contact from the homeland was cut off.

2.2. Language Contact and Other Diaspora Communities in the Anglosphere

2.2.1. Immigrant Czech: Czech in the US in the "Classical Period of Immigration"[2]

These communities, and the Texas Czech community in particular, have been researched extensively (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutkova-Cope 2001; Cope 2006; Eckert and Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009; Vaculík and Kucík 2014; Eckertová 2017a). This research encompasses both language maintenance, attrition processes, and language loss, as well as the identification of cases of grammatical borrowing from English (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutkova-Cope 2001; Cope 2006; Eckert and Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009; Vaculík and Kucík 2014; Eckertová 2017a).

There are many social factors which promote linguistic and cultural maintenance in these immigrant Czech communities. These include a rural tight-knit community setting in the 19th century (in Texas), pre-WWI Czech-language journalism, the support of the Unity of the Brethren in organizing Catholic schools and summer camps where Czech was the primary mode of instruction (in Texas), a strong institutional linguistic support base in the form of community organizations, and the attitude of young community members today in wanting to connect with their identity and their pride in

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[2] As described by McCabe (2016: 170).

any ancestral language ability (Machann and Mendl 1983; Gallup 1998; Hannan 2004; Cope 2006; Cope and Dittman 2020).

In the Texas Czech community in particular, maintenance factors have included a homogenous community in the earlier years as regards geographic origin, occupation, and religion; reinforcement of ethnic identity as regard language use; adherence to traditions and language planning; the establishment of community professional, social, and religious institutions; sufficient inner resources to survive for generations;[3] and the maintenance of contact with the homeland through the flow of new immigrants and letters from the Czech and Moravian lands (Eckert and Hannan 2009). Other pertinent factors included a prevalence of endogamous marriages in the 19th and early 20th century, and an ideology of *národnost*:[4] developing a nation and tying this in with identity (Eckert and Hannan 2009: 103, 133). The high literacy of Czech immigrants and the importance of literature in the Czech culture and tradition also aided language maintenance, as people participated in reading clubs and engaged with Czech-language American journals (Eckert and Hannan 2009; Vaculík and Kucík 2014).

WWII played a significant role in the distancing of people of Czech heritage from their culture and their language. During the 1940s the assimilationist movement grew, and Europeans had to give up "large portions of their ethnic cultures" to be able to fully participate in society (Banks and Gay 1978: 239–41; Sherwood Smith 1991; Dutková 1998; Hannan 2004). There was a focus on the English language, American history, and the propagation of loyalty and patriotism (Eckert 2006). Ethnic organizations were viewed with suspicion, and immigrants were encouraged to speak English (Eckert 2006). Linguistic shaming and alienation experienced by many Czechs in these settings discouraged them from speaking the language and engaging in the culture (Banks and Gay 1978; Dutková 1998; Eckert 2006; Cope 2006). Post-WWII, Czech ceased to be the language of the family, and the young, with little to no knowledge of Czech, left for the city, creating new social networks in which Czech was not used (Eckert and Hannan 2009: 151). As community structures crumbled, so did the language; several attempts at cultural revivals were made in the decades following the 1980s, but these did not result in a return to fluent heritage language use, and the language form, if learned anew,

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[3] Eckert and Hannan (2009: 89–90) discuss this, suggesting that these resources are linguistic, cultural, and economic. This insulated existence is well-described by Cope and Dittman (2020: 12–13): "Czechs started … their own settlements, built their own churches, schools, dance halls, and fraternal, religious, and theatrical societies … they published Czech newspapers and patronized their own businesses, stores, and pubs".

[4] Literally meaning 'nationality', Eckert and Hannan (2009: 103) discuss how this particular vision of *národnost* was focussed on the "Czech language of national literature".

is typically the Standard Czech taught in the Czech Republic (Šašková-Pierce 1993; Cope 2006; Eckert and Hannan 2009).

In Nebraska Czech, ancestry, rather than language ability, has become the main indicator for the ethnic group membership (Šašková-Pierce 1993). Cope (2011) reports that whilst ethnic Texas Czechs regard their ancestral language as important in their self-identification and have a positive attitude toward maintaining the language, most "would gladly pass the job [of learning and maintaining it] to someone else because they feel that their lives are already too hectic to follow a few enthusiastic leaders in their communities" (Cope 2011: 376; see also Hannan 2004). The nature of social and cultural contact has in this context created pressures for Czech immigrants to utilise the language in increasingly fewer public locations and withdraw from modelling the language in intra-community social situations, leading to a decline of intergenerational language transmission and thus divergent attainment. Czech from the classical period of immigration (1848–1914) (Vaculík 2009) is an atrophying language; it is in the last stages before extinction. This atrophy occurred due to social movement outside of insular communities and therefore a more extensive need to participate in mainstream language situations (Eckertová 2017b).

2.2.2. Czech in the US from Post-WWII to the "New Wave of Immigration"[5]

Similar to the Czech South Australian situation, there were three main waves of immigration to the US between WWII and the Velvet Revolution of 1989: in 1939 before the Nazi occupation, in 1948 during the Communist coup d'état, and in 1968 after the Soviet invasion (Vaculík 2009). These migrants are dissimilar from their predecessors in the classical period in that they no longer formed communities, and there is significant movement from Czech to English from the second generation onwards (Eckertová 2017a).

Since 1989, immigrants have tended to be highly educated and come to the US for work, study, or relationships (McCabe 2016; Brouček et al. 2019). In McCabe's (2016: 169) study, she found that the successful factors in language maintenance for second-generation Czech and Slovak immigrants in the Southeastern US are anticipation of a future need to use Czech or Slovak, constant parental use of Czech or Slovak, yearly extended overseas holidays, and "parental ability to use additional strategies, such as involving grandparents or employing Slavic au pairs". The transnational context is vital for contemporary heritage language retention (McCabe 2016).

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[5] As described by McCabe (2016: 170).

2.2.3. Immigrant Czech: Canada

There is no research on grammatical borrowing and attrition processes in Czech Canadian communities. However, Dejmek 2007 provides a history of the Czech community and language situation in Canada, and Vaculík (2004, 2009) briefly comments on immigration history. Canadian Czechs are in quite a similar situation to South Australian Czechs, especially regarding periods of larger waves of immigration as well as modern community efforts.

Whilst smaller waves of Czech immigration occurred from 1860 into the 1920s for socioeconomic reasons, the larger Czech waves occurred in 1938, 1948, and 1968 (Dejmek 2007; Vaculík 2009). The Czechoslovak Assocation was quite active in the 1970s and 80s, but post-1989 the momentum of the Czech community in Canada has slowly dissipated from what it once was (Dejmek 2007). This decrease in community activity would decrease the likelihood of language maintenance. However, the Montreal Czech diaspora still hosts community events, including a children's summer camp (*Hostýn*), and there is a heritage Czech language school in the Toronto area continuing the language practice in the community (Dejmek 2007; Moldová 2021).

2.3. Terminology Used

2.3.1. Language Contact

What has occurred in South Australian Czech represents several language contact outcomes outside of grammatical borrowing (Castle forthcoming), including instances of code-switching, code-mixing (Muysken 2000), and divergent attainment (Polinsky 2018). Code-switching is defined by Poplack (1993) as the "juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic … rules of the language of its provenance". Code-mixing refers to "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence" (Muysken 2000: 1). Divergent attainment (previously, incomplete acquisition) occurs when an individual does not "learn the entire system of a given language … [which is] a result of bilingualism where one of the languages is strongly dominant" (Polinsky 2006: 194; Polinsky 2018). Divergent attainment is one of several processes of shift and loss occurring in the Czech South Australian community.

Language loss occurring in immigrant communities occurs when the L1 is "gradually replaced by the language of the host country in the course of two to three generations" (de Bot and Weltens 1991: 42). During this process, the changes to the structure of the linguistic system occur (Münstermann and Hagen 1986). Language shift is very similar to this, defined by Montrul (2015:

11) as a "gradual transition from speaking the heritage language to speaking and using the majority language predominantly". Also occurring in the Czech South Australian community are attrition processes, which are defined here as those processes occurring in the community which lead to attrition in the language or "imperfect language competence" (Polinsky 2006: 194).

2.3.2. Grammatical Borrowing

Grammatical borrowing that occurs in South Australian Czech represents grammatical replication (structural change) rather than borrowing (morphological form borrowing) as defined by Heine and Kuteva (2005) (Castle forthcoming). Similar to these definitions are matter borrowings (MAT) and pattern borrowings (PAT) (Matras and Sakel 2007). MAT occur when the phonological form and function are borrowed, and PAT occur where the function but not phonological form is borrowed (Matras and Sakel 2007). Previous research offers evidence of PAT, namely in article formation and marked use of personal pronouns (also cf. Castle forthcoming):

(1)   Article formation

    Mám   ty   vnoučata.
    To.have$_{1SG}$ DEM$_{PL.ACC}$ grandchild$_{PL.ACC.N}$

    'I have the grandchildren.'   (Castle forthcoming: 28–29)

(2)   Marked use of personal pronoun

    My jsme   si   to projeli,   my se   podíváme.
    we AUX$_{1PL}$ REFL it to.go.through$_{PST.PL}$ we REFL to.look$_{PRF.1PL}$

    'We've gone through it, we'll see.'   (Castle forthcoming: 14)

Most of the borrowing represented PAT of syntactic function and word order. There were no instances of MAT from English into Czech in Castle's (forthcoming) study.

3. Method

3.1. Design and Procedure

This study involved six one-on-one interviews conducted with Czechoslovak community members at the Adelaide Czechoslovak Club in Brompton between November 2018 and May 2019. The sample was non-random as it was shaped through availability of the participants from a prior study (Castle forthcoming). A bias toward female speakers is reflected in this study, as the

pool of interviewees, 80% female, came from the first study (Castle forthcoming). This was due to referrals by the female Club manager, whose suggestions tended towards female speakers. However, as with the previous study, the researcher aimed to obtain a sample with a range of generations, ancestral regions, and educational levels. Participants were required to be bilingual to participate in the study. Their competency was self-assessed using a bilingual ability grading scale (Appendix 2) and assessed by the researcher using the observational data from the prior (Castle forthcoming) study through the speech-related reference points of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Appendix 3). The sample is small (n = 6), but adequate for an exploratory in-depth qualitative study seeking potentially indicative results (Loewen and Plonsky 2015: 173).

The interview method was semi-structured in that the researcher prepared a question set but also had the freedom to ask follow-up questions and enquire further. Interviews can be particularly useful in gaining insight into non-observable phenomena such as attitudes, beliefs, and cognitive processes (Loewen and Plonsky 2015: 91). The interviews were on average 21 minutes long.

The aim of the semi-structured interview questions (Appendix 1) was to identify instances of grammatical borrowing that the participants may be aware of in their speech and to examine the degree to which they account for their (perceived) borrowing in their language behavior as resulting from social factors. Questions were specifically aimed at addressing possible causes of grammatical borrowing, including prestige and purist ideologies (questions 3 and 10), grammatical gaps (question 4c), increasing structural similarity (question 5d), cognitive pressure (question 7), and societal pressure from other Czechs (question 9) and the majority population (question 9). Question 2a aims to detect whether participants have an adequate level of English to ensure the data are not skewed.

Linguistic terminology used to communicate with participants was somewhat adapted into plain English for purposes of user-friendliness. Participants were not likely to be aware of the differences between PAT and code-switching in their speech, especially as PAT may be more difficult for speakers to identify in their speech than MAT (Matras and Sakel 2007). Therefore a broader term of mixing was used with participants when discussing language use, but further questions were explained and asked specifically about syntax and morphology. It is thus recognized that this study may not only reflect possible reasons behind grammatical borrowing but also reasons behind lexical borrowing and other forms of code-mixing. A result of unconscious borrowing, whether PAT or MAT, is that participants may not always do what they say they do in terms of mixing (see §4.2.1 for more). However, such a comparison is beyond the scope of this paper. An Ethics Clearance was

obtained from the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval No. H-2018-230).

3.2. Coding and Analytic Procedure

Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and coded by themes as they were observed in NVivo[6]. A constructivist approach was taken to both data-gathering and analysis, recognizing the presence of multiple socially built realities to explore and describe phenomena occurring within the community (Gray 2013: 31). In terms of analysis, the data were closely examined for potential patterns to allow grounded findings to emerge (Berg and Lune 2012: 157; Gray 2013) relatively free from the researcher's own influence.

Once the social pressures were identified from the interview data, they were compared with observed language use to analyse whether the perceived levels of pressure experienced by participants matched the outcomes of features in their actual speech. Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale (Appendix 4) is used to do this. This model was selected as it allows for analysis of features borrowed at different levels of contact intensity for typologically dissimilar languages like Czech and English (Thomason 2010).

Following this, van Coetsem's (2000) model is used to more deeply analyse the possible motivation for grammatical borrowing. This not only takes the factors already analyzed through a close examination of the interview data, but also the language dominance of the participants and identification of language agentivity.

3.3. Participant Data

The number of participants in this study (n = 6) is not adequate to generalize about the entire Czechoslovak Club community (n = 280). However, for an exploratory study intent on providing rich descriptions of the community members' experiences, this number is acceptable (Gray 2013: 22). The rich interview data can be used to both explain the reasons for certain borrowing phenomena and provide an insight into the life of the linguistic community.

Table 1 on the following page shows the metadata for participants in this study.

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[6] NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package.

Table 1. Participant Metadata

VARIABLE	CATEGORY	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	PARTICIPANT NUMBER
Age	Under 50 (younger group)	3	P1, P2, P3
	Over 50 (older group)	3	P4, P5, P6
Gender	Male	0	–
	Female	6	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6
Age when moved	Born in Australia	2	P2, P5
	0–10	2	P3, P6
	10–18	–	–
	18–50	1	P1
	50+	1	P4
Years living in Australia	0–10	–	–
	10–20	2	P1, P4
	20+	4	P2, P3, P5, P6
Educational level	Vocational education and below	1	P6
	Bachelor's degree and above	5	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5
Czech Region of Origin	Bohemia	2	P1, P6
	Moravia	2	P3, P4
	Born in Australia	2	P2, P5

Table 2 on the following page gives assessment of each participant's language proficiency, as determined by themselves (self-score) and the researcher (CEFR-assessed score) (see Appendix 2 for grading scale, Appendix 3 for CEFR score meanings).

Table 2. Participant Language Proficiency

PARTICIPANT	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Self-score (English)	9	10	10	7	10	10
CEFR-assessed score (English)	C2	C2	C2	C1	C2	C2
Self-score (Czech)	9	8	5	10	3^7	7
CEFR-assessed score (Czech)	C2	B2	B2	C2	B2	C1

Participants are defined in this study in relation to their generation. Table 3 below defines each generation in this dataset.

Table 3. Generation Definitions for this Article

GENERATION	DEFINITION	PARTICIPANTS
First Generation	Those who were born in the Czech lands and moved to Australia as older teenagers or adults.	P1, P4
"1.5 Generation" (Polinsky 1997: 334)	Those who moved to Australia as children and grew up in Australia.	P3, P6
Second Generation	Those who were born after the parents moved to Australia and grew up in Australia.	P2, P5

Participants can also be defined in terms of two binaries discussed by Polinsky (2006: 194–95), namely, first/second language and primary/secondary language, as well as in terms of whether they speak South Australian Czech or Émigré Czech. Émigré Russian is defined as "the Russian language as spoken in North America by the first generation of immigrants, who grew up speaking Full Russian and came to America as adults" (Polinsky 2006: 195), Émigré Czech can be defined as the Czech language spoken in South Australia by the first generation of immigrants, who grew up speaking Full Czech and came to Australia as adults. Participants 1 and 4 are speakers of Émigré Czech, whilst

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[7] The discrepancy between P5's self-score and her CEFR assessed score in Czech can be at least partially explained by her clearly self-effacing nature regarding her Czech language abilities.

Participants 2, 3, 5, and 6 speak South Australian Czech, a "reduced" (Polinsky 2006: 194) heritage variety of the language. This is important to note as there is evidence suggesting that representational differences between baseline native and heritage grammars exist (Polinsky 2016). In terms of the two binaries, first and second language relate to time of acquisition, whereas primary and secondary language relate to current language dominance and ability. Participants are placed into these categories in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Binary Language Use Identifiers

PRIMARY/ FIRST	PRIMARY/ SECOND	SECONDARY/ FIRST	SECONDARY/ SECOND
P4	P6?	P1, P2, P3, P5	–

Participant 6 is tentatively placed in the primary/second category, as she said that she thinks she spoke only English as a young child, though her parents were both Czech. She did not speak Czech very much throughout her childhood and started learning and speaking it much more in early adulthood when she met her Czech husband. She currently still speaks Czech with her husband, which, now that she is retired, is the language spoken in her home much of the time.

4. Results

4.1. Language Maintenance, Acquisition, and Attrition in the Czech Community

4.1.1. Maintenance Efforts by Participants

There is evidence of participants maintaining their Czech language skills and being supportive of language maintenance in the community. Participant 6 reads Czech magazines and newspapers to maintain her language skills but stops at books because they are too long for her to enjoy. This type of language maintenance does not hinder enjoyable everyday life experiences involving the language. Language maintenance ideals must be realistic: for some speakers, maintenance is too onerous because they have few daily opportunities for the use of Czech and have not been successful in building an in-home culture that involves regular use of it. Participant 2 tries to speak Czech with her children but says it takes a strong commitment and is hard to maintain.

Participants 3, 5, and 6 said they will, if they do not know a certain word, ask their interlocutors what the word is, so that they can learn it and use it in future. This continued learning is a form of maintaining the language.

Participant 4 stated that she speaks only Czech to the children in the Club to help them learn and remember their language. She is proud of Czech and feels that intergenerational language maintenance is important.

Others make conscious choices to maintain Czech in their young children, though this can be challenging in an Australian-English language public sphere. Participant 1 consciously tries to speak Czech with her children, though due to their tendency to respond in English, she will sometimes answer them in English, realize what she is doing, and repeat in Czech:

> I do try to … consciously … speak … Czech to the kids, but sometimes because they tend to respond in English to me a lot, it's just … a subconscious thing that naturally I'll … respond in English and then I'll …—oh! Yeah, and then … sometimes I'll just leave it and then go into Czech, and sometimes I might … just say exactly the same thing in Czech again.

Participant 2 will say something in Czech, repeat it in English assuming that her children do not understand, and then repeat it in Czech to try to teach them. As expected, the children's comprehension is much better than their production in Czech.

Participant 5 stated that her parents made a conscious decision to implement a one-parent one-language policy in the home to assure she knew enough English before starting school.

4.1.2. Why Maintain?

Most participants enthusiastically expressed a sense of cultural identity surrounding their activities at the Club, their language use, and their perceptions about it. Participants 1 and 2 felt that Czech was a richer, more poetic and versatile language than English, though Participant 1 conceded that over the years she had come to see that one can also create richness in English, though in a different way (grammatically, modes of expression, etc.). Participant 2 stated that she appreciates being able to draw on her Czech to name culture-specific items and concepts that do not exist in English. All participants felt pride in the Czech language and being able to use it.

Using Czech is part of the community experience, and more strongly so for some. Some participants, including Participants 3 and 5, are happy to participate mostly in the cultural events and indicate that the language use, whilst it would be nice, is not a defining factor in enjoyment of their culture

and time spent at the Club. For others, including Participants 4 and 6, it is a major factor.

4.1.3. School

One influence cited in identifying the point at which children start to use predominantly English is the beginning of school or English-centered childcare. Participant 3 mentioned that her children's exposure to English through childcare has contributed to their lack of ability in Czech. She compared this to the experience of her German friend's children, who were immersed in German at home with their mother until commencing school.

Participant 6 said her youngest grandson was quite proficient in Czech because she looked after him often as a young child, but once he started school his Czech began to decline. Participant 5 shared that she was fluent in Czech as a young child, but she was introduced to English just prior to entering school (at childcare), after which English became her dominant language.

An interesting side note which fits neatly with a well-established pattern observed in many studies (Hulsen, de Bot, and Weltens 2002; Nesteruk 2010: 279; Yilmaz 2016; McCabe 2016) is that Participant 1's primary school age children speak Czech to her and to each other when they go to the Czech Republic for their annual holiday and for a few months after they return. They eventually regress to English-only answers and playtime together, and the cycle begins again on their next holiday. She reports:

> We tend to go [to the Czech Republic] every year … for about six … to eight weeks, and … when we come back from Czech, they speak to me in Czech, all the responses are in Czech and … the longer we stay here it sort of diminishes.

Participant 4 mentioned that her 12-year-old granddaughter came back to Australia speaking Czech and "making sentences" after a shared six-week holiday in the Czech Republic.

4.1.4. Attrition Accelerators and Language Maintenance Aids

One barrier to acquisition and an attrition accelerator has been some of the participants' children's English-monolingual partners. Participants 4 and 6 said their son- or daughter-in-law did not wish for their children (or their partner, or mother-in-law) to speak Czech in their presence and discouraged their language learning, in one case even stipulating that the children should not be allowed to attend the Czech school. Partner attitudes and motives surrounding language learning and use within the family influence intergener-

ational maintenance and acquisition rather than attrition (Lambert 2008: 232; Mejía 2016: 25). Children are more likely to make use of the language if they are exposed to it in the home (Pauwels 2005: 126), which is not likely to be often if one parent wishes not to have it spoken in their presence.

It is unclear as to whether the existence of the Czech school has had a significant effect on language maintenance overall with the younger generation, as no data have been collected on the children and their language abilities/preferences in the Czech South Australian community. Fishman (1991: 2, 252–83) found that reverse language shift management (supporting speech communities whose languages are threatened due to increasing intergenerational shift through ethnic community schools, radio, and press in the language) had little effect on the immigrant language loss rate in Australia, excepting a slight slowing of the normal rate in post-WWII immigrant language groups.

It is uncertain whether students at community language schools can develop a full literacy level given the limited hours afforded to them (generally a few hours on a weekend) (Spolsky 2003: 207). Though opportunities for language maintenance and delaying language shift are "quite plentiful" (Clyne 2001: 388) in Australia, there has been an increased rate of shift to English for all immigrant language groups, demonstrating that Australian policy in support of maintaining immigrant languages is "positive but ineffective" (Fishman 1991: 277).

The people closest to the participants appear to have a profound effect on the frequency of their Czech language use. Participant 6 shared that she did not speak a lot of Czech until she met her husband in her early twenties, as he is Czech, and she needed it to speak with both him and her mother-in-law. Her Czech then improved as they moved in Czech social circles. Today she utilises Czech more often, though during her working career she spoke a lot more English (even to her husband) as it was required in the workplace.

With the exception of Participant 6, the participants do not have a Czech-speaking partner. Even though they try to speak Czech to their children they still feel inhibited by a sense of accommodation and politeness toward their monolingual partner: they want everyone to understand what is happening. Participants 1 and 2 will use Czech with their children, but only when their partner is not around. Often the partner understands some Czech, but not enough to participate in daily life in the language. This influences how often they can use Czech on a daily basis and hence how well they maintain the language.

Participants 2, 3, 5, and 6 have parents living in Australia who speak Czech or both Czech and English with them, supporting their language maintenance.

4.1.5. Societal Pressures and Locations when Mixing

It is well-documented in the literature that context and interlocutor awareness affect language choice in bilinguals (Fishman 1965, 1972; Rubin 1968; Gardner-Chloros 1985, 2009; Myers-Scotton 1993; Wei 1994, 2007; Côté and Clement 1994; Galindo 1996; Schrauf 2002; Regan and Nestor 2010; Dewaele 2010, 2011; Grosjean 2010, 2016; Hammer 2017). Participants 1, 2, and 6 discussed their preference to speak English in a situation where they are with an English monolingual or (non-Czech speaking) group. Participant 6 thought that it may be rude to speak in front of English-speaking friends in Czech. Participant 1 shared this view, and would, out of politeness for the non-Czech friend, speak English to the whole group. This is indicative of language accommodation and convergence (Gasiorek and Vincze 2016), which, under Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1973; Giles and Coupland 1991; Giles 2009), is used to minimize differences in communication between oneself and one's conversation partners due to seeking approval or increased effectiveness of communication (Eng 2016).

Participant 5 spoke of the societal pressure her mother felt to speak English. She lived in an Australian country town and would have to wait in the shop until everyone else completed their orders, and then the shopkeeper would deal with hers. There was major pressure to learn and speak English, mediated by language assistance from her daughter. The participant observed that back then, Australians did not know how to deal with immigrants:

> Mum would wait in the shop because Australians didn't know how to deal with migrants, so a country town … the shopkeeper would wait until everyone else has been served and then take, you know, that sort of thing, … it wasn't malicious, it was just simply we have no idea how to communicate, so um, it was a lot of point and stab.

Participant 1 said she prefers to speak English with her children out of politeness so as not to leave others out. Examples of this include the school playground with other mothers and the checkout line at the supermarket. She does not wish to alienate anyone. However, if she is alone with the children, either at home or out in public away from others, she speaks Czech. Similarly, Participant 2 mentioned that she speaks Czech to her children if they're not in a big group in public, but it is more the kids' reaction (i.e., not understanding her) that is an inhibitor rather than her perception of what the public thinks.

Participant 4 felt that Australian perceptions about immigrants, particularly European immigrants, have been changing. People are travelling more than they did in the 1980s and many are familiar with the Czech Republic. She does not feel any societal pressure to speak English; she feels that she

does not have to speak it unless speaking to an English speaker who does not speak Czech.

Generally, the participants all mentioned that they speak Czech at home, at the Club, and with Czech friends and family members, whether in person, on the phone, or when visiting the Czech Republic. However, some constraints remain, such as the presence of an L1 monolingual English-speaking partner,[8] or friends and family members who are non-Czech speakers, as mentioned above. Participants 4 and 6 noted that they would speak Czech in public with other Czech speakers with no qualms about public opinion. Participants 1 and 2 stated they would either prefer to speak English within earshot of English-speaking monolinguals or speak more quietly in Czech. Switching to English use in an increasing number of spheres lessens Czech use, thus accelerating attrition.

Some participants reported the locations where they mixed their languages. Participant 2 mentioned that she would mix Czech and English at the Club and with her family members living in Australia. However, she mostly refrained from mixing when speaking with relatives living in the Czech Republic. Participant 1 mentioned that she mixes the languages at the Club unless the children are around because she wants to be a good example for their Czech development. Participants 3 and 5 said they mix at the Club, most commonly when they are not familiar with a word in Czech and need to fill this lexical gap with an English word. Participants 4 and 6 reported that they try not to or do not mix at all.

4.2. Borrowing

4.2.1. Opinions on Borrowing—Purism and Acceptance

The interviews conveyed interviewees' perceptions of a continuum between purism and descriptivism that is not necessarily compatible with the observation data. Information gleaned from the interviews does not necessarily reflect actual language use. This study aims to analyse how participants conceive of their language behavior: what they think they do and perceive about their language use and that of others, rather than reflecting on what they actually do in practice, which was analysed in the parallel study of the observation data (Castle forthcoming). However, there are instances where the interviews do seem compatible with the observation data, which is also to be expected when recognizing that attitudes would be likely to affect conscious speech decisions.

Participant 6 does not like language mixing, especially lexical borrowing and phonological and morphological assimilation within Czech e.g., *šopinko-*

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8 L1 = first language, L2 = second language

vat 'to go shopping'. She believes that people should speak one or the other. Participant 4 concurs. However, she said the languages sometimes mix in her self-talk, so she presumably consciously adjusts her speech to one or the other language, actively avoiding mixing.

Participant 1 stated at the start of the interview that she probably prefers it if people speak one language at a time. However, she admits that she is guilty of "hybrid sentences" and borrowing words and, once reminded of the opinion of descriptive linguists (as she has completed university-level linguistics training herself some time ago), acknowledges that language is for communication purposes. She does not like to transfer grammar between the languages, stating, "I might borrow words, but I try not to … mess up with the grammar". In "messing up", from earlier commentary in the interview it appears that she means both MAT, or borrowing the form and function together, and PAT. She states "I think that on a subconscious level … the grammar gets … influenced … I try not to", and when asked about MAT, she says "that probably would be … going too far for me … consciously I try not to". Later in the interview, she states that she is happy to switch from one language to another.

Participant 3 thinks that it is fine for people to borrow words, especially if they are relatively unfamiliar words. However, she dislikes embedding English words with Czech inflections in Czech speech; she does not like the sound of it and finds it embarrassing. On the other hand, Participant 2 will happily put Czech grammatical endings onto English words if she is not familiar with the word in Czech and will mix when speaking with Czech-English speakers in Australia, particularly with family members.

Many Czechs in the Czech Republic are quite comfortable with embedding English-language borrowings into their language's grammatical structure, though not always knowingly. For example, older Czech generations in the Czech Republic do not like what they recognise as Anglicisms, and attitudes toward English word use are better amongst younger generations (though not necessarily reaching a positive opinion) (Dickins 2007; Endrštová 2010: 77). A great number of Anglicisms have been borrowed into the Czech language since the industrialization of the 18th century, wherein the English language began to influence the language of economy and technology (Gester 2001: 36). These loanwords, however, may no longer be recognized because they have existed for a long time and are phonologically, orthographically, and/or morphologically assimilated e.g., *autsajdr* 'outsider', *bojkot* 'boycott', *dabing* 'dubbing' (Warmbrunn 1994: 25, 31, 41; Gester 2001: 51; Daneš 2001). English-derived neologisms also exist (Bozděchová and Klégr 2018). These have become integrated into the Czech grammar e.g., *šopík* 'small shop' (*šop-ík* shop-DIM), *manažerovat* 'to manage', *fejsbůček* 'little Facebook' (*fejsbů-ček* Facebook-DIM), *sprinterka* 'female sprinter' (*sprinter-ka* sprinter-F), *spirituální* 'spiritual' (*spiritual-ní* spiritual-ADJ) (Bozděchová and Klégr 2018: 6; Salzmann 1991: 227; Warmbrunn 1994: 312). Whilst some Czechs may not notice the ori-

gin of fully assimilated loanwords from English, non-assimilated "foreign ne-
ologisms" (Dickins 2007: 128) are not given the same treatment. Participants in
Dickins's (2007: 115, 128) study had a "strong residual apprehension" about the
over-use of foreign neologisms, often appealing to purism and a nostalgia "for
an era in which language use was somehow 'better'; that is to say, untainted
by modern terminology, unnecessary jargon, and innumerable other impuri-
ties". However, a majority of informants still believed that lexical borrowing
was enriching to the language rather than believing it to be harmful (Dickins
2007: 116).

Participant 5 feels that to be comfortable with language mixing is proba-
bly a bit controversial, yet she is not too bothered about it. She tries to speak
only Czech especially with older people, out of courtesy, a feeling of owing
it to both them and herself, a feeling of national solidarity and cultural iden-
tity, and deference to Czech heritage and tradition. However, she accepts that
Australian Czech is likely unique and that it ought not to be too problematic if
people are mixing, stating that this is Czech as it is spoken in South Australia.

4.2.2. Reasons for Borrowing

There were several reasons provided as to why the participants engage in bor-
rowing. They were asked to provide some reasons and then to agree or dis-
agree with reasons given by the researcher (see Appendix 1). These include:

(1) Not being able to recall a word or not knowing it at all (to maintain
    fluency and meaning)
(2) Quick access to the English phrase in the brain, coming first to one's
    mind.
(3) Certain words not having the same "essence" (as described by
    one participant) or feeling about them in a translation, or a good
    translation being unavailable.
(4) A phrase in English explains better what you want to say or expresses
    the meaning more fully.
(5) Others do so, so it is acceptable.
(6) An Australian phrase is semantically and/or socially more
    appropriate for context at hand, e.g., *pres* in the sense of "we had
    pre(drink)s last night before going to the bar"—this is a concept that
    does not exist in the Czech Republic because the cultural practice is
    not known there.
(7) Australian contextual information, e.g., current Australian political
    news.

When referring to words not having the same essence, Participant 2 men-
tioned the word *vyvětrat*, meaning literally 'to air out something', but having

a certain different quality about it that leads her to use it even when speaking with her monolingual husband about taking the children outside to play at the end of the day. She says:

> We've got young boys, and … they're very wild … in Czech you take your dog out for a walk at the end of the day to *vyvětrat* which is air, you don't really use it for kids but I often say like, let's go *vyvětrat* our kids, because they need it, so it doesn't quite—you can't really say the same thing in English, like you can run around outside but it doesn't have that—I dunno, *vyvětrat*.

Participant 1 said she uses English words in her Czech when there is lack of a good translation (reason 3), and her interlocutor will not understand a certain concept in Czech but they will in English (reasons 4 and 6).

4.3 How Borrowing Occurs

4.3.1. Lexical Borrowing

Participant 6 said her vocabulary is generally quite good. She mostly borrows from English when she has momentarily forgotten a word or does not know it. This mostly occurs when it is an infrequently used word. Participant 5 mentions that she has an issue with remembering Czech numbers fast enough to carry on a conversation. This is unsurprising, given that her dominant language is English, and that it was the language in which she learned arithmetic in school. Bilinguals tend to perform better and feel more comfortable using numbers in the language in which they learnt arithmetic in school; the dominant language for math tends to be the one in which "numerical knowledge was first acquired" (Marsh and Maki 1976; Martínez 2019: 15). They also perform worse when numerical problems are posed in their weaker language or L2 (Morales, Shute, and Pellegrino 1985; Frenck-Mestre and Vaid 1993). Whilst Czech is Participant 5's L1, it is now her weaker or secondary language (Polinsky 2006: 194–95, see Table 4).

Participant 5 also discusses a faux pas whereby she referred to an older lady with the incorrect honorific distinction (e.g., *ty* 'you (sg)' rather than *vy* 'you (pl)'), which she had simply forgotten to do in that moment. This is a faux pas in Czech because it is a rule of politeness to use *vy* when addressing an older person or in a formal situation.

Participant 1 says she may borrow a word or phrase before jumping back into Czech. She also mentions that sometimes people embed an English word into Czech, e.g., *bukovat* 'to book a holiday'. It does not sound right to her, but it is now in common use in her Czech speech communities. A participant in the observation sessions in Castle's (forthcoming) study uses this verb when dis-

cussing his holiday. Participant 2 will also utilize English words with Czech case endings in her Czech if she is unfamiliar with a word and does not have an issue with this.

Participant 5 borrows English lexical items freely in her Czech, and vice-versa.

4.3.2. Grammatical Borrowing

It is easier for participants to identify instances of lexical rather than grammatical borrowing. Several participants admitted that it is likely that their grammar is subconsciously affected by their utilization of the two languages and the contact between them, but that they really do not know whether this is the case. It is not something that they actively consider when speaking. They find it a lot easier to identify an instance of using a word or phrase from the other language.

However, some individuals observed that their syntax in one language is affected by that of the other. Participant 5, a 2nd-generation participant with a lower fluency level in Czech, mentioned that often when she is about to say something in Czech, she will translate it word-for-word, except for fixed expressions. She discusses the Latin she learned at school and compares her experiences with syntactic influence from Latin with the phenomena occurring between her English and Czech. Participant 6 also says that Latin classes at school in Australia influenced her English sentence formation. She imagines that a similar thing happens between her English and Czech.

Participants 2 and 4 discussed writing when asked about their syntax cross-over. They mentioned writing sentences down in Czech and realizing that the sentences were grammatically "incorrect" only afterward, but they were not sure if this was due to the influence between their languages.

Participant 2, whose dominant language is English, said her English syntax affects her Czech speech in Australia. However, when she goes to the Czech Republic for an extended stay, her English tends to begin to mimic the Czech sentence structure. She also tends to translate literally from English into Czech, occasionally causing confusion for Czechs there.

Almost all the participants were adamant that they never "crossed over" with morphology—in the framework of attaching Czech morphological affixes to English words within English speech. They insisted that the morphologies of the languages are separate for them. However, Participant 2 admitted to morphological borrowing Czech speech—but participants 3, 4, and 6 stated that they try to avoid it. It would appear that participants are mostly aware of syntactic borrowing in their speech, which is reflected in the syntactic borrowing found in the parallel study (Castle forthcoming).

4.3.3. Community Pressure

Some individuals who admitted to borrowing between the languages (Participants 1, 2, 3, and 5) tended to justify this tendency, saying other people also borrow—an excuse for why they do. It is possible that pressure to avoid borrowing is evident in the community. It could also be the case that participants had an expectation of purism on behalf of the linguist (which was certainly not there, and in some cases the linguist specifically explained her descriptivist beliefs and the concept of linguistic descriptivism).

Participant 5 feels that attending a formal event comes with a societal expectation that you do not mix your languages and should apologize for utilizing English words if you have trouble using Czech only. She states that most Czech South Australian interlocutors are understanding about it. However, some do not like the languages to be mixed, and they especially do not like it if one uses English only. This participant feels most comfortable and relaxed when she can use both languages freely. She also had no parental pressure not to mix, as her parents were happy for her to speak English to assist them in their new country.

Participant 2 admitted that when attending the Club she felt concerned about her Czech being adequate. She held back from talking with certain people for fear that her Czech was lacking and that she would have to mix in her speech with them. She emphasizes the importance of context; if someone is familiar or friendly, she does not feel pressure to speak perfect Czech. She mentioned earlier in the interview that you can mix in the Club, and it is generally not looked down upon, but these background pressures do seem evident, especially the social barriers created by linguistic issues. She feels more relaxed when she can use her two languages freely. She says:

> The Czech teacher who I hadn't seen for a very long time, I would be held back from … talking to him because I feel like my Czech isn't good enough for what I want to say … for the people I'm familiar with and friendly with, no problem, because I probably … [won't have an] in-depth level of conversation, but when it gets more complicated I'll probably hold myself back.

Participant 4 does not feel comfortable with Czechs speaking English to each other in the Club. She feels that speaking Czech in the Czechoslovak Club is a way of preserving the culture and community and of feeling more at home.

5. Discussion and Analysis

Table 5 below divides the reasons provided for borrowing in the qualitative analysis above into seven categories.

Table 5. Summary of Data Collected[9]

CATEGORY	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Purity (opinion on mixing)	~	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
Grammatical Gaps	~	✓	✗	✗	~	✗
Increased structural similarity	~	✓	~	✓	✓	✓
Cognitive pressure	✓	✓	✗	~	✓	✗
Societal Pressure from Czech Community	~	✓	~	✗	✓	✗
Societal Pressure from Australian Society	✓	✓	~	✗	✗	~
Excellent English Ability	✓	✓	✓	~	✓	✓

No two participants share the same answers; there is a great deal of variation in how they feel about grammatical borrowing, and whether they consciously engage in it. This variation is possibly attributable to participant diversity in terms of generation (cf. Table 1) and age (cf. Table 6 on page 26).

5.1. Categories in Data Summary

5.1.1. Purity (Opinion on Mixing) and Social Pressure

Purity (opinion on mixing) and social pressure in terms of pressure from the Czech community interact. Interestingly, it was those participants who did not feel pressure to speak Czech in the Club that said that mixing between languages is not ideal and that people ought to speak the languages separately. The two participants who had negative opinions on mixing were from the older group and of the first and 1.5 generations, respectively (Table 6).

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[9] Key: ✓ = yes, this is a factor for them; ✗ = no, this is not a factor for them; ~ = there are mixed opinions on this or participants contradicted themselves, P1 = Participant 1.

The idea of Czech prestigiousness and puristic language ideologies often stems from an understandable desire to keep the language alive within the community for younger generations and to maintain one's identity and the identity of the Club. However, an imposition of these rules on others may be accelerating language attrition as some members become too afraid to speak their version of Czech in some situations, avoid engaging with some people, and, at times, avoid attending the Club. Purism and social pressure are further discussed in §4.1.5, 4.2.1, 4.3.3.

5.1.2. Grammatical Gaps

Only one participant, of the 2nd generation, felt that borrowing possibly occurs due to grammatical gaps. The others disagreed outright or had mixed opinions.

5.1.3. Structural Similarity

All participants felt that language contact had caused a tendency toward structural similarity in their language use. Participants 2, 4, 5, and 6 accepted the possibility that contact between the languages may have caused them to re-create sentences in one language utilizing the other's syntactic rules, with the remaining two having mixed opinions. This awareness of changing sentence structure in response to the language contact situation is discussed in the parallel study on grammatical borrowing in the Czech South Australian community (Castle forthcoming).

The grammatical changes found in that study are confirmed by participant opinions surrounding their conscious language use. These participants essentially "lightened their cognitive load" by making their two languages increasingly isomorphic by converging the languages' word orders (Sanchez 2005: 234–35).

Participants 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 also discussed a possible subconscious syntactic influence of English language structures and peer engagement in and thus indirect approval of certain borrowing techniques as possible reasons for their engagement in borrowing.

5.1.4. Cognitive Pressure

Participants 1, 2, and 5 felt that there was cognitive pressure (in the sense of pressure in a communicative situation to state a word in a timely fashion, e.g.,

Table 6. Social Pressure and Purism in terms of Age and Generation

GENERATION (AS DEFINED IN TABLE 1)	AGE					
	<50 (YOUNGER GROUP)			>50 (OLDER GROUP)		
	Participant	Social Pressure[10]	Negative Opinion[11]	Participant	Social Pressure	Negative Opinion
1	P1			P4		✓
1.5	P3			P6		✓
2	P2	✓		P5	✓	

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[10] Participant feels social pressure from the Czech community to speak Czech.

[11] Participant has a negative opinion toward language mixing.

pressure for word retrieval) for them to use one language over another, especially in situations where they may not know or have forgotten a word. This overlaps with syntactic change in the direction of utilizing syntax from the other language. It is important here to consider the participants' understanding of the question. Participant 3 stated that she did not see cognitive pressure playing a role in her speech, although she mentioned that whenever she does not know a word or has forgotten it, she will use a primary language word (English, in her case).

5.1.6. English Ability

All participants but one rated themselves as highly proficient English speakers.

5.2. Community Comparisons

American Czechs from the classical period are contrasted here with post-WWII immigrants to America, Canada, and South Australia. Though Czechs did migrate to Canada and South Australia earlier than WWII, these were much smaller waves of migration than that of the American Czechs. There is also not as much information available about these groups.

The language of South Australian Czechs is in an earlier stage of shift and loss than that of Czechs in the US whose ancestors immigrated during the classical period, particularly Texas Czechs. The youngest Texas Czechs do not speak Czech at all now beyond a few words or phrases; the language is nearly extinct. South Australian Czech is not yet at this stage; the language is still used amongst younger people in the community.[12] However, South Australian Czechs are at a similar stage of shift to those in Canada and the post-WWII waves of immigration to the US. These are first- and second-generation adult Czech South Australians, Canadians, and Americans, whereas the Texas Czechs are now of the third, fourth, or fifth generation. Due to globalization, increased mobility, and global knowledge made available by technology and the current sociolinguistic climate, the experience of the Czech immigrant to the US, Australia, and Canada in modern times is quite different.

Many more recent Czech South Australians, Canadians, and Americans already recognize the importance of heritage language maintenance without

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[12] It is important to note here that the language of South Australian Czechs is very similar to Czech in the Czech Republic; new arrivals continue to come to South Australia and increase the number of first-generation speakers. In terms of Texas Czech, this is not possible because it refers to a community of people who arrived during a set time, and whose language developed in an insular fashion and is quite different to modern Standard Czech.

experiencing a process of loss and shame about their language (particularly in school) due to the sociopolitical consciousness of the time. Currently, the importance of bilingualism and its benefits are understood. Community members are able to maintain their heritage language without having first collectively undergone a generational language shift process.

Though these more recent communities try to maintain language use in different ways, including language classes and cultural activities, practical Czech use seems to be declining, especially with reports of Czech South Australian children being unable to speak the language to the same level as their parents unless they return to the Czech Republic for extended visits. More recent Czech immigrants to the US also recognize that lengthy trips to the Czech Republic are important for heritage language maintenance (McCabe 2016).

It is recognized that home language use, the presence of an ethnic community with a language school, and perceived prestige and vitality of the language are consistent predictors of heritage language retention (Fishman 1991; Tse 2001). Czech South Australians, Canadians (Dejmek 2007), and Americans (Moldová 2021) can rely on the presence of ethnic communities with language schools. Whilst McCabe (2016) mentions that many new arrivals to the US settle in destinations without established Czech communities and schools, she also ascribes the recently founded community language schools to the presence of the new migrants. The presence of such schools works for Czech speakers in terms of language maintenance. Prestige is also important for language maintenance. In South Australian Czech, the language has prestige and standing in terms of social solidarity in the community (see §4.2.1, 4.3.3 for more). Only time will tell whether the language will be maintained to fluency for South Australian Czechs.
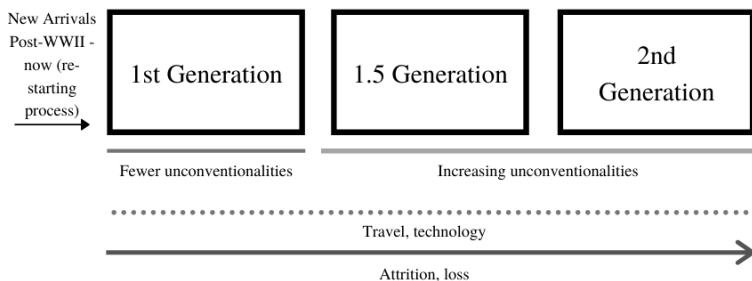
Though globalization, technology, and mobility can make the Czech heritage speaker experience different from what it was in the past in a way that motivates intergenerational language maintenance, it can also push against it. As evidenced in McCabe's (2016) study and in the present study, increased intermarriage and English abilities of new immigrants create a situation where Czech may not be fully passed on to the next generation.

Figure 1 on the following page from Castle (forthcoming) displays the differences between South Australian, Canadian, and American Czech (classical period and post-WWII period), and how different the development of Czech has been, largely depending on the era in which people moved.

5.3. Comparison of Social Pressure Experienced with Observed Language Use

On Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale, the Czech South Australian situation is likely at level two or level three. Function words and sen-

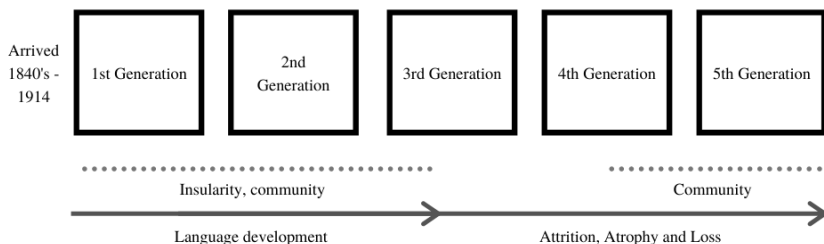Post-WWII South Australian Czech, Canadian Czech, and American Czech

Figure 1. South Australian, Canadian, and American Czech
Language Situations (adapted from Castle forthcoming)

tence structure are borrowed from English, for example with the increased marked use of pronouns, and syntax reflecting English word order (Castle forthcoming). Participant reports of their syntax directly reflecting English word order is in line with Gumperz and Wilson's (1971: 165) assertion that bilinguals tend to move their languages toward "word for word translatable codes". Some examples of changing syntax include:

(3)   Use of overt pronominal subject:

    $^?$já musím jet   domů
    I   must$_{1SG}$ to.go   home

    'I have to go home'   (Castle forthcoming: 15)

In Czech, the subject pronoun is generally not required once the subject is established as it is a pro-drop language. However, one possibility for using the subject pronoun is for emphasis. In the situations given in Castle (forthcoming), it is suggested that the subject pronoun is not used for emphasis but

could rather represent a contact-induced shift toward an Anglicized sentence structure.

(4) Use of a more analytic sentence structure with overt subject pronoun (and codeswitching):

on   nechce   jít   camping (kempovat)
he   to.want$_{3SG.NEG}$ to.go   camping (to.camp)

'he doesn't want to go camping'   (Castle forthcoming: 26)

In Standard Czech, in this situation one would simply utilise the verb *kempovat* 'to camp', e.g., *nechce kempovat* 'he doesn't want to camp'. Insertion of the verb *jít* 'to go (in the sense of by foot)' along with the English lexical item suggests a shift toward a syntactic structure more closely resembling English. The overt subject pronoun *on* is also used here where it is not required.

Though there are word-order changes, these are not deemed extensive enough for a level four rating on the borrowing scale. No English inflectional affixes are added onto Czech words, also indicating that the borrowings occurring in South Australian Czech are not at a level four.

Level three suggests a more intense level of contact and pressure from the broader surrounding Australian culture with a slight amount of structural borrowing. This fits with the participants' responses (§4.1.5, 4.1.4, 4.3.3).

5.4. Sources of Grammatical Borrowing

According to van Coetsem (2000: 215), the two forces motivating grammatical borrowing are need and prestige. The borrowing mode that encompasses these sources is called the extended mode of borrowing. The borrowing mode that prioritizes need as a source is called the regular mode of borrowing (van Coetsem 2000). In the regular mode of borrowing, the borrowing process by each individual is seen as an adaptation. However, in the extended mode of borrowing, this is considered an imitation undertaken because language community members have a strong awareness of their language being subordinated to the socially and culturally dominant source language (the language that is the source of the borrowings). In South Australian Czech, Czech is the recipient language and English is the source language.

In the regular mode, such language awareness is absent for a variety of reasons, but in South Australian Czech it could be argued that it is because the prevailing criterion for using English is for communication and intelligibility purposes and not for prestige-related purposes. Here, **prestige** refers to social status or reputation. As it is therefore primarily need driving the borrowing process, this makes South Australian Czech fit the regular mode of borrowing, which typically involves borrowing from the syntagmatic axis. This axis involves the distribution of phonological, morphological, and syntactic forms

and structures. This could aid in explaining the relative propensity for syntactic borrowing in South Australian Czech in comparison to minimal morphological borrowing (which is more related to the paradigmatic axis).

There is great cultural value and prestige within the Czech community, tying in with the idea of covert prestige expressing a sense of social solidarity (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977; Ryan 1979; Edwards 1982: 21; Milroy 1982; Giles and Johnson 1981, 1987). Czech social dominance and prestige within the Czechoslovak Club is clearly explained by van Coetsem's (2000) model and a need-based choice to learn and communicate in English in the outside world in Australia. One may also consider what van Coetsem (2000: 233) refers to as normativeness, or the motivation for avoiding borrowing, of which one aspect is purism. This is certainly present in the South Australian Czech community.

However, Participants 2, 3, 5, and 6 are no longer linguistically dominant in Czech. They are of the 1.5 and 2nd generations, reflecting the idea that intergenerational language shift processes such as divergent attainment are active in the community. Such generations also have closer and more intense contact with English in their formative years, through school, etc. The linguistic situation of these participants would more closely represent Source Language Agentivity (van Coetsem 2000) than Recipient Language Agentivity. Also referred to as imposition, Source Language Agentivity occurs in the case where elements are imposed onto participants' Czech through their English dominance. Van Coetsem's (2000: 172) Source Language Agentivity model is shown below:

initial generation(s): L1 (**A**) → L2 (B) = imposition by A (acquisition of B)

subsequent generation(s): L1 (**B**) → L2 (A) = imposition by B (possible attrition of A)

where imposition refers to linguistic dominance. Bolding indicates the linguistically dominant language.

For this group, their borrowing may be more affected by prestige. This is possible through having prestige ascribed to the English language in their youth, e.g., at school, where it is not only the language acquired and utilized by teachers, but it is also the language of peers and friends. This may move the situation of South Australian Czech closer to the paradigmatic axis.

Need certainly plays a role in grammatical borrowing for the Czech South Australian community. Participants discuss a need to utilize English in broader Australian society (§4.1.5). This could also be extended to a cognitive need to make the languages' syntactic structures more similar for ease of processing in managing "a context-sensitive selection of structures and items within a complex repertoire of linguistic structures" (Matras 2010: 83) as well as to borrow grammatical elements, especially given the idea of imposition of

language material in the model above (van Coetsem 2000: 172). The need for borrowing is also extended to encompass the fact that English is the most useful language for communication outside the Czech community in South Australia, as it is the language used by the government, administration, schools, and general Australian population. Though English has authoritative and normative language dominance within Australia, it is not necessarily seen as prestigious in comparison with Czech by the participants (see §4.1.2). Therefore, it is likely that the borrowing situation here represents regular mode, leading to borrowing on the syntagmatic axis and making need the primary force for grammatical borrowing. The factors encompassed by need, including social pressure, structural similarity, and cognitive pressure, each play a role in the grammatical system of Czech in South Australia.

6. Conclusion

Sociocultural pressures, including community pressures and norms, family influence, partner attitudes, availability of and accessibility to schools, and wider Australian community pressures are identified as important factors in causing grammatical phenomena in South Australian Czech. Sociocultural pressures have presented different issues for temporally different Czech communities in majority English-speaking countries due to the sociopolitical and cultural backgrounds of the time. However, they appear to present similar issues for geographically different contemporaneous Czech communities in the US, Canada, and Australia. However, whilst the types of sociocultural pressures differ, similar results occur and thus, the linguistic processes are much the same. The sociocultural pressures experienced match that of the linguistic outcomes as analyzed using Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale.

Cognitive pressures and prestige value are other key factors. Cognitive pressures discussed include the ability to recall a word, not knowing a word, and quick access to a phrase in the brain. Another pertinent cognitive pressure is that of making the languages more structurally similar. It is noted that outcomes of increased structural similarity are evident in Castle (forthcoming), and participants discuss both the possibility of their unconscious move toward structural similarity, as well as a conscious knowledge of using the grammatical structure of the other language. It is shown that Czech is perceived as a language of prestige by the participants, and they act accordingly, e.g., by a preference to speak Czech only in the Czechoslovak Club and having a sense of pride in the language. The participants had a variety of reactions to the pressures involved, with some participants being affected by certain factors more than others.

Need (van Coetsem 2000) encompasses all of the above factors, and is thus the primary motive for grammatical borrowing in situations such as that of South Australian Czech.

A limitation of this study is that it does not reflect the entire Czech South Australian community. However, as an exploratory study intended for in-depth qualitative discussions with a few individuals, it successfully produced an array of nuanced views surrounding language use within the community. Another limitation involves the fact that only six out of the initial ten participants in the parallel study were available for interview, so comparisons between performance during the observations and experiences shared in the interviews could only be made for those six. Future research with a larger sample size would enable researchers to generalize about the Czech South Australian community's use of the language.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

1. What languages do you speak?

2. What would you rate your language proficiencies in each of your languages?
   a. What was your IELTS score (if you did an IELTS test)?

3. What is your opinion on mixing between languages in speech?

4. In conversation with other bilinguals, do you notice yourself using both of your languages? Why do you do this?
   Ideas:
   a. due to momentarily forgetting a word? Give monolingual example for when you forget a word—no way to say it at all!
   b. another word/particle is more useful/better/more appropriate for the situation
   c. another word/particle expresses the meaning more fully
   d. another word/particle feels easier to express in that language

5. How do you do this?
   a. Do you feel that you borrow words from between languages in a bilingual situation? Which words?
   b. Do you feel that you borrow grammar between your languages in a bilingual situation?
   c. Do you say two words/two morphemes in one sentence that express the same concept but use them both, e.g., for emphasis?
   d. Do you have an awareness of the way you phrase sentences changing at all to match the form of your other language? Provide examples.

6. What places are you in when you borrow between languages/mix languages?

7. Do you feel more relaxed in speaking when you can use both languages rather than just L1 or L2?

8. How long have you been in this country/were you born here?
    a. How long have you been speaking English?

9. Do you feel any form of societal/community pressure to mix two languages in a sentence or to not do so? Or in public/at home? Would it be weird? When would it be weird?

10. Do you feel any social pressure to conform to majority languages? Do you also feel language pride for your own language? How does this play out in your speech?

If you think of any more instances of grammatical borrowing that you have in your speech and you would like to share them, feel free to email me.

Appendix 2: Bilingual Ability Grading Scale

English/Angličtina:

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Czech/Čeština:

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

0 = does not speak the language at all
    nemluví vůbec tímto jazykem

10 = native-level fluency and maintained use of language
    rodilý mluvčí a pravidelné používání jazyka

Appendix 3: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages[12]

	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarize information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments, and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
PROFICIENT USER	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors, and cohesive devices.
INDEPENDENT USER	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialization. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.

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[12] The highlighted text represents that which was used by the researcher to assess the level of competency for the participants. The researcher was only able to use the highlighted conditions in the categories for assessment as they relate to spoken Czech (i.e., written speech was not assessed).

INDEPENDENT USER	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
BASIC USER	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g., very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

(Council of Europe 2020)

Appendix 4: Thomason and Kaufman's Borrowing Scale

Thomason and Kaufman's Borrowing Scale Summary

LEVEL	INTENSITY OF SOCIAL CONTACT	BORROWING OUTCOME	EXAMPLES OF BORROWING OUTCOME
1	Casual contact	lexical borrowing only	content words
2	Slightly more intense contact	slight structural borrowing	function words from the lexicon minor phonological, syntactic, and lexical semantic features
3	More intense contact	slightly more structural borrowing	function words including adpositions, derivational affixes, pronouns syntax e.g., borrowed postpositions in a prepositional language
4	Strong cultural pressure	moderate structural borrowing	extensive word order changes borrowed inflectional affixes added to native words
5	Very strong cultural pressure	heavy structural borrowing	major structural features significant typological disruption added morphophonemic rules

(Thomason and Kaufman 1988)

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