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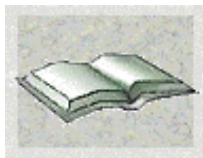
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Pino Bosi and the Piccolo Mondo of the Italo-Australian Community

Gaetano Rando

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One of the most prominent figure among first generation Italian migrant writers in Australia, at least in quantitative if not in other terms, is Pino Bosi whose works in volume form are predominantly preoccupied with themes related to the Italian Australian community. A prolific writer, Bosi has published over a fourteen year period a novel in Italian (Bosi, 1971a), a collection of short stories in English (Bosi, 1973b, 1983), three volumes of poetry (Bosi, 1973a, 1986a, 1988), a biography (Zaccariotto, 1987), five works of a historical/sociological nature (Bosi, 1971b, 1972, 1981, 1986b, 1989)¹ and also claims a number of unpublished works to his credit.²

As well as pursuing his writing activities, Bosi has worked for many years as a freelance journalist for both the Italian and the English language press. Among his other activities he has founded two magazines for the Italian community: *Roba Nostra* (1977) which ceased publication after about a year and *Australia ieri oggi domani* (Rando, 1993, pp. 211, 14), written mainly in Italian and published irregularly over 1983-86. Because of these, and other, activities Bosi is perhaps the Italo-Australian writer who is most identified with the community.

Born at Tolmino [Gorizia], of an Emilian father and an Austrian mother in 1933, Pino Bosi emigrated to Australia in 1951 with his family after having completed all but the final year of the *Liceo* (high school) in Italy³. Although he had learnt English at school, his impact with the spoken variety of Australian English made him realize that he had to learn the language all over again. Consequently he not only “picked up” spoken Australian English but, especially when his children began attending school, he systematically re-learnt the language from scratch. He realized that, having learnt English as a “foreign” language at the *Liceo* in Italy, he had missed out on all the stages of linguistic development from infancy to 13 years or so.

Bosi spent his first few years in Australia working at all sorts of manual jobs in all sorts of places. In 1955 he won a literary competition sponsored the Italian language newspaper *Il Corriere d’Australia* for a short story “Cose da Pazzi” and as a consequence was offered a position with the Sydney based paper *La Fiamma*. He accepted this position since it was “qualcosa di diverso di mescolar cemento.”

He subsequently worked for a number of years with the Italo-Australian press, moving from *La Fiamma* to *La Croce del Sud* in 1956, was NSW editor for the Melbourne based *Il Globo* from 1959 to 1964 and subsequently passed to the editorship of *Settegiorni* in 1964. From 1965 to 1968 Bosi worked as a journalist with the Sydney English language newspaper *The Daily Mirror*, subsequently (1968) becoming Public Relations Officer for the Lloyd Triestino Shipping Line. During the 1960s he also worked on a freelance basis for Channel 2 and Channel 9, and between 1958 and 1975 he broadcast Italian programmes for (successively) stations 2CH, 2UW and 2KY. In 1970 Bosi decided to go entirely freelance and also founded a publishing house, Kurunda, in order to publish a number of his works. When in 1975 the Ethnic Australia experimental broadcasts were initiated in Sydney, Pino Bosi became coordinator of the Italian language programme for radio 2EA, a position which he held until 1981 when he was dismissed following a controversy with the Special Broadcasting Service. During the period spent with 2EA he virtually ceased all creative writing activities. Since then he has worked as a freelance writer and journalist (he has never liked “working for a boss”), has been the recipient of a writers’ grant (1984) from the Australia Council and in 1985 obtained a Literature Board grant for teaching writing skills to Fairfield youth. Over 1986-87 he hosted afternoon childrens’ programmes on SBS-TV. A very well-known figure in the Italo-Australian community, Bosi was for over 25 years often Master of Ceremonies at festivals, weddings and other functions. Subsequent to a number of personal and family problems (his wife, Livia Bosi, committed suicide in 1991), Pino Bosi ceased his activities as a writer and as a community figure in the early 1990s subsequently retiring to private life.

As a creative writer Bosi discovered, at an early age, that “le parole avevano tutta una loro forma” and felt a “sensazione di piacere fisico scoprire il significato delle parole.” Feeling an almost subconscious desire to do something with these words, he wrote his first poems at the age of five and a half or six years and until the age of 19 or so his major production was poetry. At about 14 or 15 years of age he began to write essays. The first twelve months in Australia marked a time of spiritual crisis and a very sad period. Bosi found he lacked the stimulating discussions on all subjects which were so much a feature of the *Liceo* scene in Italy. By contrast young people in Australia had no interest at all in these discussions and consequently Bosi found that he had no one to talk to, although he says that Australian girls were a little bit better than the boys in this sense.

When he was employed by *La Fiamma* in 1955 he noticed that the little fiction published by the paper was all imported from Italy – the Italo-Australian press, then as now, did little if anything for the local writer. He consequently proposed a series of stories with an Italo-Australian setting and during 1955 he published in the paper, under the general title *Australia*

Strapaese, ten stories which were to form the nucleus of *Australia Cane*. Not wishing to present problems, points of view and feelings which were identifiably his, Bosi concentrated on stories which could be considered characteristic of the “typical” Italian migrant experience in Australia at that time. Rather than concentrate on a “profondo esame psicologico” he aimed to present “la realtà come la conoscevano loro.” Written at time which was a peak period for Italian arrivals to Australia (26,000 in 1956) the stories, although prepared in great haste (sometimes only two or three hours before going to press), were quite popular with the readers.

The writing of *Australia Cane* was interrupted when from *La Fiamma* Bosi passed to *La Croce del Sud*. For this paper Bosi produced a series of ten short stories under the general title of *Tre Case e un Campanile*⁴ Set in the rural farming community of a small Italian village in the Val Padana, these stories are a departure (the only published one) from Bosi's usual Italo-Australian themes and one wonders whether they were written before emigration. Somewhat superficial and often faulty in plot and characterisation, they seem an unsuccessful attempt at imitation of the Italian humorous short story writer Giovanni Guareschi⁵ who was very popular at the time. In fact Bosi is rather more successful at imitating Guareschi in the *Australia Cane* stories which he began publishing again in 1964 when he was editor of *Settegiorni*.

Bosi's insistence on publishing original narrative (but only his own) in the Italo-Australian press was due in part to the fact that he liked to publish “prosa originale [...] nata qui, sentita qui, concepita qui, realizzata qui. Che la gente potesse capire che c'era una realtà anche qui” and not material imported from Italy. Bosi was also interested in bringing his novel to the attention of the non Italian reader and he had submitted an English language version of *Australia Cane* to Sydney publisher Angus and Robertson. Although it was accepted for publication the publishers decided not to proceed when Nino Culotta's [pen name for anglo-celtic writer John Patrick O'Grady] best-seller *They're a Weird Mob* was published by Ure Smith in 1957. Thus *Australia Cane* was destined not to appear in volume form until 1971. In view of the initial print run of 5000 copies which was sold out over a period of ten years, it can be said that the novel, destined for an Italo-Australian reading public which reads little (the best-selling Italian writer Giovanni Guareschi sold some 8000 copies of his works in Italian in Australia), has had a relative success⁶ although in part its “success” must be attributed to the fact that it has been adopted as a textbook in a few schools and universities.

In his article on Italo-Australian literature, McCormick (1973) compares Bosi to Guareschi both for the way in which he tries to enter into the world of the “ordinary worker” (p. 303) and for the way in which the characters are used to display “typical” attitudes without any real depth of characterization (p. 305). In a sense McCormick's evaluation tends to agree with what Bosi himself says about the novel and McCormick concludes that it is “un libro di assoluta attualità [...] qualunque possano essere le nostre riserve per quanto riguarda certi aspetti letterari del libro, *Australia Cane* è un documento di alto valore come fonte di informazioni sui principali temi della vita di tanti italiani in questo paese.” (McCormick, 1973, p. 305). However it could be further argued that *Australia Cane* presents a pseudo-populist style and conception rather than a truly populist one. There is a superficiality about the novel, which derives in part from its humorous orientation. It does not give the impression of the “view from inside” which, for example, is found in Cappiello's (1981) novel *Paese fortunato*. For Bosi the migrant microcosm of the Italo-Australian environment in the 1950s is one where all issues are presented in black and white terms and the many problems which beset the immigrant find somewhat simplistic solutions that belie the complexity of the situation.

Australia Cane, which in its final (1971) version is comprised of 32 more or less interconnected brief episodes, relates the story of Giovanni Carrano's arrival in Australia in the early 1950s and of his initial experiences both in terms of the natural and human environment and of the work situation. The title of the novel is an ambiguous one: *Cane* can be interpreted either as the Italian word meaning “dog” (hence “Australia is a dog of a place”) or as abbreviation of [*sugar*] *cane* although Bosi says the ambiguity was not deliberate. The typicality of the situation and of the protagonist, a device which seems to detract from the literary value, is embodied in the introductory chapter. The year is *millenovecentoequalcheannofa*, the place, *Happy Vale* (probably somewhere in rural NSW), and the protagonist, Giovanni Carrano, is obviously from somewhere in Southern Italy. The language barrier and lack of knowledge of local laws create a number of problems with the police. In the first four chapters (pp. 3-20) Bosi introduces “typical” themes and situations at an almost dizzying pace. The novel proceeds like this as Giovanni finds work, repays Councilor Jackson the twenty pound fine imposed by the judge, goes to North Queensland to work as a cane cutter in the sugar cane plantations etc. In the succeeding chapters a large number of other “typical” themes and situations are introduced: the mafia and vendetta; generation and culture conflicts both between Italians and Australians as well as within the Italo-Australian community; the resentment of Italian migrants towards an Italy which forgets them and leaves them to fend for themselves in a strange and alien land.

As posited above, this myriad presentation of themes and the devices and the machinations used to introduce them detracts from the literary value of the novel. Despite this it does, on the whole, present itself as a lively and humorously told narrative which, although neglecting the more “serious” consequences of the migrant experience (in a few cases tragic elements are present), does nevertheless at times go somewhat beyond its apparent shallowness. Giovanni Carrano, although not the others, does take on the aspects of a full-blown character, not educated but equipped with a remorseless sort of native logic, a little shy and a little aggressive, thoroughly confused in his encounter with the various aspects of his Australian experience, and aspiring to the achievement of material well-being if not upward social mobility. And there are scenes which are presented in a quite amusing way, although their message may go beyond the superficial and immediate such as when, returning South in the train at the end of the cane cutting season, Giovanni and his friends, after a good-

natured song contest with a group of Australians in the next compartment (each group singing songs in their respective languages), make a bet with the Australians that they will be able to get a case of bananas across the state border without having the fruit confiscated by the agricultural inspectors. They in fact do so by eating all the bananas!

The acceptance of the novel by its intended reading public (and its rejection by “educated” or “cultured” Italo-Australians) can be explained in terms of ethno-cultural identification on the part of the Italo-Australian migrant reader. In its structure and language the work may be seen as responding to certain popularized expectations regarding the concept of the novel (episodic, humorous, somewhat sentimentalist). In fact a surface humour, usually satire, sometimes delivered in a somewhat heavy-handed manner, constitutes the main characteristic of Bosi's narrative writing. In contextual terms *Australia Cane* draws heavily on elements of popular/folk culture such as in the episode where St. Anthony's picture is nailed to the chicken coop or when Giovanni, Gerolamo and some of the other characters sit in Gerolamo's living room discussing what, to them, appears the imminent end of the world.

Giovanni's exasperated outburst when, just arrived in Happy Vale, he knocks on a door to ask for directions to his brother's house only to have it slammed in his face by the little old lady (though not before she pulls her dog into the safety of the house) may be taken as a case in point: “Australia Cane – sbottò Giovanni [...] Tengono dentro le bestie e lasciano fuori i cristiani!” (Bosi, 1971, p. 5). The effectiveness of this remark relies heavily on signifiers located in a specific cultural context. *Cristiani* in Standard Italian means “Christians” (i.e. believers in or followers of Christ). In a number of Italian dialects (both Northern and Southern) it means “people” as opposed to “animals”. This apposition anticipates the remark made by another of the characters, Dottor Antonio Coccozza, a graduate in Commerce and Political Science from an Italian university, in the concluding chapter. At the International Ball organized by the *Società per l'Amicizia verso gli Emigranti* (a satirical reference to the Good Neighbour Council) Giovanni is awarded a medal for having saved the life of il Biondino. As the evening proceeds he overhears Coccozza telling the anti-migrant ex-mayor of Happy Vale that people like Giovanni are used to living like beasts and keep animals in the house. The same set of signifiers (in “high” culture terms) are used to dissociate Coccozza from his less “educated” compatriots as are used by Giovanni (in a “folk” context) to construct a metaphor about his first (negative) Australian experience.

In the altercation which develops Coccozza attempts to assert his superiority as an “educated” English-speaking Italian and Giovanni insists that his manual labour is equally if not more useful to Australia than Coccozza's hot air arguments. In this highly personalized version of the brains versus brawn debate which was one of the dominant themes of Australian immigration policy, it is Giovanni to whom Bosi gives the last word in a sort of Guareschian inspired *contadino* finale:

“oi volete le belle chiacchiere ma la terra vuole la punta della zappa e le case vogliono mattoni. Gente come lui volete?”

“Badate a parlar bene” cercò d'interrompere Antonio Coccozza. “Voi zappate e io faccio la mia professione.”

“Sparlare dei connazionali per farvi bello, è questa la vostra professione?”

“Io sono dottore” ribattè Antonio Coccozza confondendosi sempre più nel circolo di curiosi che andavano pressandoli, e cavò da un taschino un biglietto da visita. Ma Giovanni continuò ad incalzare:

“Anch'io sono dottore, lo sapete? Io sono dottore in canna e ho già messo la caparra per il negozio, per quando diventerò dottore in fruttologia, come compare Gerolamo” (Bosi, 1971, p. 157).

The perception of ethno-cultural differences both as a determining and determinant factor influencing the relationship not only between the immigrant group and the host society but also between different stratifications or castes within the same immigrant group provides one of the central themes in Bosi's novel, and one which is resumed in *Australia paesana* the sequel to *Australia Cane*.

Whereas the first novel presents the contrast between Italian immigrants and Australia, the second examines the same immigrants in the Italo-Australian *ambiente paesano*, a Little Italy both in a geophysical and in a spiritual sense, which they have created as part of the settlement process. *Australia paesana* is a sort of *Australia Cane* revisited some twenty years later in which our hero Giovanni, happily integrated in his proper station within the Italo-Australian ghetto, is now a wealthy fruit shop proprietor and one of the community leaders in his capacity as President of the *Associazione Sant Eustacchio*.

Only two chapters of this novel were ever published⁷ The novel, which, like *Australia Cane*, appears to be episodic in character, begins with a somewhat artificially contrived coincidence. On a hot somewhat empty Sunday in an unnamed Australian city (Sydney?) a newly arrived immigrant knocks at the door of the *Veneto* Bepi. The stranger is lost and Bepi gets out the car and takes him to the address he was seeking. It turns out to be the house of Giovanni Carrano with whom Bepi had worked twenty years ago in the North Queensland cane fields. Their reunion is a moving one and the two part promising to keep in touch and to meet up with il Biondino. This initial fortuitous meeting provides a mechanism which enables the construction of a whole series of reminiscences of the “good old days” and the new encounters which make up the various episodes of *Australia paesana*.

One of these encounters (“La Riunione culturale”) takes place at an Italian Club where the various community leaders and other interested persons had been called to a meeting by the cultural attaché from the Italian Consulate Dottor Emilio Corri. The meeting follows a report written by two (presumably) angloceltic sociologists, according to which over half of Italians and Greeks not only do not speak English but do not even speak their own language. The purpose of the meeting is

to create a basis for the new Italo-Australian cultural identity. The theme of the story is the problematical relationship between Italian culture and the Italo-Australian *ambiente* in a situation where the “official” (or “high”) Italian culture is not accepted by the majority of Italian migrants while their folk culture is institutionally rejected. In fact the seventeen or so persons present at the meeting cannot even come to a common consensus on what constitutes Italian (or Italo-Australian) culture. This is symptomatic of two commonly perceived characteristics of the Italo-Australian community: its socio-cultural diversity and its inability to come to a consensus over anything:

L'altro delegato della A.M.I.C.E.F. [...] disse che bisognava istituire corsi di italiano per tutti gli emigrati italiani perché “[...] finché rimarremo ignoranti saremo sempre miserabili ed avremo sempre i lavori più bassi”.

A questo punto fu Giovanni a reagire: “Io non ti conosco” disse saltando su “ma tu parli per te [...] Io non mi sento neanche un po’ miserabile e, grazie a Dio, anzi al mio sudore, neanche lo sono [...]”

“Intendo dire i lavoratori [...]” fece quello dell’A.M.I.C.E.F. come per spiegarsi.

“Perché” fece Giovanni “io me la faccio coll’eredità di mio padre?”

“Siamo tutti lavoratori qua [...]” fece Bepi “e forse anche più di te.” (Rando 1983, p. 154).

Although thematically interesting, this story comes across as somewhat less lively than many of the other episodes which comprise the *Australia Cane/Australia paesana* series. The humour is rather more heavy handed than usual while the intrusion of a number of cultural stereotypes and the attempt to be all-embracing in this sense seems to load the story with too many elements to make it easily manageable. As a consequence the characterization suffers and even the indomitable Giovanni tends to stay somewhat in the background.

Linguistically Bosi's Italian stories are written in a fairly simple although traditional style. In the dialogues he often uses elements of popular Italian and Australian Italian in order to give linguistic realism to the speech of his characters. Some traces of Australian Italian may also be found in both the vocabulary and the syntax of the narrative such as *rapporto* “report” or *era deciso conquistare la casetta rosa*. One wonders how conscious he is of this. In fact Bosi seems much more inclined to the use of Italo-Australianisms in the non dialogue portions than any other Italo-Australian writer. Now and again he is able to come up with quite innovative expressions in order to describe people and things in the Australian setting such as when he describes the puzzlement of Giovanni Carrano, just arrived in Happy Vale, as having *la faccia a punta di domanda* or someone who is obviously an immigrant as having a *faccia di italiano da esportazione*. A lone and parched eucalyptus tree is described as an *assetato eucalipto*.

As stated above, Bosi has also published a collection of 24 short stories in English on a variety of themes, not all humorous, and featuring various migrant characters.⁸ Six of the stories have Italo-Australian settings and characters, five an Australian setting (but two refer to marginal social groups – tramps and dropouts), a further five deal with East European migrants in an Australian setting, two relate to the Australian Greek environment and one each refer to Irish, English, German and Egyptian migrant characters and Aborigines. One story deals with the Vietnam war (“Vietnam – Five Dialogues and an epitaph”, pp. 72-80) and one (“That ... thing in Via della Topaia”, pp. 145-52, the only story with a European setting) is about Gordon Samuel PIPPS, an Australian professor and honorary president of the Canberra Anglo-Italian Cultural Society. On a visit to Rome PIPPS is taken to court for urinating against the wall of a church because he did not want to use the nearby urinal (sculptured in 1552 by a well-known but unnamed artist) since he considered it a work of art. The stories are slanted from a somewhat “catchy” angle (clearly influenced by Bosi's journalistic experience) and, to a certain extent, seem to have been written to cash in on the then novelty interest in multiculturalism, an impression is confirmed by the Hodja decision to republish them (Bosi, 1983, Hodja Publications of Melbourne produces multicultural literature in English mainly for use in schools). Written substantially from an “Italian eye view” they deal with the more unusual aspects of immigrant or marginal group behaviour.

The Italo-Australian stories deal with the confrontation between the Italian migrant and Australian society. This aspect is accentuated in those stories which are re-written from *Australia Cane* in the sense that in their original version the confrontation aspect was generally not so evident. One story has an autobiographical basis. In “The Lecture” (Bosi, 1973b, pp. 118-21) Giulio, an 18 year old student who comes to Australia from Italy with his family, finds that he cannot continue with his studies. This is due to his lack of proficiency in English but also to the fact that his father's earnings are insufficient to support the family (father, mother and five children). Partly because of the factory work he does, but also partly because of the general environment Giulio experiences “a sense of futility at the dreariness of what he was doing. No intellectual stimulation; no involvement of his faculties [...] He felt degraded” (Bosi, 1973b, p. 118). When he is invited by his English teacher at night school to give a lecture on Italy to a suburban cultural organization he sees this as a golden opportunity to enlighten Australian minds to the greatest civilization of the Western world. His lecture, delivered to a polite but unstimulating and unstimulated audience is well received on the mistaken assumption that Giulio is an exchange student from Italy and not an immigrant. But the audience's attitudes to Italian immigrants are somewhat different:

“We haven't had the time to acquire your sophistication. But we are trying. Please remember we are only a young nation.”

Then the president's husband came to shake hands. “Yes, I've always told my friends Italians are good people after all. My gardener Giuseppe is a very good man. Does a wonderful job. And his wife is an excellent cook. She makes wonderful spaghetti. Yes, I think we could do with a few more of your countrymen.” (Bosi, 1973b, p. 121)

The story touches upon two significant cultural themes: the aspirations of those Italian immigrants who have had some education (and who thus did not emigrate only for economic reasons) and their frustration at finding a cultural wilderness in Australia; the Australian “cultural cringe” towards Italian (and generally European) culture; and their patronising attitudes and feelings of superiority towards the common or garden Italian immigrant. Another possible autobiographical story (but much more vaguely so) is “The Writer” in which Emile Rossi, a bearded, idealistic and not yet recognized writer who is struggling to complete his masterpiece in the midst of genteel poverty, finally succumbs to his wife's continual complaints about their financial difficulties and accepts a well-paid job writing witty sayings for printing on toilet paper. This ingenious and sardonic tale with a tragi-comic ending story does not have an “ethnic” context as such (except in the name of the protagonist) although it is a telling comment on Australian cultural values.

The other Italo-Australian stories, five in all, are re-writings from *Australia Cane*.⁹ The basic plots are identical although the emphasis and some details have been changed to bring them into line with the cultural contrast theme. The English versions are generally less specific in their detail than their Italian counterparts. In some the names of the characters have been changed and the reason for this is not always apparent. In “One's Land,” the story of the Italian construction worker killed while working at a dam site, Zio Giovanni (Giovanni Carrano) becomes Uncle Antonio, the widow, Maria becomes Lucia and the name of the dead worker (Pietro) is not stated. This is perhaps deliberate, since by remaining anonymous he becomes a symbol of all Italian immigrant workers who have lost their lives in work-related accidents. The postcards of Italy stuck to the wall of Pietro's sleeping quarters become postcards of Italian and Australian cities (p. 28) in the English version, thus underscoring more closely the conclusion that Australia belongs to Italian immigrants as well as Australians since Italians too have sacrificed their lives for Australia's economic progress. In the *Australia Cane* version Zio Giovanni speaks good Italian while Zio Antonio speaks slightly broken English (a feature in common with the Italian characters in the other rewritten stories). “Red Poppies” is another story which presents the Italian immigrant's desire to create a sense of belonging to this country, in this case by transposing some of their traditions to the Australian context. Both versions of this story are presented through the protagonist Giovanni who, at dusk on Anzac day, notices Il Biondino, Mario Donati (an unnamed young man in the English version) attempting to chisel his father's name on the local war memorial. His reason for wishing to do so is given in the story's poignant finale:

My father [...] he was killed at Bardia [North Africa] in the last war. At least we think he was killed there. I don't even know if he's got a cross on his grave. Or if he's got a grave at all. He was a stone-mason, my father. I learnt from him, when I was a little boy. Now my mother is dead and I mean to settle here. That's why I wanted to chisel my father's name among those of other soldiers killed at the same place. It was just an idea. I thought it would do no harm. I could come here like one goes to the cemetery to offer his respects to the dead (Bosi 1973b, p. 155).

The story also provides some comments on Anzac Day as an Australian tradition which is incomprehensible to Giovanni, although his reactions to and his considerations on the event are somewhat different in the two versions (cfr. Bosi, 1971a, p. 125 and Bosi, 1973b, p. 152). Giovanni, the ever-curious observer, initially does not understand what is going on. In fact the significance of Anzac Day does not become fully apparent until he meets Il Biondino. He witnesses the speeches and beer-swilling which are so characteristic of this event. One of the speeches, delivered by the pro-migrant newly elected mayor Jackson, has been omitted in the English version which is less detailed and more anonymous. Giovanni listens to the speech without understanding it even though Mayor Jackson, in his condemnation of the beer drinking, as well as in his claim that migrants too should be identified with the Anzac tradition, presents views which the reader later finds out are very close to those held by Giovanni.

Another great Australian cultural tradition, gambling on the horses, is presented in “Volcano.” Pasquale (Giovanni Carrano in the Italian version), a “sensible middle-aged father of three to whom life had taught that money was like one's own teeth” (Bosi 1973b, p. 100), goes to the races for the first time out of curiosity because his brother is in the habit of betting and sometimes loses a whole week's pay. There he meets an old Australian inveterate gambler who asks him to place bets for him because he had been banned from gambling for six months by the court. When Pasquale sees that the old man keeps winning he too is tempted to place some bets and he too finds that he is on a winning streak. However in the last race, fraught with tension and excitement, their horse, Volcano, just misses out on coming in first and Pasquale who had placed all his money on the horse (although the old man had warned him to be careful), and chewed up his ticket in his excitement, ends up walking the ten miles back home. The two stories have a different ending. In the Italian version the conclusion is somewhat moralistic as we are told that “Giovanni non andò mai più ad una corsa di cavallo” (Bosi, 1971a, p. 115). In the English version we are left in doubt as to whether Pasquale did or did not indulge in gambling again. The old Australian gambler (old Tom in the *Australia Cane* version) is one of Bosi's more successful minor characters. Knowledgeable about horses, he backs his judgments with individualistic purpose of mind, taking both his wins and losses philosophically. To him it is the race that counts not the result, as he remarks when his horse just misses coming first in the last race: “He's a great ‘orse, you know, a real champ. See the fight he put up? Tell you what, it was worth it all, to the last cent” (Bosi, 1973b, p. 107).

“St Anthony and the Chicken-House,” in which Giuseppe (Giovanni Carrano in the Italian version) shocks a Jehovah's Witness by nailing a picture of St Anthony (protector of animals) to his back yard chicken coop, deals very superficially with the theme of religious-based cultural maintenance among the Italo-Australian community. These practices would

sometimes provoke negative reactions in the host society such as when Australian Irish catholic parish priests used to ban Italian saint day processions in their parishes. The story is fairly similar in both versions although the English version is less detailed. Giuseppe speaks broken English while Giovanni in the Italian version speaks good Italian although the language shift does not in any way diminish his remorseless native logic which allows him, although unlettered in the finer points of scripture, to put the visiting evangelist to flight.

A shift in the ethnic orientation (from Italian to East European) of the character occurs in "The Television Set," although the plot and conclusion of the two stories are identical. This tragi-comic story does have an interesting though barely discernible theme viz. that the host society often crushes in a quite cruel way the aspirations of the migrant.

Yet another story with an Italian connection is "Winter tale" which is a rewriting in Australian terms of "Dagli! Dagli!" from the *Tre Case e un Campanile* series. In the Italian story Toldini, a surveyor, who visits on business a small Italian village, is inexplicably chased away by the villagers. The Australian version is more detailed, better structured and articulated. Gordon Jones, a young Sydney architect who has never been to the snow, visits Cabramurra, a small township "nestling on a white, wintry slope of the Snowy Mountains" (Bosi, 1973b, p. 93). During his two-day stay Gordon discovers a part of Australia he did not know existed and is favourably impressed both by the place and by the fact that the skiing facilities and the Snowy River Scheme were being developed largely due to the work of NESB migrants. Because of this he finds himself approving of the migrant presence in Australia albeit in somewhat patronising terms. Gordon's euphoria is rudely shattered when he is chased by a group of irate migrant workers. After he finally manages to board the outward bound coach he finds out that he had been mistaken for the referee in a soccer match between a Yugoslav and Italian team from the work camp which had been held that afternoon. Although it is an improvement on the Italian version the story is a somewhat banal one and its theme remains obscure. In common with the Italian version it presents the idea of suspicion for the stranger in small rural remote communities (whether in Italy or Australia). Perhaps it also means to say something about the way in which the nicer and more pleasant aspects of what immigrants have to offer Australia are accepted by the host society. However, when relations between the two groups become strained NESB immigrants are perceived as presenting a danger to the host society and become, as Gordon so eloquently puts it, "damned, fucking bastards" (Bosi, 1973b, p. 99).

The other "ethnic" stories, although lacking in any real depth, and often any real characters, are well told and present sociologically interesting if not common aspects of the various ethnic and marginal groups in Australia. The personages encountered are "Poms", Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Greeks, Germans, Aboriginals and tramps. They are united by a common denominator which is that of the clash with the reality of existence in Australia in a society characterized by conformism, materialism and pragmatism which often denies them their aspirations. So in "Nocturnal (without ghosts)" (Bosi 1973b, pp. 29-34) two slightly drunk Northern Europeans walking through an outer Sydney suburban cemetery philosophise on why there are no ghost stories in Australia and conclude that this is because "Australians don't have any respect for the dead" (p. 31). "The case of poor Tamas" (Bosi 1973b, pp. 122-29) relates the story of Tamas Seidler, a Hungarian post World War II refugee who, after having his jaw broken in a pub for daring to speak his language in public, pretends to be mad because he has heard that mad migrants were shipped back to their country of origin. However, his plan backfires since as a stateless person, Tamas is not sent back but committed to a psychiatric centre instead. An English migrant, founder of Motorists Anonymous, kicks a parking policeman in the backside out of frustration over parking problems in Sydney's city centre and ends up in court for his trouble ("The Provocation", Bosi, 1973b, pp. 46-50).

The language of Bosi's English stories is simple and perhaps a little too colloquial in the non dialogue parts. Apart from the odd very rare formal error, his English is morphologically and syntactically correct.

Bosi's only published English narrative *The Checkmate* has attracted some critical attention which, on the whole, has been favourable, although one wonders to what extent Bosi has been understood by his Australian critics. It is difficult, for example, to understand Angelika Fremd's claim that the type of humour presented by Bosi is peculiar to "ethnic" writers while her queries regarding the origin of Bosi's distinctive brand of humour can to a large extent be answered by referring to the influence of Giovanni Guareschi:

The Checkmate is the work of a raconteur par excellence. Bosi's stories are witty, humorous and perceptive. They are stories about all types of people, from all walks of life and nationalities. The ability to "spin a yarn" with a humorous twist, holding all characters up to ridicule, seems to be a peculiarly "ethnic" contribution to Australian literature. Whether these stories originate in the literary traditions of the writers' native country or in the obvious humour emanating from situations in which cultures clash, is uncertain. Whatever the reason, it is a literary form to be welcomed. A story of this type crosses boundaries, as do Bosi's stories. Humour becomes the great leveler; migrants and Australians alike are held up to a humane form of ridicule. This collection escapes the tone of self-pity which is characteristic of so much migrant writing. Here, the divine spark of comedy intervenes to make migrants of us all in situations where one set of customs and thought patterns clashes with another." (Fremd, 1984, p. 174)

Of course, those who reviewed the second edition of *The Checkmate* did so without reference to Bosi's Italian narrative and thus lacked an indispensable perspective for the evaluation of Bosi as a writer of fiction. Somewhat too facile and thus prone to superficiality, Bosi comes across as an inventive and varied writer who did not substantially break out of the Italian "ghetto" in a thematic sense, an image very much in keeping with the widely held one of Bosi as a "professional Italian" in both his working and public life. Despite the restrictions imposed by this image and the shortcomings of Bosi's narrative what he has written is interesting in a sociological sense and it is usually well told although his journalistic

orientation is too often apparent.

Considerable journalistic influence can also be found in Bosi's non literary works that are certainly not meant to be objective academic studies on migrant issues but writings that present viewpoints and reflections of someone who has lived through identical experiences.

Farewell Australia (Bosi 1972) presents a controversial analysis of Australia and Australian society from the perspective of a non-English speaking immigrant who is considering leaving Australia to resettle in his home country. Bosi attempts to explain a number of foibles by some commonplace references to Australia's past. He discusses copious beer swilling and a somewhat trite attitude to life and death as a result of the power structure and the nature of existence in convict settlements. People and cities are seen as lacking substance, vision and identity yet Australia is seen as having changed and suffered in the changes wrought by mass immigration. His salutary "Stammi bene Australia" contains an emotionally charged though not unironic farewell as his thoughts flit with slightly saddened overtones from one past experience to the other. Some perspectives are quite personal as Bosi recollects the dreams and expectations that heralded his departure for Australia only to be undermined by the reality that confronted him on arrival although in the final analysis the author's feelings towards Australia are ambiguous and contain both positive and negative attitudes leaving him in doubt as to whether to leave and if he does decide to leave whether he will ever want to return. Despite these wide-ranging uncertainties Bosi does acknowledge that there is reason for attraction towards a land where he has spent 20 years of his life.

Blood Sweat and Guts (Bosi 1971b) presents a popularized and somewhat tongue-in-cheek history of Italian migration to Australia which retells some of the more evident and well-known stories such as the claim that James Mario Matra is the "Father of Australia," the possible presence of an Italian (Tusa) among the first fleet convicts, the New Italy episode, the "Fighting Fiaschi," the black hand incidents in North Queensland in the 1930's and mass immigration after the second world war. In *Who's afraid of the ethnic wolf?* (Bosi, 1986b) discusses ethnicism and multiculturalism in Australia which deals with themes such as dual citizenship, culture, language, discrimination, his controversy with SBS, and other current issues.

Bosi's writings cover a period in the process of the migration and settlement of Italians in Australia that begins with the mass migration of the 1950s and examine the inherent problems faced on arrival as well as throughout the settlement process. This experience is seen in the wider context of NESB migrants' interaction with the host country and the substantial changes that occur in Australian society from the 1950s through to the 1970s, a time of transition from a monolingual monocultural European settlement closely linked to Britain to a multilingual multicultural nation searching for its place in the Asia Pacific basin. Throughout this process Bosi has played the role of participant but has also been a detached observer, providing his own often idiosyncratic views on the Italo-Australian migrant experience as well as on the debates taking place within the wider Australian society. In doing this he has never lost sight of the Italian migrant's need to come to terms with a world that is bewildering to the point of alienation, that is initially almost totally incomprehensible both linguistically and culturally, that demands sacrifices and imposes sufferings but can also offer rewards and satisfaction to individuals (Zaccariotto, 1987) if not to the group as a whole. It is only with time and effort that this world can be partially if not fully understood and in this process it is the Italo-Australian community both in its spatial and in its cultural manifestations that provides the safe haven from which the Italian migrant in Australia can venture out to explore the *terra incognita* that will become his adopted land.

Endnotes

- ¹ Bosi has also published some 10 short stories in Italian under the general title of *Tre Case e un Campanile* in the Italo-Australian paper *La Croce del Sud* over 1957-1958 and "Requim for a Migrant Father", a biographical piece which was published by the *Reader's Digest* in 1974.
- ² Eight novels: *Australia paesana* (a sequel to Bosi 1971a), *Il Casimondo*, *Ciccio and the Demon Opal*, *The Florentine*, *Days*, *Who says Balmain Boys don't cry?*, *Ethnic off: unc cosmopolitan Revolution in the Coup*. Four plays: *Windows* (on the theme of the "communist menace," performed by the Stage Company, Adelaide 1978), *What now Jesus Christ*, *Five minutes before or five minutes after on a given day*, *Masks*.
- ³ Information obtained from Pino Bosi during a series of meetings in the late 1980s/early 1990s.
- ⁴ *Dagli! Dagli!* (13-9-57, p. 7), *Il Povero Dio* (18-10-57, p. 7), *Odio* (15-11-57, p. 7), *Suo Figlio* (24-1-58, p. 7), *I Topi del Convento* (14-2-58, p. 7), *Bortolo e i Cani* (21-3-58, pp. 7-8), *Le Calze di Lana*, *Piazza dei Martiri*, *Il Cavallante*, *Lo Sposalizio* (the last three were not published).
- ⁵ Giovanni Guareschi (Roccabianca [Parma] 1908-Cervia 1968), who seems to have been particularly influential on both Pino Bosi and another Italo-Australian writer Pietro Tedeschi (Reggio Emilia 1925-Wollongong 1998), was journalist and editor of various humoristic magazines. His tales of Don Camillo, which he began to publish in volume form in 1950 brought him world-wide renown as a humorous writer both in Italy and abroad. The Don Camillo stories have formed the basis for a number of films and a television series produced by the BBC. Guareschi has another interesting Australian connection. It is reputed that one of the journalists working for the Italian language press in Australia is an illegitimate son.

- 6 It is interesting to note what Bosi himself has said about *Australia Cane* – the comments are taken from a tape recording of a seminar given by Bosi to the Euro 372 class (Italian Australian Studies) at the University of Wollongong on 29 September 1983). Il valore del libro era proprio quello che non si dava nessuna aria di fare della letteratura. Non cercava di presentare un italiano incomprensibile. Era fatto dell'espressioni comuni d'ogni giorno. Avevo rispettato il discorso del tagliacanna veneto come avevo rispettato quello del tagliacanna calabrese. Non avevo cercato di farli parlare in maniera sofisticata [... ma] con le loro espressioni perché portavano il sentimento che riuscivo a tirar fuori. Quel che volevo far capire era qual'era la vera e profonda intelligenza naturale di questa gente anche se non educata. Anche se non istruita. Tant'è vero che alcuni di questi racconti non sono poi scritti in modo tanto superficialmente come sembrano. Ci avevo pensato. Ma qui si doveva riflettere quest'intelligenza naturale, questa spontaneità d'animo, questa generosità, questa schiettezza. Questo diverso modo di concepire le cose dagli Australiani.
- [...] Se volevamo dare [...] significato al discorso di cultura italo-australiana, letteratura italo-australiana, bisognava andare a cercare quello che c'era e bisognava valorizzarlo, bisognava metterlo ben in evidenza, farlo conoscere.
- [...] Eccomi qui oggi, a distanza di [...] 28 anni, a parlare di un lavoretto che mi nasceva così, illuminato nella testa mentre giravo l'Australia facendo tutti i mestieri, raccogliendo le impressioni tra questi emigrati e cercando di buttarle giù perché non si dimenticasse quello che era successo [...] non si dimenticasse le loro ansietà, i timori, le ossessioni. E anche per cercare di far capire che molto spesso l'incomprensione tra Italiani e Australiani non era frutto di una cattiveria innata ma proprio di mancanza di contatto.
- 7 “La Riunione culturale” in Rando 1983, pp. 152-56; “Vent'anni dopo”, in *Australia: ieri oggi domani*, I, 6, September 1984, pp. 58-62.
- 8 Bosi 1973b. It is interesting to note what Bosi had to say about this book during the seminar (University of Wollongong on 29 September 1983):
Molti anni fa avevo scritto un libro, dopo *Australia Cane*, negli anni settanta, chiamato *The Checkmate*, una collezione di racconti di tutte le razze qui in Australia. E anche quello ha fatto le sue 5000 copie.
[...] Il fatto che ne abbiano fatto una seconda edizione qua mi ha fatto piacere [...] perché è stato fatto per le scuole. Quando ho scritto queste cose avevo questo grandissimo desiderio che questi libri potessero proprio servire a capir qualcosa [...]
Alcuni dei racconti di *Australia Cane* li ho riscritti in inglese. Li ho tolti dal contesto di *Australia Cane* [...] non tanto traducendo ma riscrivendoli in un'altra lingua [...] sapendo che chi leggeva *Australia Cane* era l'italiano [...] chi leggeva *The Checkmate* sarebbe stato un anglo-australiano quindi con una percezione di una cultura diversa.
- 9 These are:
Australia Cane (Bosi 1971a), *The Checkmate* (Bosi 1973b); “La disgrazia alla diga” (pp. 97-100), “One's land” (pp.25-28); “Vulcano” (pp.108-15), “Volcano” (pp. 100-08); “Sant'Antonio e il pollaio” (pp116-119), “St. Anthony and the chicken-house” (pp. 114-17); “Papaveri rossi” (pp.125-28), “Red poppies” (pp. 152-55); “La Televisione” (pp. 134-39), “The Television set” (pp. 130-34).

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Evaluations of language and social systems by a group of tertiary students of Italian ancestry in Australia

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Introduction

The present paper examines the personal evaluations of social systems and the language maintenance experience of a group of tertiary students of Italian ancestry in Australia. In so doing, the paper seeks to complement the hard data of quantitative studies into the language and culture activation of groups of Italian-Australians by providing an insight into their life-world through an analysis of their life stories or *topical autobiographies*. The first part of the paper deals with the participants' evaluation of primary and secondary social systems, while the second part examines the personal statements of participants who comment on their past and present experiences with respect to their Italian language maintenance efforts. Among the themes uncovered by the analysis of the life stories are aspects of the ingroup solidarity and outgroup rivalry experienced by many the participants growing up in Australia's ethnically diverse society. Evaluations relating to language experience, on the other hand, highlight the difficulties many participants face in coming to terms with trilingual learning situations (English, Italian and an Italian dialect) which in some cases produces a kind of *dialectophobia*.

There is a relatively short literature of the family patterns and social relations among Italians in Australia which in the main dates back to the seventies and eighties. Among the more significant of these is Cronin's (1970) study of Sicilian social organisation, both in its "native" surroundings and after its transplantation to Australia. Cronin's examination of southern Italian family life and kinship systems shows that, at least among the first and second generations, the life patterns are reasonably consistent with the original Sicilian social structure. With regard to family systems and organisation, for example, Cronin suggests that there has been virtually no change in relations with members of the extended family, although a "clumping together" for a few years after migration is common (Cronin, 1970 p. 263). Within the nuclear family, there is evidence of some change toward egalitarianism in the husband-wife relationship and a concomitant separation of the world of adults from the world of children.

In another study of Italian settlers in Australia, Huber (1977) compares conditions and life patterns in Treviso (Italy), Griffith, Australia (settled before the second world war) and Sydney, Australia (settled after the second world war). Huber highlights the significance of social and economic factors in the development of patterns of settlement and suggests that people find it easier in another country if "old" customs and institutions can be maintained or adapted. In terms of the patterns of family relationships, Huber posits that, unlike the Trevisani in Italy, the immigrants live exclusively in nuclear households with at most one or two relatives nearby. Close primary relationships thus give way to loose networks of acquaintances, and although people attempt to set up ties through god parenthood, these seldom endure (Huber, 1977, p. 197).

With respect to language maintenance among young Italian-Australians, Smolicz's (1983a) study is particularly relevant. According to this study, 48 per cent of the participants interviewed indicated that one or both of their parents insisted on them speaking Italian or dialect at home and 72 per cent of the participants themselves favoured its use. However, 21 per cent were opposed to the idea of speaking either Italian or a dialect and another 7 per cent were indifferent to the idea. The rejection of Italian by a minority of the participants was confirmed by the examination of their language activation which showed a shift to English of about 10 per cent when talking to older relatives and 14 per cent in conversations with their mothers. There was an increasingly greater tendency to use English with fathers (22 per cent), parents' friends (22 per cent), siblings (82 per cent) and peers (87 per cent). In terms of Italian varieties used, Smolicz reports that just over 20 per cent of the participants spoke Italian, while about 28 per cent used a dialect and 14 per cent a mixture of Italian and dialect.

Such patterns of language activation with selected interlocutors have been largely corroborated by Chiro's (1998, p. 179) study of a group of tertiary students of Italian ancestry which included a number of third generation participants as well as a sizeable group who had only one parent of Italian origin. Though the levels of language shift to English are greater than reported by Smolicz (1983a), the more recent study shows that the participants also reported the smallest shift to English in conversations with grandparents (20 per cent) followed in ascending order by older relatives (25 per cent), mothers (47 per cent), fathers (48 per cent), peers (80 per cent) and siblings (89 per cent). It was suggested that the similarity in the participants' shift to English reported with both mothers and fathers should take into account the fact that 16 per cent of mothers in the survey group were not of Italian origin. This meant that participants tended to revert to

English somewhat less in interactions with mothers of Italian background than with their fathers.

With respect to the variety of Italian spoken, nearly 32 per cent of the tertiary students of Italian ancestry claimed to speak exclusively a dialect within the family domain and another 29 per cent indicated they alternated between dialect and standard varieties (including regional and popular Italian). Only 24 per cent of the participants stated they spoke exclusively Standard Italian at home (Chiro, 1998, p. 165). This coincides with Smolicz's (1983a) study which also interviewed students in order to assess their command of Standard Italian. Results showed that only 42 per cent of the participants were able to speak Italian with any degree of grammatical accuracy and still fewer were assessed as having an adequate speaking vocabulary. It was the interviewer's opinion at the time that as many as 34 per cent of the participants could not use enough Italian to express themselves adequately. As Smolicz (1983a, p. 327) concludes, such results clearly indicate that dialect is the mother tongue for most students studied and Italian is for them not the second but a third language (after English).

This study also cited evidence that both the negative attitudes and lack of access to viable Italian linguistic and cultural stocks were factors in explaining the use of English among participants, at the expense of Italian systems. According to Smolicz (1983a, p. 331), the interviews revealed rather dramatically the extent to which some of the students felt ashamed of their parents' language. The fact that the minority language was restricted to communicative use with parents and older people in the home domain might well have led the participants in the study to regard it as a language of age and local parochialism, if they did not actually despise it as an inferior "kitchen" variety. Such shame could have arisen either from a feeling of frustration at not being able to express themselves as adequately in Italian as in English, or from a knowledge that dialect in Italy was often interpreted as a marker of lower socio-economic status and poor education. Commenting on this situation, Smolicz (1983a, p. 32) observes that the students who chose not to speak Italian may have been intimidated by the interviewer, a tertiary educated native speaker of Italian and may have interpreted her use of standard Italian as a sign of snobbishness or affectation.

Australian language demography studies conducted by Clyne (1982, 1991) highlight the precarious viability of a number of Australian community languages other than English (CLOTEs), including Italian. Moreover, these studies provide support for the contention that there exists a significant language shift differential between various ethnolinguistic groups in Australia. More recently Clyne and Kipp (1997a) have compared the responses on language use in the 1996 Census with those taken in 1986 and 1991. The results of this study show that the rank ordering of the rate of language shift to the use of "English only" in the home is, with very few exceptions, the same as in the previous two surveys. According to Clyne and Kipp (1997a, p. 471) the key indicators of language shift are the cultural distance of the ethnolinguistic minority group to the dominant Anglo-Australian culture, the significance of language in the cultural core value system of the group (Smolicz and Secombe, 1989), exogamy and the age profile, together with the immigration history of the minority community. In each case, the authors found that the second generation shifts considerably more than the first. Among Italian-Australians the inter-generational shift is very substantial even in families where both parents are Italian-born. Indeed, second generation Italian-Australians from endogamous families show a shift three times as high as that of their parents (Clyne and Kipp, 1997a, p. 462).

Many studies undertaken over the past two decades have substantiated the demographical evidence of Clyne's studies. Bettoni (1988, 1989, 1991) and Bettoni and Rubino (1996) have stressed the importance of generation as a factor contributing to the language shift of Veneto and Sicilian speakers in Sydney, Australia. This latter study found that in the home domain the languages of most frequent use are English, followed by dialect and Italian. Furthermore, dialect is the preferred language of use among older first-generation Italian-Australians who are well integrated into the Italian-Australian environment. Previous studies of students of Italian background (Smolicz, 1983a; Smolicz and Secombe, 1986; Chiro & Smolicz, 1990, 1993, 1997) have similarly reported a substantial decline in the use of Italian among the children of Italian immigrants with various interlocutors in the home domain, even, though to a lesser degree, with their elders.

It is the aim of the present paper, therefore, to balance such evidence of the precarious viability of Italian language and culture systems in Australia by providing a more humanistic insight into the attitudes, feelings and assessments of a group of tertiary students of Italian ancestry. The first person narratives of this group of young Italian-Australians will serve to highlight not only themes and topics which are of relevance to minority language and culture maintenance in an ethnically diverse context but also aspects of their personal experience which are considered most crucial to the lives of the participants themselves.

The study group

The study group consisted of tertiary students of Italian ethnic origin attending either the Flinders University or the University of South Australia and included both students who were enrolled in Italian classes at University at the time of the survey and those who were not. It was believed that this latter group might demonstrate some divergence from the cultural patterns as activated and evaluated by the group of students intending to make a career from their studies of Italian and, as such, would provide an interesting point of comparison.

It was decided to study tertiary students, the majority of whom at the time of the survey were in their late teens and early twenties, because they represented a concentrated and accessible pool of participants who belong in terms of their migration "vintage" mainly to the second generation (II) but who included also a number of "young" first generation participants (Ib) and a smaller group belonging to the third generation (III). As young adults, it was believed that they

would be in the process of making life-choices about the extent of their participation in the Australian community in general and in the Italian community in particular. As such, they were expected to provide valuable insights into concepts concerning the maintenance and transmission of ethnic languages and cultures in plural societies.

Indeed, from the point of view of humanistic sociology, research on a young adult age group is preferable to that conducted with younger children, because a general maturity is required when participants are asked to reflect on their past experiences and evaluate aspects of their Italian heritage¹. When compared with school-age children, tertiary students have a greater experience of the possible sense of the marginality of their position between the world of the home and that of “outside” society.

Methodology

The methods employed derive from the principles of humanistic sociology according to which cultural and social phenomena are more fully understood if they are studied from the point of view of the participants (Znaniński, 1963, 1968; Smolicz, 1979, 1983b; Smolicz & Secombe, 1981). As Smolicz and Secombe (1989) have pointed out, such explanations and perceptions provide a cultural and linguistic context so that the researcher may better understand the meaning which participants give to a particular cultural activity or situation. Data of this sort may help illuminate what minority ethnic group members “think and feel, what hurts them, what they need and what their attitude is toward the other (ethnic groups), the nation and the State” (Grabski, 1982).

In the present study, this involved an analysis of the attitudes, assessments and evaluations of those who participate in the life of a particular cultural group as recorded in a collection of life stories or *topical autobiographies*. All participants were asked to write personal statements relating to their educational experience, place of birth, language usage, and ethno-cultural activities (*concrete data*). In addition, they were asked to indicate their attitudes and beliefs on issues relating to their experience of growing up in Australia as a member of an ethnolinguistic minority group, the influence of Italian cultural values on their attitudes and activities, the importance of language and culture maintenance, as well as an assessment of their cultural identity (*cultural data*).

Of the 51 participants who contributed personal accounts, 35 were written by participants who at the time of the survey were taking Italian classes and 16 were written by those not taking Italian at university. The responses provide a store of valuable information about the participants’ personal experience as they themselves have chosen to reconstruct that experience by focussing on those episodes in their lives which appear to them at the time of writing as particularly significant. Such written records have helped to uncover a constellation of factors associated with language and culture maintenance.

It should also be noted that the extracts of the life stories quoted in the following sections are reproduced verbatim. None of the original texts, in either Italian or English, have been corrected for orthographical, lexical or morpho-syntactical irregularities. Indeed, examples of non-standard and sub-standard uses of both English and Italian abound in the written comments. This is considered an indication of the kind of “semi-lingualism” which Skutnab-Kangas (1984) has applied to describe the “condition of those children who function but are not really proficient” in either their home/ancestral language or the national language.

Participants’ evaluation of Italian social systems

In general terms, the personal statements of participants regarding the ethnicity of their closest friends point to the development over time of ethno-specific primary social group patterns. The concentration of Italians in specific local government areas of Adelaide, Australia has influenced the primary social systems of their children to the extent that many of them attended primary and secondary schools, especially Catholic, in which the Italian ethnic group represented, if not the majority, a substantial and visible presence. Indeed, the experience of growing up in communities where Italian-speakers are under-represented appears to be the exception among the study group. In addition to structural factors, many participants draw attention to cultural issues such as parental attitudes, ingroup solidarity, cultural identity and social categorisation as deciding factors in their choice of friends.

Childhood experiences of friendship groups

Many of the participants’ recollections relate to their early experiences of friendship groups at a primary school age. For the most part, it appears that the ethnic configuration of such groups as emerged at this time was largely the result of the ethnic mix of the general school community. Several participants (*cf* nos. 7, 138, 168 and 169) recall having made friends with children of Anglo-Australian background at primary school and suggest that ethnicity or cultural differences were of no consequence. While these participants attended culturally diverse schools, ethnic categorisation did not occur since, as nos. 7 and 168 suggest, they were young children and only interested in playing together and having fun. Similarly, participant no. 179 relates the positive environment at her school where she had mainly Anglo-Australian schoolfriends, “despite” her Italian background.

7 (IIF1)². Io frequentavo una scuola dove gli studenti erano divisi in rispetto di origini. La metà erano di origini Anglo-sassone e la metà d’italiani. Ma a questo punto non ci preoccupavamo delle nostre origini, eravamo tutti bambini e la cosa più importante era di divertirsi e non importava con chi. Mi ricordo che la mia amica più vicina era un’Ungherese, ma

ancora giocavamo con tutti, non credo che esisteva mai pregiudizio tra noi.

138 (IIF2) My primary school had a mixed bag of cultures and I would say that about forty-five percent of the students were a mixture of Greek and Italian background. Yet I remember that in the early stages of school my friends were predominantly of Anglo-Australian families, I remember my best friend in prep was Veronica and in grades one, two and three I frequented the schoolyard with Karen and Heather.

168 (IIF2) When I attended primary school my Italian origin was not a problem, even though I had friends with Australian origins. I think one of the main reasons for this was that we were too young to care about minor issues of where our parents were born, and the values which they held. Most of our values had many similarities so there was no major problems. (...) towards the final years of my primary schooling, I became close friends with the Australian girls and my Italian values did not bother them, as theirs did not bother me.

179 (IIF2) My relationship with teachers and students during my early schooling experiences were quite positive. The majority of my friends were Anglo-Australian and regarded me in the same way as everybody else, despite my ethnic background. Students at school were all very friendly and sociable, holding no apparent prejudices against ethnics.

Other participants recall having made schoolfriends with children from a variety of cultural backgrounds. As in the previous group who had made friends with Anglo-Australian children, this group of participants (*cf* nos. 65 and 118) also commented on the non-confrontational nature of their primary school experience wherein ethnic rivalry, if not totally absent, was not regarded as a major issue. As no. 118 points out, at that stage of her life she was unaware of what prejudice meant and the problems which could arise because of it.

1 (IIF1) Avevo amici di tutte le nazionalità che frequentavano la mia casa, anche gli amici dei miei fratelli venivano a casa. I miei fratelli avevano, anche, gli amici di altre nazionalità, solamente uno dei miei fratelli aveva più amici italiani, non perchè era obbligato ad averli ma perchè si trovava bene fra loro.

14 (III/2F1) Day by day, my relationship with teacher grew and I began to make friends, which, I have kept in contact with all through-out my school days. I had no troubles with making friends, and most were from mixed ethnic backgrounds.

65 (IIF1) Many of the children in these suburbs attend xxxxx Primary or my old primary school, St xxxx. As the school was therefore (and is) fairly multicultural, I encountered few cultural problems during my primary school years. The children in my class ranged from Irish, Polish, German, Greek, Italian, Maltese and Anglo-Australian backgrounds. Other classes also included Hungarian, Spanish and Aboriginal children. For the most part of my seven years there my friendship group consisted of an Australian, an Italian, a Maltese and me, however all of my classmates were fairly good friends.

118 (IIF2) I clearly remember my first day at school and settled down immediately. (...) I didn't have a language problem and although I never went to kindergarten I could express myself just as well as the other children. My friends in primary school were all of different nationalities and this didn't bother me the slightest. One must though remember that at this stage I wasn't aware of what prejudice was and means and problems that arise because of this.

On the other hand, a number of participants whose primary school friends were of Anglo-Australian background reported feeling insecure about their cultural differences. For example, participant no. 59 recalls the occasion all her attempts to "blend in" with her Anglo-Australian school friends came undone when her teacher asked the class to write and illustrate what their families had done the previous weekend. The fact that she innocently described her family's annual custom of slaughtering a pig to make sausages brought home to the child the cultural gap which existed between herself and her friends. According to participant no. 89, the majority of whose school friends were also of Anglo-Australian background, her "European" appearance was the main distinguishing feature which set her apart from her friends, in spite of her efforts to "hide my cultural background and act as an Australian". The "ethnic" appearance of participant no. 114, who was the only Italian child at her primary school, contributed to the racial taunts which she says did not bother her.

59 (IIF1) I went to a small catholic primary school chosen by my parents when I was younger which had only a few Italians. My friends were mostly Australian so I used to try and blend in with them which was hard considering our difference in backgrounds and there was a big difference. Not just in language but the way they were at home and especially what they did with their families. For example when I was younger I thought all families were like mine and did the things we did until one day we had to draw a picture and write about what we did on the weekend. Well, my weekend had been very exciting because we had gone to my aunties house and killed the pig (which we make sausages etc out of) so naturally I drew a dead pig on the table with all of us gathered around it. My teacher who was luckily Italian laughed but

my parents were really embarrassed.

89 (IIF1) As a child, I was very conscious of the fact that I was very European looking. I remember in primary school trying hard to hide my cultural background and act as an Australian. The majority of my friends were Australian, and thinking back, perhaps this was another way to help me feel a part of Australian life by associating with Australian people. However, no matter how hard I tried, I always felt a little bit out of it, and never quite a part of the group.

114 (IIF2) It was only in high school that the cultural differences between myself and the other students began to emerge. During primary school there never seemed to be a difference between me and the other students and all my friends were Australian because I was the only Italian at the school. The only distinction was that I looked a bit more ethnic than the other kids and this would spur on some people to call me wog and other wonderful names but this really didn't bother me. However when I got to high school this seemed to change. I suppose it was because everybody was trying to be like everybody and do all the same things and I felt like I couldn't because certain regulations were put upon me by my parents.

The recognition of cultural differences and the existence of ethnic rivalry between the children was also highlighted by the next group of participants, who, unlike nos. 59, 89 and 114, chose to associate with children of Italian or other ethnic background with whom they could identify. Both nos. 4 and 51 suggests that they were never accepted by their Anglo-Australian classmates because the ethnic children were thought of as being "strange". It appears also that the formation of all Italian or mixed minority ethnic friendship groups provided its members with a sense of solidarity and security. This is particularly evident in the statement of participant no. 21, who describes the heightened awareness of ethnic differences and the use of Italian in her group of friends as an ethnic "marker". In the case of participant no. 86, who has never had friends of any background other than Italian, such notions of cultural difference and ethnic solidarity have been reinforced by parental attitudes towards her choice of friends.

4 (IIM1) Anche quando andavo alla scuola giocavo sempre di più con i bambini italiani che con i bambini australiani. Loro pensavano che noi eravamo strani. Questo succedeva di più quando ero piccolo adesso non ci sta questi probleme.

21 (IIF1) My close friends were all Italian, one was my cousin. We would speak in Italian when we did not want the other children to hear. Also, if we felt threatened by the other children, then we would stay close together and keep to our group of friends of whom I was the leader.

51 (IIF1) The peers I became mostly acquainted with were of Italian, Maltese or Greek backgrounds and the Australian students did not fully accept us as equal beings, even though we all shared common traits and rarely displayed or made use of our differences. Most of the teachers were also Anglo-Australian and appreciated our cultural differences, but made more of an effort to transform us into becoming well adapted in the Australian society, by giving us work on its history and culture, rather than discussing the interests, beliefs and values of other countries and the importance of maintaining a multicultural nation. In this respect, I believe my primary school did not supply an atmosphere whereby everyone was completely satisfied or treated equally, in terms of culture, but was, on the other hand, very effective in developing the skills and intellect of children, to the best of their ability.

86 (IIF1) In the past, my parents never really worried about my choice of friends. All the friends I had were of Italian background. I do not recall ever having any friends that were Australian. Until this day, I still haven't got an Australian friend but a few years ago I did make friends with a girl named Heidi who had a multicultural background. Heidi is now my closest friend. The fact that she has a multicultural background does not bother me or my parents. In fact my parents like her the most out of all my other friends. It really does not bother my parents about the backgrounds of my friends as long as they're nice. But I must admit, sometimes I do hear them criticizing the way that Australians bring up their children. So I guess in a way they would remain happy if my choice of friends continues to be those of Italian background. Often when I meet somebody new, my parents always ask, if that person is Italian.

Ingroup solidarity and outgroup rivalry

In the accounts of several participants (*cf.* nos. 7, 23, 32, 59, 65, 82, 83, 89, 102, 114 and 184), the ingroup solidarity and outgroup rivalry, which was a minor issue during their primary school years, became a regular feature of their high school experience. Many of the participants who had Anglo-Australian friends in primary school found that they gradually drew apart in subsequent years. Participant no. 7 describes how she fell out with her Anglo-Australian friends on the occasion of the World Cup which highlighted within the school the ethnic loyalties of the various groups.

Participant no. 32, who had maintained friendships with Anglo-Australians for a number of years during high school, describes both the conflict of values she experienced within her friendship group and the scorn of the Italian group because she associated with "Anglos". Similarly, no. 65, who describes herself as "practically Australian anyway" recalls the difficulties she experienced having to defend her parents' attitudes and values from the criticisms of her two Anglo-Australian friends who could not comprehend why she was not given the same freedom to go out as they had. Participant

no. 114 also describes the conflict of cultural values and the embarrassment she felt at having to explain her parents' strict norms of conduct to her Anglo-Australian friends.

7 (IIF1) A prima non ero influenzata e le miei più vicine amiche erano Australiani. Ma poi nel secondo anno c'era il World Cup di Calcio. Io ero una tifosa di calcio, mi alzava con tutto la mia famiglia a tutte le ore della notte per guardare le partite. E con grande orgoglio ho seguite le partite fino al finale. E certo alla scuola c'era un grande chiasso "L'italiani sono i megli" e le bandiere incominciavano a svendolare. Durante questo tempo ho notato un cambiamento con le mie amiche, invece di tifare per l'italiani per dispetto tifavano i tedeschi. Io era l'unica italiana nel gruppo e rimasi molto deluso.

32 (IIF1) As I had Australian friends for most of my secondary education, it was difficult for me to explain why I could not do certain things, such as go to a sleep over birthday. There was always conflict between Italian and Australian girls. I was always disliked by the Italian girls because of who I chose to be friends with (ie Australian girls). In my final year at school I became very good friends with them because there were no questions or explaining, as they too were brought up with the same cultural background. I would not change any of these experiences even though at times they were painful. I feel at ease with Italian or Australian people, and do not take any offence at their values, despite the fact that they differ from my background.

65 (IIF1) Although best friends with two Australian girls, it was a constant struggle between our two cultures. They could not quite understand my culture and its traditions. They could not quite understand my family's values and principles. Most times it did not bother me, because I understood their culture (as I am practically Australian anyway) and that eased the situation. However it made me mad that they could not accept my culture totally. They were not prejudiced but they constantly questioned the things I did and said and I knew from the looks on their faces that they thought I was a little weird. Sometimes their words would give me the idea that they thought my parents were stupid and that hurt. So I struggled on defending my culture and my family. By year twelve again the situation was getting better and if we can keep in touch now that we have left secondary school, I am sure things will get even better.

114 (IIF2) It was at this stage my parents got stricter and I wasn't allowed to do a lot of things that my other Australian friends could do. So sometimes I would make excuses why I couldn't go to certain places because it was too long a story to explain the attitudes of my parents and I felt embarrassed. Also these diverse cultural values were a bit hard for Australian people to comprehend. I think this is why I adopted Anji another Italian girl as my best friend. As she was in the same situation we could really relate to each other and help each other out. Although there were other Italian students at the school we didn't all hang out together therefore had many Australian friends. Anji was the only Italian girl I really got to know that is why I have no negative attitudes to Australians.

Participants no. 6, 23, 59, 82, 83, 89, 102, and 156 suggest that the realignment of students according to their respective ethnic groups occurred because they were able to identify with shared experiences, similar cultural values and norms of conduct. As was succinctly put by a participant of "mixed" ethnic ancestry:

50 (III/2F1) I changed my circle of friends – I thought what the hell I'm Italian and nothing is ever going to change that. Hence began the gradual reconciliation of myself with my heritage.

According to no. 6, the Italian-Australian students at her school shared an understanding of the importance of the family. Furthermore, she claims she was not comfortable talking to non-Italians about her family life for fear that they might categorise her as a "typical Italian" girl or "giussy³, as described by participant no. 82. She concludes that the incomprehension which exists between the two groups is inevitable given that they have experienced different upbringing with different values and attitudes. Participant no. 102 describes the reinforcement she experienced through her association with Italian-Australian friends and suggests the solidarity was like belonging to a family. Similarly, participant no. 82 ascribes her positive secondary school experience to the number of Italian-Australian children at the school and the fact that many of the teachers were also of Italian origin and were thus able to relate to ingroup values such as family, religion and language. According to participant no. 156, the fact that over the years she has associated mainly with other Italian-Australians was not imposed on her by her parents, although she claims her parents are happy that her closest friends are Italian.

6 (IIF1) Era una cosa naturale per noi, gli italiani, di parlare delle nostre famiglie. Era facile per me di parlarne perché sapevo che avevo in comune con gli altri, che erano italiani, una certa comprensione dell'importanza della nostra propria famiglia. Invece, quando mi trovavo a parlare con gli altri, mi sentivo un pò scomoda perché ero sicuro che non capivano perché parlavo anche di i miei zii, cugini e nonni e perché ero così intima con la mia famiglia. Avevo paura che mi pensassero di essere una ragassa, tipica italiana con maniere proprie italiane. Mi dispiace che questo esisteva, ma era naturale ed inevitabile, di avere diversità in cultura. Era, ed ancora è, impossibile per gli australiani a pensare proprio come

italiani e per gli italiani a pensare proprio come australiani. Eravamo cresciuti diversamente, i nostri genitori ci hanno cresciuti con diverse morali ed idee, ed era difficile di sempre capire come l'altro pensava.

23 (IIM1) I made a small number of friends, who were of ethnic background. It was easier to make friends with them as they welcomed me as part of their group. It was also easier as they mainly played my favorite sport -soccer⁴. I felt more comfortable with ethnic children, as, unlike the Australian, didn't try to alienate me. The Australian children tended to be prejudiced towards me as, not only I was Italian, but I also couldn't speak proper English and had little time for me.

59 (IIF1) I then went to high school and my circle of friends changed. I went from having all Australian friends to having all Italian friends. I went to xxxxx College which was known for having a large majority of ethnics especially Italians. What was bad about this school was that the Australians and Italians were divided and they all stuck to their same minority groups. They even sat on different ovals. The Australians sat on the back oval and all the Italians sat on the front oval. By hanging around with Italians I began to become a little racist against Australians and we'd put them down as they often did with us so therefore I was beginning to think like my parents. I have to admit though that I find it easier to get along with ethnics, especially Italians because you have more in common and you also tend to have the same family problems and you can compare and sympathise with one another.

82 (IIF1) Despite being from an Italian background, I found very little problem with all my teachers and friends during secondary school. This was partly due to the fact that many staff members were Italian and that the school population consisted of a sufficient number of Italians in each year level. Although I was comfortable with all, I found it easier to get along with those of my nationality or who could really relate to my background, because it was easier to communicate with them. With the teachers for example I found I had more in common. Many of them were parents and brought up their children like me. If they weren't, their parents brought them up having similar values such as the importance of the family, religion and language. They too, could speak Italian and so it eventually became a custom to say "Ciao" and "come stai" instead of "hello, how are you?" I found it was also easier to begin conversation with these staff members.

Despite having many friends of all nationalities, the majority of my friends are Italian. This is because, if I want to speak my language or discuss the soccer, I can do so openly, without being referred to as a "giussy^a, or biased towards my nationality. We never judge each other and also have the same tastes in music, fashion, music, hobbies and men. According to those of other nationalities the type of man we consider good looking would be considered a "Mario^a, one who loves himself, merely due to love of cars, fashion sense and love of soccer.

83 (IIF1) La prima scuola che sono andato era xxxxx (non e cattolica) e dopo sono andata a xxxxx College. Nella scuola elementare non ho mai avuto dei problemi ma nella scuola alta ho avuto problemi. Nel mio gruppo siamo tutti italiani ma solo una e Australiana. Le mie amiche sono come la famiglia perchè stiamo sempre assieme e noi ci aiutamo sempre. A scuola facevamo tutti assieme anche andavamo a casa assieme. Tutti noi eravamo come sorelle. Noi non ci abbiamo incontrati il primo anno di scuola ma fra le cinque anni ci abbiamo incontrati e state insieme.

89 (IIF1) High school was a different story. My friends were all from Italian backgrounds, and I felt really at ease with them. We could all identify with each other, and if someone wasn't allowed to go out with us, we all understood and did not hassle them. I also had Australian friends at high school, and once again, I never quite felt a part of their group, because they were allowed to go out all the time and stay out until all hours of the night.

102 (IIF2) Io andavo ad una scuola private, xxxxx College, e non c'era tante italiani, solo una manata negli diversi anni livelli. Le mie amiche erano italiani e abbiamo fatto tutte cose assieme. Per tutte le cinque anni nella scuola secondaria noi eravamo come una famiglia. Quando una era disturbata nella nostra circola d'amice, noi facevamo tutte cose per l'aiuta. Penso che questa riflette le nostre famiglie perche anche noi aiute i membri delle famiglie e gli amici quando loro sono disturbato o desiderano qualche cosa. Le altre ragazze alla scuola non c'erano tutte male. Ma quelle che chiamavano a noi nome, non mi piaceva. Quando io ho veduto scritto sulla mura qualcosa contro gli italiani, mi sempre diceva qualcosa contro gli australiani. Ma non era una ragazza sola che diceva queste cose, era sempre un gruppo di ragazze. Non potevo mai far finta di non sentirle, perche mi arrabiava e dovevo rispondere a loro. Perchè loro trattano a noi diverso, non lo so. Sempre dicono che Australia e la patria di loro, ma la storia dice che l'Australia è degli aborigeni.

156 (IIF2) My choice of friends has never been interfered with by my parents. My closest friends are Italian and for the most part of my life they have always been Italian. I didn't purposefully choose them, it just happens that they are Italian. I find that people with ethnic backgrounds are attracted to each other because they have similar backgrounds and can relate to each other. Naturally I think my parents are happy that my closest friends are Italian, they don't come right out and say it, but I can tell what they are thinking. I say my closest friends are Italian because my friends in general have a huge mixture in backgrounds; Australian, Italian, Maltese, Scottish, Greek, Hungarian and Philippino. The majority are Italian, obviously.

The description of positive and harmonious relationships within school environments reported by participant no. 82 contrasted with the comments of the following three participants. For example, participant no. 48 recalls trying to imitate the standards of values and norms of conduct of her Anglo-Australian friends which led to conflict with her parents. However, the open hostility of her friendship group towards “wogs” for a time created a sense of internal conflict with feelings of shame and embarrassment for her cultural identity. Participant no. 168, on the other hand, describes the resentment of the Italian-Australian students caused by the attitudes of their school principal whom they suggested acted in a prejudicial manner towards them. In a detailed assessment of her high school experiences, this participant also described the gradual acceptance of her cultural identity as she abandoned the idea of being more like her Anglo-Australian friends and being ashamed of her parents’ attitudes and values. It was when the rivalry between the ethnic groups became an open issue at the school that she reassessed her cultural identity and cultural values. She refers specifically to the confrontation with the school principal and an example of the open hostility between “ethnics” and “Anglos” which took place among the boys in a heated rugby match. Similarly, no. 184 believed one particular teacher at her school favoured the Anglo-Australian students in his class and ignored the Italian-Australians who reacted by becoming disruptive.

48 (IIF1) When I started high-school this was when a lot of trouble commenced. It took me quite a long time settling down and my friends at first were all of Australian background. I couldn’t believe how different their morals and values were compared to mine. Most of them smoked and were allowed to go out at night, things I could never do. Personally I think this was when “peer group” pressure began as they constantly pushed me to do things I didn’t want to do. My mother and father didn’t like my friends and said that I was changing and becoming more like them. Although I admit now that they were a bad influence I never admitted it to my parents. I also remember them talking about other Italians stating comments like; “I had a fight with a stupid wog on Saturday night”. As soon as I heard this I pretended I missed what they had just said as I was ashamed and embarrassed being Italian when I was with them. After remembering that I was Italian they would say “sorry” stating I was different from the rest of the Italians.

168 (IIF2) Being from an Italian origin did not bother me until I reached high school. I can recall at one stage, I wanted to be from an Australian background because my friends, at that time, were from Australian background, and I was the only one who was not. When I reached year eleven, I realised that I was lucky to have parents from Italy, and I didn’t hide any feelings or values that my parents had. I think, one of the main reasons for this was the other girls had virtually the same values. In most Italian families, they are all very close, unlike many Australian families. Our family is very big, and when we are all together it is great. I know some Australian families miss out on that.

The problems started in year eleven. I became closer with the Italian girls as I could relate to them, because of our values. By this time the Australian girls and Italian girls grew apart. They had their values and we had ours. Problems also began with the school principal. While at school, she always treated the Italian girls as if we were inferior. There was a big fight concerning this problem. This continued until the end of year eleven. However, when we reached year twelve it changed immensely. The principal became less favourable to the Australian girls, because she realised that they made mistakes also.

After some time I made friends with a group of Italian and Greek girls, who shared the same ideas I did. Their limitations were similar to mine and I found that I was much happier with them. There was no peer-group pressure and I felt much more comfortable and at ease. As I moved into Matric I noticed that although some prejudice still existed it wasn’t as bad as the previous years. I had a mixture of friends who were Italian, Greek, Lebanese and Australian. The ethnic boys in my year level although having Australian friends let themselves go at lunch times. During this time on the main oval a Rugby match was played between the Greek and Italian boys versus the Australian boys. It became a very rough game and also dangerous at times, and this was when teacher’s interfered.

184 (IIF2) My preference was xxxxx High rather than a private school, because all my friends were going there. At xxxxx High, Australians mixed with other Australians and ethnics with other ethnics. Rarely did you ever see a mixture of both. The majority of the school was made up of multicultural children. When I first began high school I made friends with other Italian students, and lost touch with the Australian friends I made in primary school. I was only still friends with my Turkish friend from primary school. In my years at xxxxx High I had a good relationship with my teachers except one who didn’t treat us fairly. He was my drama teacher, Mr xxxxx. He was Australian and disliked ethnics, and showed it. I remember whenever we were discussing suggestions about what to do in the play, he always dismissed any suggestions we made, as no good. If an Australian made a suggestion he always mentioned it as good or would give it some thought or consideration. This made all us ethnic students dislike him to the bone. We would deliberately make mistakes during rehearsals to constantly annoy him. Mr xxxxx was very much a perfectionist and very impatient. The more mistakes we made, the angrier he became which pleased us. As grades we all received C’s and the Australians received either B’s or A’s.

Participants' experience of secondary social systems

While the majority of participants of the present study indicated they did not belong to either Italian-Australian or Anglo-Australian social clubs or organisations, several referred in their personal statements to activities which encompassed secondary social systems. Of these, by far the most common activity among this group involved the attendance of Italian church services and religious festivals. For example, participant no. 21 provides a detailed statement of the importance of such religious and socio-religious activities to her life and that of her family. Clearly, in the experience of this participant, the Italian-speaking activities associated with Sunday school catechism classes and other family occasions are closely related to the maintenance of Italian language and culture.

21 (IIF1) Sunday morning was church morning. My father always made sure I was aware of that. I enjoyed the Italian mass and not once did I want to go to the English mass. Sometimes I would play the organ, but that was not until I was about eleven. Sr xxxxx who was the organist, would encourage me to play for the mass every once in a while.

My parents are linked closely with the church ie my mother sings in the Italian choir and my father plays mandolin, I was involved also. The nuns would prepare small sketches and poems, songs in Italian for the group of Italian children in the St xxxxx's Parish of which I was part of. We would hold concerts for both father's and mother's day (Italian of course). I enjoyed going to rehearsals especially because I knew that Sr xxxxx would always give me the lead role, and the longer and harder poems to recite because she was aware of my capabilities as a small eight year old. All of this went on because I wanted it to. My parents never forced me to go. I felt such immense joy to be able to show everyone and for them to be able to hear how well I spoke Italian. By the end of each concert I felt so proud of myself and my parents always made sure they let me know how proud they were of me also.

As a teenager I still found myself being involved in concerts and even more so in Italian festivals, and multicultural festivals where I would dance in traditional costume. I was also involved in an Italian Arts group called "Le Belle Arti". I was involved in the music side of things, I played keyboard. The first production I was involved in was "Cavalleria Rusticana". I thoroughly enjoyed having had such a musical, exciting life where I was involved in many things, entirely of my own free will. I really do miss that part of my life, St Anthony's feast day, the concerts, the dances. They all enriched my Italian cultural values.

Other participants (*cf* 51, 82 and 182) have also highlighted the link between Italian church services and cultural maintenance. Participant no. 147 describes the importance of the celebration of feast days associated with the patron saints of the various Italian communities in South Australia. In particular, she draws attention to the combination of religious and secular activities which were a memorable part of her childhood experience and integral to the customs and traditions of her community.

51 (IIF1) In my youth, especially during my primary schooling, attending both the Australian and Italian mass every Sunday became quite an essential aspect in my life. (...) My brothers and sisters also participated in the church services held in close vicinity to my home and school locality. My parents did not regularly attend. They believed it was only necessary to go to the Italian mass on special occasions, such as Easter, Christmas, Palm Sunday etc., but were pleased that their children made a greater effort to retain a part of their culture. xxxxx church and school were both practising in Catholicism and were in close conjunction with one another. Thus, the school represented many students by actively involving them in church activities, such as singing hymns, doing folk dances, reading prayers and taking up the body and blood of Christ, and I always participated voluntarily, as I found great interest and thoroughly enjoyed preparing for the religious celebrations.

82 (IIF1) The church services we attend are also Italian. In fact, the only time I can remember going to an English service, was when I attended Sunday School ready to have my Communion and Confirmation and when I went to school masses. When younger, I was accustomed to going to Italian mass because I had to follow my family and therefore had no say. Now however, I go to Italian Mass, since I feel more comfortable. I know the hymns, the people and therefore prefer the atmosphere which exists. I also find myself going to Italian mass, because of the religious customs we have. Being an Italian descent we still celebrate the names' day or "onomastico" something which isn't celebrated very often any more. Due to these factors, I feel that religion is another of the core values of my family and that will continue to be important in my life.

147 (IIF2) The culture brought by the old Italians including my grandparents has stayed strong throughout the years and has affected our lives. We emigrants have always maintained a very strong link with our traditions and feasts. Special feast days are held to honour special saints just as they were back in Italy. The day begins with a procession, which is an occasion for prayer and inner quiet. However it is also a time for unity and co-operation. Following the procession is a feast with a great deal of food and games for the children. The evening would finish in grand style with the fireworks. An example of these feasts and traditions affecting my childhood is the feast of La Madonna Montevergine. After my first holy

communion when the feast day came I would dress in my communion dress and participate in the procession with my grandmother. For her it was a great honour to have her grand-daughter involved. I never minded walking due to the fact I had my cousin and next door neighbour walking next to me.

182 (IIF2) I began school at xxxxx, which is the base parish for the Scalabriniani priests. This meant that Italians from everywhere came to church on sunday. The 10.00 am mass was not only the time to worship, but also a time to gather socially. In my seven years at xxxxx the majority of the students were Italian and the Australian children there came from an Irish and Scottish background. We all got along fairly well, perhaps it was our faith that bound us together.

The following participants, on the other hand, described their participation in a number of diverse activities which included special family and community functions (*cf* no. 32) and youth groups (*cf* no. 65). Another two participants referred to their childhood experiences associated with local Italian community associations several of which actively promote the maintenance of Italian regional folk dancing and singing groups.

32 (IIF1) Outside school, in my cultural and social life my ethnicity was reinforced by attending weddings, birthday celebrations, easter and christmas etc. Sometimes when children had to contribute, that is at Sports Day Italian parents were often asked to cook some kind of food, for example lasagna. I think Australian people became accustomed to some of the Italian dishes, this was comforting because it represented a sense of belonging.

65 (IIF1) Outside of school, I am a member of a youth group with mainly Italians in it but a few Australians. We are all really good friends and it has helped me become more open minded and accepting of others. I have no specific preference for either Australian or Italian friends, but when I am with my Italian friends there just seems to be a bond between us which just is not there with the Australian friends. Even simple things like being able to say a joke in Italian strengthens that bond. It just does not happen when you translate that joke into english.

75 (IIF1) Un'esperienza che non mi dimentico mai è le volte quando insieme i figli dei paesani abruzzesi al Adriatico Club, essendo tutti giovani abbiamo partecipato in certi balli tradizionale abruzzese. Non ho avuto scelta su questo. Avevo soltanto sei anni e i miei genitori gli piacevano che noi ci partecipavamo con gli altri cugini e questi figli di paesani. Abbiamo (...) eseguiti per il pubblico e per le feste italiane e anche per le scuole. Quando rifletto su di questo penso che ho stato molto fortunata e sono contenta che ho avuto l'opportunità di dimostrare la nostra cultura agli altri italiani, australiani e tale.

156 (IIF2) I enjoy being in an Italian crowd or even just an ethnic crowd, it's more fun and interesting. We sometimes go to the xxxxx Club with family friends and I have made some good friends through the xxxxx Club. My relatives, family friends and the Club may have influenced me in some way, but not in a major way because I haven't noticed it.

Participants' evaluation of language activation

The participants' statements on the activation of Italian and English language systems provided a rich source of information about both their early language learning experiences and their more recent language use. Most importantly, through such comments the participants share insights about their life experiences which would otherwise remain unknown. In addition many of the participants have succinctly provided a diachronic account of the language ecology which existed within their family environment and which has undergone changes over time. Among other themes covered, several participants highlight the effect on language learning of such biographical factors as the parents' regional background, age at migration and occupation, as well as the age and order of siblings.

Childhood experience of language learning

The following extracts convey an idea of the general language learning experience of the participants at an early age. Such participants recount that as pre-school age children, an Italian variety (dialect or standardised or a combination of the two) was the language most commonly spoken within the home domain and amongst friends and relatives. Indeed, participants 2, 4 and 24 indicate they attended primary school for the first time with a no knowledge or restricted competence in English. As no. 75 notes, English began to be spoken at home only when the older children either within the nuclear family or the extended family began to attend the Australian school system. On the other hand, no. 135 is conscious of having been the eldest child in the family and not having experienced any language other than Italian during her pre-school years. However, when examining the language learning experience of participants, it is well to consider the life experiences of the individual. As is evident in the comments of participant no. 99, who migrated to Australia with her parents as a seven year old, such experiences are unique and cannot necessarily be repeated.

2 (IIF1) Quando ero piccola a casa abbiamo parlato solo italiano, ma era una combinazione del calabrese e vero italiano. Sentivo solo italiano ogni giorno. È quando ho dovuto incominciare la scuola ho dovuto imparare l'inglese dall'inizio. Ho avuto qualche problema abitarmi all'inglese ma più e più ho incominciato a parlare inglese a casa e meno

l'italiano.

4 (IIM1) Mia esperienza che mai dimentico fu la mia prima giornata di scuola, e io poco contento ho piangiuto tutto la giornata. Piano piano se ne andata la paura molto difficile perchè a fino a quel momento io parlavo solamente l'italiano a casa. Adesso parliamo più inglese che italiano a casa. Io penso se i miei figli si mai imparano l'italiano. Le maestre pero, conoscevano la mia situazione e mi hanno aiutato molto in quel primi anni.

24 (IIF1) Il mio primo anno di scuola non è stato facile, perchè parlavo solo l'italiano e tutt'ora dopo trent'anni che i miei genitori sono qui in Australia, si parla esclusivamente l'italiano a casa.

75 (IIF1) Sono andata all'asile per il primo anno senza conoscere bene la lingua inglese, cioè non la potevo parlare correntemente. (...) La prima lingua che ho imparato era l'italiano perchè vivevo in un ambiente italiana, con i miei genitori e parenti parlando italiano con me. I cugini maggiori mentre mi parlavano mischiata con un po' d'italiano e l'inglese, allora la lingua (l'inglese) l'ho imparata da loro e anche dall'asile naturalmente.

99 (IbF2) I was born and lived until the age of six in the small town of xxxxx, province of Benevento, known for its sulphuric spring water. My father originally came from a nearby Town, xxxxx but grew in xxxxx. My mother was from a different region all together, a village called xxxxx, province of Campobasso in the Abruzzo e Molise region. My mother's dialect was very different to ours (the dialect spoken in xxxxx) many of the words spoken were incomprehensible. My brother and I would often ask her to speak in her dialect and explain the meaning to us, we found this fascinating. My mother came from an upper class family, had a higher education than my father whose parents were farmers, and consequently could speak the proper Italian, and insisted to do so in the house → this had a positive influence on both my brother and myself as we grew older and started school in the city of Naples.

135 (IIF2) Apart from being shy, I think language may have been another factor concerning the way I was in my first years. I, being the first child didn't have older brothers and sisters to teach me English. I spoke what my mum and dad spoke, Italian dialect. I would say for certain I knew more Italian than English when I first entered school and one of the reasons for the communication problem at school as I have mentioned earlier could of been because of this.

As is clear from this last statement, the number of factors which might affect the ecology of language systems activated within the family environment are numerous and interrelated. It is interesting, therefore, to examine the personal statements for the participants' own perceptions of some the contextual or situational factors which they consider influenced their language and culture maintenance. For example, nos. 49 and 51 both point to the impact of the age differential between siblings according to which younger participants with elder siblings were able to enter the local school system with greater confidence in their English language ability. Participant no. 75, on the other hand, points to the difficulty of maintaining the home language even when it is the expressed preference of her parents. She also points to the difficulty she has experienced in switching languages when moving from the English-speaking world to the inner sanctum of the home.

49 (IIF1) Da quando ero piccola, a casa sempre parlavamo l'italiano. Sono cresciuta parlando sempre questa lingua. Questa lingua è la mia seconda lingua. Perchè ancora oggi parlo l'italiano a casa. Quando ho cominciata ad andare a scuola, sapevo parlare un po' l'inglese, perchè mio fratello più maggiore, già andava a scuola. Lui è cinque anni più grande di me. Quando lui ha cominciato di andare a scuola, le cose erano diverse. Nessuno attorno lui parlava l'inglese, tutti parlavano l'italiano, e così quando è arrivato a scuola lui, parlava soltanto l'italiano. Ma per me, le cose erano diverse, e più facile. Anche se non parlavo l'inglese perfetto, la lingua la conoscevo. Ma la mia seconda lingua, che sarebbe l'italiano la conoscevo meglio del inglese, quando ho cominciato di andare a scuola.

51 (IIF1) Both my parents spoke italian as a dominant language at home, but as I was influenced by my brothers and sisters and the environment in which I lived, I had more knowledge and was more capable of speaking and understanding english, as I spoke it fairly fluently at home. This does not mean that there was a language barrier between the parents and the children, as after nearly twenty years in Australia, my parents as italian immigrants, could manage and speak english quite well and we, as children were growing up to learn italian as a second language.

75 (IIF1) Riguardo alla lingua parlato in casa, certo che i miei genitori preferiscono che si parla italiana, e posso vedere come loro lo pensano. Però non è tanto facile cambiare la lingua alla casa senz'essere consapevole, quando hai parlato l'inglese tutto la giornata.

A family's particular situation and biographical details such as their parents' age at migration or period of residence in Australia appear critical to the language development of some participants. For example, nos. 7 and 32 describe the support which they received from parents who had the opportunity to learn English even when such parents continued to speak their mother tongue amongst themselves. As no. 21 points out, the opportunity to learn English for some parents and the

introduction of this language into the family environment was often associated with their occupational experience. Other participants (*cf* nos. 33 and 135) highlight the gender specific nature of such work related opportunities to learn English whereby many mothers who remained as housekeepers did not have this possibility to learn the language of the host society.

7 (IIF1) Tutte e due i miei genitori parlano inglese, e così le miei prime parole erano nella lingua inglese, ma quasi sempre tra loro parlano italiano, e così cominciai a conoscere la lingua italiana. Chiaramente mi ricordo i primi anni di scuola come mia madre mi aiutava con l'inglese, ascoltandomi quando leggevo e più mi aiutava anche a scrivere, e così diventai più brava alla lingua inglese.

21 (IIF1) Growing up as a child in an Italian family was exciting and full on activity. I found myself speaking a lot of Italian to my father and a mixture of Italian and English with my mother. I think that was because both my parents speak well in English as they own an Engineering business but my father feels more comfortable speaking in Italian, especially at home where he is relaxing. That diversity did not bother me at all because I have been speaking Italian since I was a small child. As a small child of three, we used to live with my grandparents. Both my grandmother and grandfather spoke Italian to me and apparently, as I have been told, I would converse with them in Italian. When I was four my parents built a house of our own, we then moved out.

32 (IIF1) I shall begin from my childhood memories and experiences. Life was divided culturally from the age of five years and onwards. Up until the age of five I could have easily mistaken that I was in Italy because family and friends were of an Italian background, and perhaps because of the language and cultural background. (...) Because my mother spoke English, it (starting school) was not such a trauma, but I did however notice a difference in the way children conducted themselves, eg attitudes, the language, habits and customs.

33 (IIF1) When I started school I would have been termed a true bilingual child. Both my Italian and English were "fluent". As time progressed however English certainly dominated my speech as my mother tongue (Italian) was rejected in school by teachers and students. The need to speak Italian to my mother also lessened as she too had picked up a fair amount of English to help with my fathers business.

135 (IIF2) Starting school was not such a smooth transition for the eldest (my sister), who had more problems dealing with the language. Italian was basically the only language spoken in our house for the first five to 10 years during which time my parents gradually learnt more and more english. My father actually learnt more quickly as he dealt with people each day, but as my mother basically isolated herself from the community she learnt very little. My sister and brother spoke english to each other and apparently spent much of their spare time watching our small black and white TV – while the conversation between my parents and my sister and brother was usually in italian.

The uniqueness of the new environment in which many parents sought to establish their young families is a feature of the following extracts. For example, participant no. 120 draws the reader's attention to the inter-dependence and sense of isolation of many immigrant families which undoubtedly fostered an ecology conducive of language and cultural maintenance. The description by participant no. 182, on the other hand, highlights the quasi-communal experience of the participant living in a peripheral local government area where concentrations of Italians and other migrants settled in order to pursue their market gardening activities.

120 (IIF2) Up until the age of five I was pretty isolated from much of the world around me. Besides mum and dad the only other people I knew were my aunt and uncle and their children (who are older than me) and a few of my parents' friends; I knew no other language, besides Italian, and I didn't know other customs or cultures, and I suppose at the age of five I didn't really care too much about it; as long as mum and dad loved me then that was all I cared about.

182 (IIF2) Growing up in our street was a wonderful experience, especially birthdays when you would get a wonderful mixture of different foods to eat. Our next door neighbours grandmother who lived with them was grandmother to all of us, and on her pension day when Mr Whippy came around she bought ice-cream for all the children. At home we spoke Calabrese, my mother also spoke reasonably good Italian as she had been to school till grade 4. My fathers' Italian wasn't as good although he had been to school to grade 3. When all the children in the street played together we spoke english. The Australian people living in our street were very friendly I never came across the racism of which my husband and others talk about. Everyone had the others' children over to play, and produce from the gardens were shared. My mother didn't speak english at all well so communication was with words picked up, sign language and a lot of Italian thrown in. When I started at school and had to learn to read, my mother was the one who helped me and when after going through the book and finding words she couldn't say, she would ask our neighbour and then read with me. The one thing that I vividly remember is that education was very important to my parents.

Current language use in the home domain

In terms of the activation of Italian language systems, many participants chose to describe the current language use within the home domain. The statements of a number of participants (*cf* nos. 23, 82 and 135) highlight the complexity of language systems activated within the family environment. They point in particular to the co-existence of diverse language varieties of Italian and Australian-English and the occurrence of code-switching as well as code-mixing. They also underscore the bilingual and trilingual experience of the majority of participants in the present study, many of whom are able to switch from dialectal to standardised varieties of Italian to English and Italianised forms of English according to the situation and the interlocutor.

23 (IIM1) My home language has always been Italian. My parents speak to each other in their dialect, but speak to us in Italian. It is their belief that it is important for my brother and I, to learn how to speak the “pure” Italian language. Although my home language is Italian, my dominant language has become English. I use Italian only in speaking to my parents, other elder Italians and to Italian teachers. English is the language I use to speak to my brother and everybody else, including Italian friends and colleagues.

82 (IIF1) Both my parents are capable of speaking standard Italian, and as a result I have been brought up speaking it as well. At home we also speak a regional Italian, based on the Roman and Neapolitan dialects. As a result, often my speech includes words with endings either added or missing. For example, *andiamo* would be “*anamo*” in Roman and “*iammucine*” in Neapolitan. Many dialect words are added into our speech also, though I am able to distinguish them from the Italian. When mum says “*mondasine*” and dad says “*a paranonza*” I know they are really referring to an apron – *il grembiule*. This often makes it easier for me to write, as I know what words not to include.

135 (IIF2) Obviously when I entered school our home language was Italian dialect but today it's a different story. I would say we now speak both English and Italian equally maybe even a little more English. For me personally, my dominant language now I think is English, although I still speak Italian to my parents, my grandparents, my uncles and some of my aunts the most part of my life I've been at school and there I speak English also at work (I work part-time in a supermarket) English is spoken however sometimes Italian ladies assume I'm Italian and automatically start speaking to me in Italian. Their usually wanting to know where something is kept in the store or if we have a particular thing they are looking for.

The following statement (no. 59) is particularly effective in detailing the interplay of human and structural factors which influence day-to-day language activation in the home environment of many immigrant families. The factors affecting language maintenance can never be reduced to the mechanics of situational and contextual variables. Even an apparently simple speech act is also a holistic experience which incorporates the personality of the individual as well as the interpersonal relationships between speakers. As such it demonstrates the ineluctable nature of the humanistic coefficient. The extract also highlights a number of themes, such as the frustrations associated with learning Italian when the language of the home is a dialect, the influence of parental attitudes and behaviours and the use of language as an ethnic marker amongst peers.

59 (IIF1) At home my parents speak a combination of Italian (dialect) and broken English but my sisters and I always talk English even to them. That is how it has always been, they speak to us in Italian and we reply in English. Sometimes though my parents may not understand something so we have to repeat it in Italian. I have never been forced to speak to them in Italian but they have encouraged me and often used to suggest I learn Italian but I was never really interested. It is not until recently when I chose Italian as my major subject at University that I have slowly started speaking Italian to my parents. I don't like to though because I get very frustrated and discouraged talking to them in Italian because they are very critical and pick on every wrong word or incorrect pronunciation I say and it puts me off. They either say I'm speaking wrong or not in proper Italian ie their dialect. This is one thing I have found very hard is trying to work out proper Italian from dialect. That is why I'm also finding learning Italian very difficult because I get my parents dialect confused with proper Italian. The only people I really feel comfortable talking Italian with is my Italian friends because their Italian is just as bad as mine and we only use it when we are around non Italians who can't understand what we are saying so we use to our advantage. My friends though also speak in dialect and so I don't feel like I'm talking wrong or incorrectly.

Indeed, the positive picture described by participant no. 82 with respect to the use of dialectal varieties appears to be an exception. A number of statements (59 above, 44, 46 and 86 below) reflect the sense of frustration of many other participants who tend to view the vernacular spoken at home as something of a handicap when confronted with the task of learning standard Italian at school. They complain of the educational disadvantage of dialect speakers and particularly the difficulty of distinguishing dialect forms from standard Italian in academic contexts. Participant no. 141, a dialect speaker, suggests she dropped out of university studies of Italian feeling that she could not compete with other students who had studied the language throughout their primary and secondary education

44 (IIF1) Problemi con la lingua ne ho avuto. All'inizio non potevo distinguere fra l'italiano perfetto e il nostro dialetto. Per me tutte due le lingue rappresentavano l'italiano perfetto. Infatti ci sono delle grandi differenze di cui non mi sono resa conto finché non ho frequentato la scuola secondaria

46 (IIF1) Quando ero bambina, la vita era sempre felice. Parlavo italiano – mia madre dice, che lo sapevo parlare benissimo. Comunque questo ha cambiato quando la mia zia è venuta d'Italia. Ho cominciato parlare il dialetto di Calabria, perchè lei abitava nella casa accanto. Questo interruzione ha cambiato la propria vita, cioè il dialetto che parlo è un svantaggio per me quando parlo il standard italiano, perchè mi confondo con le due lingue.

86 (IIF) The Italian that me and my family use at home is the dialect of Benevento. I feel comfortable speaking it to my grandmother but not to other relatives. Sometimes, when I do speak dialect, I tend to mix the Italian I learnt at school with the dialect.

141 (IIF2) I think that my parents have also regretted the fact that I did not learn Italian at school. Whilst I tried much later in life at a tertiary institution to further my limited knowledge of the Italian language, it became increasingly difficult to compete with students who had been exposed to the "standard" variety for twelve years.

The consequences of speaking a "low" social variety (dialect) as a first language, as opposed to the "high" national language variety (English) or even a "high" cultural variety (Italian), is evident in the following extracts. For example, participant no. 2, who was studying Italian at university at the time of the survey, claims she is embarrassed to speak something she considers a hybridised and clearly inferior variety of Italian. Participant no. 182, on the other hand, describes the frustration associated with the experience of learning what is in effect a third language at school (standard Italian) because she is unable to get any assistance from her dialect-speaking parents. Such frustrations affected her parents also as they failed to understand why their child should be experiencing learning difficulties and criticised what they considered was an inferior schooling system which compared poorly with the one in their home country. In another example, no. 73 draws attention to the embarrassment of her dialect-speaking parents who find they are not always able to help their daughter with her Italian lessons because they are afraid of making mistakes.

2 (IIF1) Quando io ho probleme con l'italiano vado a mia mamma per aiuto. Adesso pratichiamo un po' d'inglese e l'italiano. Parlo un po' d'italiano a casa ma è più come una combinazione d'inglese e l'italiano. Non so perchè ma mi vergogno di parlare l'italiano a casa.

73 (IIF1) A xxxxx tutti l'italiani e greci stavano ad un posto, dove l'australiani non ci andavano, ma durante le lezione l'australiani, italiani e greci si parlavano. Gli italiani con chi io stevo intorno, tutti studiavano italiano ed ogni tanto parlavamo italiano. Dopo andavo a casa e cominciavo a parlare bene l'italiano. I miei genitori mi aiutavano molto quando mi serviva aiuto, e ancora mi aiutano ma si mettano paura incaso che fanno gli sbagli.

184 (IIF2) Whenever I had problems with the school work I either went to the teachers or to my cousin for help. I thought if I had trouble in Italian I could turn to my parents for help. My parents couldn't even help me with my Italian work, as they only knew how to speak and write their dialect, not proper Italian. When I reached Year eleven and twelve, my parents thought that the schooling system wasn't very good here. Their reasons were because we were at school too much, and when we weren't we were either doing homework or studying. They thought the Australian schooling system should be more like the Italian system.

The difficulties experienced by participants in having to deal with such trilingual situations have led many of them to reject their home language and rely on communicating almost wholly in English, even when other interlocutors within the home domain are not proficient in the language of the host society. The notion that the dialect spoken in many of the participants' homes is sub-standard and has contributed to their gradual shift to English is also stated explicitly in the comments of no. 114 who was "bribed" by her mother to continue studying Italian.

114 (IIF2) In my family the main language we speak is English and if Italian is spoken in our family is often a dialect which is a mixture of Napoletana or Abruzzesi. I seem to have some inferior complex about speaking Italian at home. I just hate speaking Italian to my parents at home so I avoid using it altogether. Although I will readily speak Italian to other people. So the whole family except my dad will talk English as he is less fluent. Even when I am spoken to in Italian I answer in English and only my mother will speak Italian to my father all the time and occasionally to me and my brother and sister.

However when we are different types of people we speak either English or Italian depending on who they are. For example when we are with my mothers side of the family we speak English except to nonno and nonna but when we are with my fathers side of the family we speak only Italian as this is the language which dominates their lifestyle. My father is

the only one who hassles me about speaking English at home because he can't understand it too well. While my mother doesn't say anything about this she gave me money until year 12 to study Italian so I would become a fluent speaker and could communicate better with the elder Italian generation.

Furthermore, participant no. 141 stresses the difficulties she experienced as a dialect-only speaker who was unable to fully participate in conversations with older Italians who did not speak her dialect. This participant also voices the perception expressed by many others that Italian vernaculars are somehow inferior to "proper" Italian. She goes on to suggest that perhaps the younger generations of Italian-Australians will in fact be less disadvantaged when they come to learn Italian at school since they will not have to contend with the interference of dialectal forms.

141 (IIF2) Both my parents are from the South of Italy. As a teenager I always felt that our dialect was inferior to the "proper" Italian which our family and friends spoke. Although I did not feel this with my extended family and family friends from the same region as my parents for obvious reasons, this was not the case in other areas of my life. For example, my school friends were mainly Abruzzi, Veneto and Triestini. I literally did not understand my school friends' parents much to my embarrassment. Though they all encouraged me to speak my dialect it was difficult for me, especially when I had to repeat myself and this caused me further embarrassment. My mother and father could converse in "proper" Italian with my friends and their families and this made things worse. Imagine being the only person in the room who could not grasp the entire conversation, just "bits and pieces".

I do feel that the Italian language will rapidly decline as far as the second generation is concerned. I know plenty of people who find it difficult speaking dialect to their parents. For people who are not living at home, we all share the same concern. My experience is that I am finding it more and more difficult to speak dialect to my mother. I find that sometimes I speak more in English than in Italian. Maybe there is an answer to this problem. Perhaps my cousin (whose parents speak only English at home) can learn Italian at school. He would not have the "native mother tongue" (dialect) of the mother and father to contend with as well as learning English and "standard" Italian.

The declining use of any form of Italian and the gradual shift to English which has occurred over time with changing personal and family circumstances is made clear in the statements of the following participants. While for nos. 2, 38 and 135 the major change to their linguistic habits occurred with the commencement of school, no. 35 attributes this change to the relocation of her family from a small rural community, which had a close association of many Italian families, to a relatively more impersonal suburban existence. In the case of no. 89, the major event which led to her shift to English was the death of the grandmother with whom she conversed in standard Italian and Calabrese dialect. The fact that many of her older relatives have become able to make themselves understood in English has removed this barrier to the use of Italian varieties within the family environment. This participant also alludes to the pragmatic response of many younger Italian-Australians who, uncertain of their command of any Italian varieties, resort to English when spoken to in Italian. Lastly, no. 179, who recognises that her proficiency in standard Italian is poor, points to the inadequacy of the Italian language curriculum during her primary school years. She also suggests that the attitude of her school friends, who found learning a foreign language "different" and "ridiculous", may have contributed to the decision to discontinue her language studies.

2 (IIF1) Non ricordo tanto degli anni quando ero una bimba e dopo nel 1973 mia mamma ha avuto mio fratello xxxxx. Quando ero piccola a casa abbiamo parlato solo italiano, ma era una combinazione dal calabrese e vero italiano. Sentivo solo italiano ogni giorno. È quando ho dovuto incominciare la scuola ho dovuto imparare l'inglese dall'inizio. Ho avuto qualche problema abituarci all'inglese ma più e più ho incominciato a parlare inglese a casa e meno l'italiano.

35 (IIF1) After having moved to the city English became more dominantly used in our home. There may have been various reasons for this transformation. It may have been that we came into more contact with people who have English speaking backgrounds particularly my father who now works with people who speak English.

38 (IIF1) Quando aveva cominciato la scuola parlavo l'inglese con facilità e il mio dialetto relativamente bene. Mentre passavano gli anni a scuola ho continuato d'imparare l'inglese e il mio italiano progressivamente deteriorava. Prendevo buoni voti per tutte le mie altre materie, ma trovavo alcuni problemi in Italiano.

89 (IIF1) Over the years, my Italian usage has decreased. I have found that with the recent death of my grandmother, whom I spoke standard Italian and Calabrese to, I am hardly speaking Italian at all any more. Many of my relatives can speak English, even if it is only basic, so I tend to speak in English for the majority of the time and use a few words of Italian every now and again. A common practice is also for my relatives to speak to me in Italian, and for me to answer them in English! It is a sad fact of life, however I believe the Italian language is dying out. It can be clearly seen within my relatives, the older we get and the more generations that emerge, the less Italian that is spoken. I would like the language to be preserved, however living in Australia with English speaking people, it is becoming harder to keep the Italian language alive.

135 (IIF2) I detected the shift in language when I started school I didn't have any choice but to learn the English language and fast. Slowly as my primary school years went by I spoke more and more English. My brother was influenced by me and started speaking English and at this point English became easier to speak.

179 (IIF2) My use of proper Italian was therefore not good. Up until grade 5, languages were not provided at my primary school. However when they finally were offered, I then began learning Italian for a total of two years. Having studied the language for that length of time, I only acquired the basics because lessons were only once a week for half an hour. My friends did not regard learning a language during lesson time as unfair or strange. In fact they often enquired about what we had learned and found this to be quite interesting. When I first began learning the language, I did feel different to other students because of the fact that they would regard learning a language as ridiculous.

Participants no. 14, on the other hand, recognises that she does not frequently activate Italian language systems and draws attention to the differential between her ability to understand the language and her ability to speak it. Rather than code-switching or code-mixing, the solution adopted within her family circle is interlocutor-specific code use whereby Italian-dominant relatives speak to the participant in Italian while the English-dominant participant responds in English. Interestingly, however, she does not attribute this solution to a lack of Italian language competence on her part but on the extra time and concentration which is required to converse with her relatives in Italian. On the other hand, no. 51 explains that her limited use of Italian ("only when it was absolutely necessary") is not because she is ashamed of speaking the language but because of her lack of fluency. Furthermore, she points to the need to mentally translate each Italian utterance from English and regrets that she has had to learn Italian as a second language rather than as a natural part of her linguistic development.

14 (II1/2F1) I admit that I don't speak much Italian but I am most time surrounded by older Italian relatives who speak Italian most of the time. My understanding of Italian is much more advanced than my actual ability to speak Italian because I don't practice enough. When speaking to my Italian relatives, the conversation usually involves both English and Italian. My relatives speak to me in Italian and I speak in English, because they can understand English. I am quite capable of conversing in Italian but it takes much more time and concentrating. There is only one relative I have to speak to in Italian and that is because she doesn't understand English.

51 (IIF1) I dominantly spoke english to my peers, teachers, family and relatives and only used italian in my classes at school, and italian mainly in front of family friends, my parents and when absolutely necessary. I felt somewhat restrained to speak foreign languages in front of others, not because I was ashamed, but I didn't believe I was competent enough and it was difficult to express my thoughts without first having to translate them into english. This became a problem for me, as I was growing up to learn italian as a second language, rather than naturally developing these skills and knowledge over time, in an environment where they were predominantly put into use.

However, not all participants reported a declining use of Italian language varieties in the home domain or experienced difficulties in coming to terms with bilingual and trilingual situations. As is evident in the following statements, the importance of positive language attitudes may be a critical factor. For example, no. 82 attributes her success in learning to speak standard Italian and seeking to pursue a career as a teacher of the language to parental encouragement and growing up in a "language rich" family environment. Participant no. 21, who is also well aware of the social status associated with the use of different Italian language varieties, suggests her success in learning standard Italian is due to her parents' programmatic decision to exclude dialect varieties from the home domain. Finally, no. 83 decries the various stages of her linguistic development whereby she has experienced highs and lows in her proficiency and confidence in using Italian. She also claims to have overcome the embarrassment of speaking Italian in front of others and is thankful that her parents insisted she continue to study the language throughout high school.

82 (IIF1) In all, I feel that I speak a lot more Italian than many people of my age group living in my area. This is because, ever since I was young, my parents used it and encouraged me to also. As a result, I was surrounded by the language. The factors lead me to doing so well with Italian at school, and helped me to make up my mind about wanting to pursue it as a part of my career.

21 (IIF1) The fact that I have been studying Italian since I was 8 means that my ears have been accustomed to hearing proper Italian. I have never heard my father speak his dialect. My mother used to speak her dialect with my grandmother when she was alive. My grandmother also tried not to speak her dialect with me because both she and my parents had the view that they wanted their children to speak the popular Italian because it "sounded" more intellectual instead the dialect was seen as the language of those that had very little education or were from the lower class in society.

83 (IIF1) Quando io ho cominciato la scuola elementare, io potevo parlare inglese ma potevo parlare italiano più

meglio. Italiano era la mia prima lingua. Prima aveva timidezza per parlare italiano ma adesso non mi interessa chi mi senta. Voglio andare in Italia per parlare italiano più meglio. Quando ero alla scuola alta io non volevo studiare italiano ma nell'ultimo anno io mi sono accorto che io volevo tenere la lingua dei miei genitori. Ho capito che è importante per avere un'altra lingua. Miei genitori mi hanno fatto studiare l'italiano ma sono molto contenta perchè hanno fatto questo perchè adesso voglio imparare italiano.

Conclusions

The extent to which a minority ethnic language is being maintained in a culturally plural society is clearly linked to the social context in which the group finds itself. The context of the Italian community in Australia's major capital cities is marked, firstly, by a relatively high concentration of the group (Hugo, 1990; Clyne and Kipp, 1997b) and, secondly, by close primary social relations which are historically a characteristic feature of the Italian group not only in Australia but also in other Anglo-Saxon based societies, such as the United States (Campisi, 1948; Banfield, 1958; Gans, 1962; Vecoli, 1964, 1974; Child, 1970; Covello, 1972; Tomasi, 1972; Gambino, 1972, 1973; and Gross, 1973).

The pattern of close family ties, a social value which differentiates the Italian group sharply from the norms prevailing in mainstream Australian society, exerts an apparently contradictory effect on the language maintenance efforts of Italian-Australians. On the one hand, it would appear that the existence of viable social networks provides a necessary forum for the use of Italian language varieties in everyday situations. On the other, the contrast between the social and cultural value systems of the Italian minority and the Anglo-Australian majority is so pronounced that the participants to the present study were faced with the difficult decision of whether to maintain a language system which only serves to differentiate them further from a dominant majority which already perceives them as different on account of their physical characteristics, family values and lifestyle norms.

A similar comment could be made with respect to the Greek community in Australia, which nevertheless shows much greater language maintenance than the Italian group at first and second generational levels, and in both endogamous and exogamous family situations (Clyne and Kipp, 1997a). The difference between the two communities can be accounted for, at least in part, by the complex linguistic situation within the Italian group, as exemplified by the ambiguous stance which Italian-Australian families have adopted toward their home dialect as opposed to Standard Italian and English. As reported in many of the life stories in this study, the perception of the low status of dialect varieties has undermined their vitality even at the primary level within the family itself. This is shown by the fact that young Italian-Australians use their home language principally in conversation with their grandparents and older Italian relatives and friends. It would appear that this concession is undertaken out of respect for the aged members of their social network who have difficulty speaking English and whose first language is generally an Italian dialect. The position of Standard Italian, as a high status alternative to dialect, is, in turn, weakened within the family domain by a lack of confidence in its utility in the mainstream "job market" of Australian society.

As has been noted in previous studies (Chiro and Smolicz, 1993), the Italian language in Australia lacks the support of other ethno-specific cultural values, such as religion, which is enjoyed by some groups, such as the Greeks, Serbs and Ukrainians, who can rely on the unswerving linguistic and social support of the Orthodox Church. While the Catholic Church and some other religious denominations have generally extended Italian language services to those parishes with high concentrations of Italian speakers, it is nonetheless a matter of choice whether one attends the Italian mass or the English mass, there being no overt pressure either to use Italian in the church or to limit one's choice of marriage partners to one's own ethnic co-religionists (Smolicz, 1995).

The present study has revealed the generally positive experience of the participants who activated Italian secondary social systems, for example, through church and community participation and attendance at Italian classes at university. These structures represent a resource in which, over a period of fifty years, hundreds of Italian community groups around Australia have invested considerable energy and money in developing. Unfortunately, the municipal, parish or regional focus of many of these clubs and associations is reflected in the low participation rates of younger Italian-Australians and represents a potential which has not been fully utilised in terms of language maintenance support.

In conclusion, while the language loss experienced by the Italian community in Australia over the past two generations is considerable, the Italian group occupies an intermediate position with respect to other linguistic communities. As Clyne and Kipp (1997a, p. 458) have reported, the rate of language shift to English of the Italian group is exceeded by that of many other ethnolinguistic groups in Australia, including Dutch, Germans, Maltese, Hungarians and Poles (Smolicz, 1992). On the other hand, the language shift is bettered by the more recently arrived immigrant groups from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Taiwan, the Peoples Republic of China, Lebanon, Turkey, Hong Kong, Chile and Korea. Of the community groups which share a similar immigration "vintage" as that of the Italian-Australians, only Greek-born persons have managed to maintain a lower shift to English.

Clearly, while family ties and primary social networks continue to feature strongly as core cultural values of Italian-Australians, it is unlikely that the Italian group will disappear in the short term from Australia's ethnocultural map. The presence of Italian-Australian concentrations with their businesses and sporting, social, religious, media and educational institutions has forged a unique identity which has altered to some extent the urban and cultural ecology of most Australian capital cities. Furthermore, the relatively recent advent of government and community sponsored Italian radio and television programming and global communication networks means that the Italian language in Australia has never before

experienced such levels of structural support which extend beyond the limits of the Italian community itself. Indeed, a consolidation of Italian language and culture resources of this sort may yet produce among third generation Italian-Australians an “ethnic revival”, even though research data from the present study are not encouraging, at least in the respondents’ generation.

Endnotes

- 1 In a study of second generation Italians carried out in Perth, Ghisalberti (1975) argues that it was necessary to set a age limit of 20 years for the respondents in order to avoid problems which are clearly identifiable in younger persons such as teenage problems and identity crises.
- 2 The key to the codes used is as follows: the initial number (in bold) represents the identification number assigned to participants on the basis of a larger study only part of which has been analysed in the present paper; Ib–first generation immigrant (under 15 years of age), II–second generation, II–second generation of “mixed” ancestry, III–third generation; F–female, M–male, 1–group 1 participants who were enrolled in Italian classes at university at the time of the survey, 2–group 2 participants not enrolled in Italian classes at university.
- 3 “Giusy” (for Giuseppina) and “Mario” are the labels given to young Italian–Australians whose physical characteristics and appearance (including dress, hairstyles) are indicative of their Italian ethnicity. These epithets are used both as outgroup categorisations and ingroup markers.
- 4 In Australia, soccer (Association football) is regarded by the majority of the Anglo–Australian sporting public as an ethno–specific sport, unlike “Australian Rules Football”, the most popular football code, which has its origin in Australia’s Anglo–Celtic colonial past.

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The role of ethnic identity in language maintenance and language change: the case of the Italian community in France

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Historically, the maintenance or change in ethnic identity among immigrants is closely tied to the role of their native language in daily life. To achieve upward social mobility they may discard their native language, or they may preserve it as a sign of their ethnic identity. The assimilationist policy of the host society can encourage one option over the other, and – even within one society – individuals may favor assimilation or cultural pluralism. The importance given the teaching of the language of the dominant group to immigrant children should permit their upward social mobility. Thus, from an assimilationist perspective, the youngest generation should identify most strongly with the host society.

Our investigation will analyze the new generations from the perspective of the relationship between language and identification with their native origin. As Fishman argues the culture and language of the native group among children of immigrants tend to weaken with each new generation (1989). Reality shows that the emergence of new generations transforms the structure of the community: each generation can be defined by educational level, by professional accomplishments, and also by knowledge of the native language. Such differences confer a particular status on each member of the community.

In this paper, I emphasize the role of ethnic identity in the language maintenance and change in the Italian community in contemporary France. The sense of membership in the host society is a powerful factor in the process of integration, especially linguistic integration. Nevertheless, the role of ethnic identity in the choice of language is only one facet of the process of transformation of ethnic groups. In the following pages, I shall explore the relationship between ethnic identity and the use of the native language, Italian, among Italian immigrants and their children in Grenoble, France. My discussion will focus on socio-linguistic parameters as well as linguistic behavior. In this paper, I use “Italian” to refer to whatever dialect the immigrants spoke.

The group observed is located in the southeastern France in the provincial city of Grenoble, 170,000 inhabitants in the town and more than 500,000 in the metropolitan area. Grenoble is in the “Dauphinois” at the intersection of three Alpine massifs: Belledonne, Vercors and Chartreuse. Grenoble is unique because of the specific geographical origin of the Italian immigrants arriving between the two World Wars most of whom were from Corato in “Apulia” in southern Italy. During the inter-war period, the city became the principle industrial center in southeastern France and a center for the exploitation of hydroelectric resources and related industries. This industry was the principal attraction for the Italian immigrants.

The acquisition of the dominant group language means not only the rejection of the native language, which serves as a vehicle for the ethnic culture and testifies to it, but also, it is the fundamental element for the integration of the migrant into the host society.

Linguistic integration is the first step for harmony and cooperation between the dominant group and the immigrant group. This procedure greatly facilitates the integration process. The acquisition of the dominant language symbolizes knowledge of and identification with the dominant group. As a result of this process, children of immigrant parents are less marked as part of the immigrant group. Use of the French language produced a series of linguistic patterns, the *parler bilingue*, which put Italian or a dialect of it at a disadvantage and provoked a feeling of guilt among the entire group (Baylon and Fabre, 1975). Even though, the acquisition of the host society's language coincides with the emergence of bilingualism and signifies the ability to speak two different languages, I prefer to use the concept of *parler bilingue*. *Parler bilingue* refers to the use of a bilingual repertoire of words: both Italian and French together in one sentence.

Long-term residence confers a sense of membership in the host society that is reinforced with the advent of each new generation. Thus, the third generation identifies themselves as French. However, the reproduction of the structural system of the migrant aids the resurgence of ethnicity because it is a factor of ethnic consciousness. Structural integration, determined by educational attainment and occupation, appears decisive in the transformation of the ethnic group and, more particularly, in self-identification. Thus, members of the community can be categorized within two main identity groups, which summarize all possible combinations of self-identification. This ethnic-identity scale includes French membership and Italian membership subdivided in two other intermediary groups, French-Italian and Italian-French.

After brief reference to Italian immigration in general, the first step is to demonstrate the distribution of the bilinguals using parameters such as: education, occupation, and gender. The second is to show the proportion of either the rejection of or the motivation to learn the mother tongue within identity consciousness. In conclusion, our goal is to discuss *parler bilingue* of the migrants and their descendants and the perpetuation of the ethnic language within the ethnic group.

Global characteristics

Italians arrived in France primarily between 1920 and 1940. Unlike other immigrant groups (Polish or Spanish), the Italians never had a national language. Only in 1940 did the Italian language become nationally institutionalized. The diversity of the dialects within the Grenoble community favored the learning of French. Inside this “Little Italy”, many dialects flourished and thus the migrants were isolated within their own sub-national communities. Consequently, immigrants were not even able to use Italian to communicate throughout the Italian community of Grenoble. In addition, knowledge of Italian could not be maintained because Italian was not yet a national language when they left Italy.

In addition to the long-term absence of new monolingual immigrants from the homeland, the numerous weaknesses of the new immigrants did not permit the maintenance of the native language within the ethnic group, and French became the main vernacular language. The community had to speak the host language inside the institutions it was exposed to and involved with. This linguistic behavior represented the first step toward integration and assimilation into the host society. Only large and continuous waves of new immigrants would permit the perpetuation of the ethnic language and its socio-cultural tradition.

The process of bilingualism is an arrangement between the ethnic language and the host society's language. These arrangements are used differently depending on the migrant's desire to integrate or to perpetuate his ethnic identity. Nevertheless, as Bettoni argues in his study about the Italian immigration in Sydney, competence in the mother tongue became deficient after some years of expatriation. “So that if one were to test the language competence of first generation migrants after some time in Australia one would find some deficiencies vis-à-vis their competence at the time of migration” (Bettoni, 1985, pp. 63-79). Language accommodation begins as soon as Italians leave Italy. They have to use the host language in their verbal interrelations. The decline of the ethnic language results also from the fact that the first generation are less and less represented inside the immigrant group and in this way the loss of the ethnic language becomes the central issue. The school system encourages the children of immigrants to speak the language of the host country.

The ethnic language is thus reserved for household communications or extended to other familial interactions. With the arrival of the third generation, the immigrants' children lose their ability to speak the native language. As Fishman argues, “A relatively few larger groups, groups strong enough to maintain or to fashion a reward system under their own control (whether in the home, the community, the church, or elsewhere), may succeed in establishing and maintaining the compartmentalization needed for diglossia or to do so at least at the area level, even in the absence of newly arriving monolingual recruits” (Fishman, 1989, p. 188).

Language maintenance and language change take a role of greater or lesser importance in the migrant's linguistic practice depending upon whether he intends to stay or to return to the original country. Maintaining the native language is fundamental for an eventual move back. Language maintenance signifies the individual's continued use of a non-French mother tongue through family, friends, and surrounding interactions.

Losing the practice of the native language symbolizes a form of the migrants' adaptation to the host country. If new immigrants have no desire to return to Italy, they face several possibilities of integration: linguistic, cultural, or marital. The learning of the language of the host country symbolizes linguistic integration and also very often the wish for settlement in the new country.

The bilingualism of the migrants depends on many factors, which do not permit us to develop a theory of the process of the loss of the native language, the adoption of unilingualism by the migrants and their descendants. The learning of the language of the host country permits the migrant to acquire and to transmit identification values. It appears as a rite of passage for the amelioration of the migrant status. Unilingualism or the preponderance of the language of the host country for communications internal or external to the nuclear family is the main element in the improvement of the migrant's status.

The bilingualism of the second generation serves as a vehicle for a negative image. They fear discrimination. On one side, the use of the dominant language group is a form of rejection of ethnic identity. The children of immigrants do not make the distinction between the positive and the negative aspects. Instead they equate classification inside an ethnic group with the fear of becoming a “foreigner”. Paradoxically, when they return to the native country, their behavior is very ambivalent. They want both to practice the ethnic language, permitting them to classify within the ethnic group, and at the same time to be distant from it. In both cases, the children of immigrants appear as *déraciné* (Dabene and Billiez, 1987, pp. 62-77). On the other side, the rejection of the native language symbolizes the passage to a higher level. Language is a means of revalorization.

Educational and occupational background

The 1991 survey of the Italian community demonstrated the appearance of a relationship between education and the use of the dominant language group among friends and family. Preponderance of the host language in the communications among the immigrants is linked to educational success. Thus, educational background tends to influence their linguistic practice. Paradoxically, bilingualism inside the family (children and spouse) is more developed within the immigrant group with a secondary school or university education. This particularity is observed also among the immigrant group that occasionally uses both languages. A similar behavior appears in linguistic practice among friends.

Immigrants with a university education speak Italian or dialect as much with their children as with their spouses. This is contrary to the practice of those with a secondary school education: they reject the ethnic language. The immigrants with an elementary education speak Italian or dialect with their spouses and, occasionally, with their children.

The offspring of immigrants recognize themselves as bilingual, using Italian and dialect only with their parents and some words in both languages. This form of *parler bilingue* is an original manner of communication, where the competence and the incompetence of the speaker may be evaluated according to the strategy of communication (Gumperz, 1982).

le linge est devenu comme une baccalà (une morue séchée). Mon frère m'a dit: "non, il est mouillé". (... the linen became as rigid as a baccalà (a codfish). My brother told me: "no, it is soaked").

Even though the second generation continues to speak occasionally with a lexicon from both languages, the use of Italian between spouses is more typical for those having a university education. It appears that, the higher the educational background, the more the second generation uses some Italian or dialect. Between the second and the third generation, there are no differences in linguistic behavior among the migrants. The native language is reserved for those with only an elementary school education. Verbal exchanges in the native language between the second generation and their children are very occasional or non-existent. The third generation speaks only in French with their children and spouse.

The practice of Italian or dialect is merely occasional for the three generations among friends. The first and second generations are different from the third, for which the use of the native language is reserved to those having only an elementary school education. We should notice two particularities: first, the immigrants with an elementary school background speak in their native language regularly with their friends. Second, the children of the second generation never use the ethnic language with their friends. Only a few of the second generation having a university degree speak occasionally in Italian.

Education from elementary through university level tends to correspond with a pattern of linguistic behavior where the use of Italian increases with education. Bilingualism is observed both within the circle of friends and household verbal communications. The immigrants and their children maintain this form of speaking. Thus, educational background strongly influences the linguistic behavior of the first and second generations. The language connotes the negative aspect of immigration only for those whose parents' expatriation has been a barrier in continuing their education. On the other hand, the practice of the native language is a means to both adopt a cultural identity and also to be different from the native-born French. Limited education influences occupational status. Thus, an elementary or secondary school education among the immigrants' children may represent the failure of the parents' migratory goals. Access to education is a wish of the parents, and they reject their native tongue, which reflects their own failure. The practice of the Italian or a dialect is not a means to attain a higher status within the dominant group because it symbolizes a cultural shock (Abdallah-Pretceille, 1989, 225-47).

Educational attainment and occupation cannot be dissociated. The practice of Italian or a dialect is more frequent among the occupations requiring an elementary or a secondary education. Thus, the first generation, who is mainly working class, is more likely to use the native language than professionals, artisans, or shopkeepers.

Even though it appears that artisans, shopkeepers, professional, and clerical classes break with their native language within the household, it is more difficult to make this rupture among friends: the ethnic language is maintained in the verbal communication external to the household. This applies to all professions.

Characteristic of the second generation is an increasingly occasional practice of the native language. We observe this in all professional activities, not only among artisans or shopkeepers but also among professionals and clerical workers. This characteristic confirms the hypothesis according to which identification to the native group increases in importance with increasing upward social mobility. Migrants and their children with a university education identify as Italian often as French. A similar fact is observed among those who are successful.

The use of a French or Italian verbal repertoire among the professionals of the second generation enables them to promote their status. Those who benefit from upward social mobility are able to find an identity which reduces the shock of the expatriation. On the contrary, the absence of upward social mobility is synonymous with failure and maintains the identity conflict by an absence of social promotion. The third generation confirms this tendency.

Bilingualism among friends increases with professional accomplishment, but paradoxically, this practice is weakened by the arrival of new generations. This aspect reveals the contradiction between the role of the native language as a factor in maintaining an ethnic community and its rejection within the family circle where the new generations can merely learn it.

Native language and identification

The choice of language within the community reflects a complex link between ethnic consciousness and ethnic language. It is a reciprocal relationship; the choice of language maintenance establishes ethnic identity (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970).

The relationship connecting the migrant to his mother tongue permits varying levels of identification with the native country. In giving importance to the native language, migrants and their descendants affirm their ethnic identity (Dabene and Billiez, 1987, pp. 62-77). They activate an ethnic consciousness movement and determine a language acquisition movement which can in turn activate an ethnic unconsciousness movement. Such movements are complex because they are bilateral. Identification refers either to France or to Italy.

Thus, French and Italian identity appear as two extreme behaviors of ethnic identification or consciousness which determine linguistic practice and also the process of re-ethnification. In addition, intermediary identification may occur:

Italo-French or Franco-Italian. These two intermediate groups also have a specific linguistic behavior. The Italo-French and Franco-Italians speak their native language too, but the Franco-Italians only occasionally. The native language is chosen only for communications within the group and merely identifies it with the country of origin. This form of stratification is linked to the typology developed by two French linguists, Dabène et Billiez (1987, pp. 66). Their typology concerns the acquisition of the native language by the immigrants' children.

Degree of identification with the group of origin largely influences the use of the native language. Thus, the more immigrants and their children consider themselves Italian, the more they speak their native language. Depending on the level of identification, linguistic behaviors will be more or less significant. The "Italian" group (the members of which recognize themselves as of Italian identity) will have a more developed Italian or dialectal repertoire. This is contrary to the "French" group in which this lexicon will be absent. The group self-identified as "French" speaks primarily French. For them the native language is rare in interactions within the family, among friends, or within the community. Abandonment of the mother tongue reveals the desire for the adoption of French as principal language. This behavior also demonstrates a rupture with the original ethnic identity. In this case, the re-linguistication means and precedes the re-ethnification of the immigrants (Fishman, 1966).

Maintenance of the native language in verbal communications by the "Italo-French" or "Franco-Italian" groups reveals a specific type of connection with the ethnic group. The "Italo-French" accept their expatriate position and the "Franco-Italians" reject it, but neither group is in principle more Italian or French than the other.

We have two types of *parler bilingue*. Consciously or not, members of these two groups navigate through a bilingual repertoire. The social context in which each language is employed is a means of measurement of the degree of bilingualism. Thus, on one side, the language of origin is maintained most strongly within the group. The ethnic language is used despite the pressure of the national language. The "Italo-French" group uses Italian more extensively. Members of this group occasionally speak Italian with their children. This practice creates an identity conflict, but it also reveals the parents' desire to create a rapport with the group of origin in order to facilitate a rupture with it (Zéroulou, 1982, p. 467). On the other hand, the "Franco-Italian" group privileges French: the language of origin is never used between the parents and their children. This rejection demonstrates the importance of integration within the host society: all behaviors creating obstacles to integration are excluded.

Thus, the native language may be synonymous with either domination or inferiority. It is the language of expatriation, unlike French, which symbolizes the user's social mobility. The frequency of its use determines the degree of ethnic belonging and involves the daily actions that go into language maintenance. The group identified as "Italo" confirms this hypothesis. It shows the distance from the ethnic identity of origin by the lack of use of the mother tongue. The "Franco-Italians" may be more likely to use Italian or dialect than the "French", but less likely than the "Italo-French".

In the "Italo-French" group, women use a bilingual repertoire more frequently than men. In the majority of cases, men totally reject their native language within the family and among friends. This linguistic divergence between women and men holds true despite the fact that women use the native language less and less. These divergent tendencies may demonstrate sentimentality among women, as opposed to functionality among men. For women, the mother tongue may represent knowledge of the country of origin and the maintenance of this knowledge for a future return to it or for relationships with relatives.

Identity and language maintenance

Reasons for linguistic maintenance and change vary according to the ethnic identity of the immigrants and their descendants. Also, as Angle argues, media such as radio, newspapers, and television, reinforce the use of a language (Angle, 1978). In addition, associations, church, and neighborhood may preserve the use of a mother tongue. Nevertheless, their existence depends on the number of migrants speaking the mother tongue within the community and the role of the mother tongue in extending itself to the next generation.

Even if media and cultural elements could be a focus of language maintenance and change, the 1991 study reveals only two reasons to learn the native language: its status as mother tongue and its usefulness in maintaining links with the country of origin. Whatever the primary reasons the native language establishes an intergenerational continuity of Italian culture.

If the "French" group no longer practices the native language, then the main reason to learn the native language is not the maintenance of a link with the country of origin but rather the native language's status as mother tongue. "Italo" and "Italian-French" groups encourage their children to learn the native language largely because members of these groups hope to keep a link with Italy. The motivating factor is not the native language as mother tongue but rather the sense of belonging to the mother country – a cultural rather than a practical consideration.

Only a few immigrants are opposed to learning the mother tongue. The sentimental aspect remains strong, and the native tongue has a symbolic value. Children have to know it in spite of the fact they use the native language only rarely. However, it forms part of their individual background just like other characteristics necessary for social cohesion.

Nos enfants ne savent même pas l'Italien. Ils n'ont jamais voulu l'apprendre... Ils ne voulaient pas l'apprendre. Ce n'est quand même pas possible. (Our children do not know Italian. They have never wanted to learn it... They do not want to learn it. It is unbelievable).

Although some migrants have reservations, a majority agrees on the learning of the native language. The reasons are

multiple and independent of the rejections of ethnic identity by the same individuals. Opposition to the children learning the native tongue reflects two tendencies: it symbolizes the misery and suffering of the migrants, but it is also linked to the idea of a return.

For the group of immigrants arriving in Grenoble between the two world wars, the desire to settle in France was the first step in the rejection of Italian or a dialect. The objection to children learning the native language attests to the injury inflicted by expatriation. It created a sentiment of humiliation and precludes a desire to belong to another culture. The migrants feel disgraced by their mother tongue (Vegliante, 1986).

The learning of the native language contradicts the immigrants' wish to assimilate into the host society and to sacrifice to facilitate the success of their children (Z  roulou, 1982, pp. 447-70). Thus, Italian or the dialect no longer permits the perpetuation of links with the native country or sentimental feeling towards it. The native language remains useless and superfluous. The following declaration testifies the migrants' desire to break with the native country :

Pourquoi apprendre l'italien, nous sommes partis pour venir ici, alors pourquoi faire... Mes enfants ne veulent pas y retourner (en Italie), alors cela ne leur servira   rien. (Why learn Italian, we left it to come here, so why... My children do not want to go back (to Italy), so it will be useless to them).

Ce n'est pas utile pour travailler. Ce n'est pas une langue internationale... Ceux qui sont venus apr s la guerre (allusion   la seconde guerre mondiale) c'est bien car ils sont plus ax s sur le retour, alors c'est n cessaire pour pouvoir retourner (it is not necessary to work. It is not an international language... For those who arrived after the War (Second World War) it is important because they still intend to return and it is necessary for that)

Other immigrants demonstrate a similar tendency. A return to Italy and the learning of Italian are usually linked, but a refusal to learn Italian does not necessarily mean the rejection of ethnic identity or ethnic origin. Rather, it stems from the uselessness of the native language in daily life.

The neutrality of the identification confirms this hypothesis. Indeed, among "French", "French-Italian", "Italo-French" and "Italian" uselessness is the main reason for refusing to learn the native language. Only the group identified as "Italian" seems more categorical than the other groups. The members of this group do not reject their ethnic identity, but they consider the native language useless. It is unnecessary for their children to learn it. Their main objective is to permit the linguistic integration of the following generations. This is why they never use the native language within the family or among friends.

The "Italo-French" seem the most indecisive. There is a conflict between the desire for assimilation, only possible with the rupture of the linguistic links creating ethnic identification, and the desire for integration into the host society without rejecting ethnic origin. This group is in an ambiguous situation. On one hand, French identity is attained by rejecting Italian values. On the other hand, they try to assert their ethnic difference. This group demonstrates a permanent process of "identity-seeking". As long as the ethnic identity dominates, they want their children to learn the ethnic language without practicing it.

Within this group the mother tongue serves occasionally for the exchanges between spouses, and those who refuse to practice their native language do not want their children learn it. French dominates in the family circle.

The "French" group has harmonious linguistic behaviors linked to its identity. In rejecting their origin, they adopt appropriate behaviors connected to their French identity. They do not practice the native language and do not wish their children to learn it, because they consider it useless. The sentiment of being Italian is not strong enough for them to modify their attitudes in the face of any desire their children may have to learn Italian or the dialect.

The "French-Italians" recognize themselves as having an ethnic identity; the "Italo-French" try indefinitely to attain an identity. The "French-Italians" are able to overcome their conflicts by refusing to learn the mother tongue. It is a symbol of identification and a distinction from the dominant group. Members of the "French-Italian" group privilege the dominant language within the family and among friends. They privilege it also for verbal exchanges with the community. They use the native language or dialect only rarely among friends.

The desire to perpetuate the native language

The desire to perpetuate the native language among the children of immigrants is essentially sentimental. The second and third generations wish their children to learn Italian more to remain connected with the native country than to qualify it as their mother tongue. Sentimental use is substituted for functional use of the native language (Mackey, 1981).

Parallel to the increasing role of the host society in the identity of the immigrants and their children, the mother tongue is less and less a motivating factor for the learning of the native language. Rather the main factor is the desire to maintain a link with the country of origin – a factor for those identified as "French" and for those identified as "Italian". The mother tongue does not play a role as a factor of identification. Even if the household fosters the learning of the native language, children of second generation give only a character of intimacy to the native language: it is used only in sentences understood by family or friends. French becomes the mother tongue because it is used in the educational system. Thus, Italian is the second language learned at school. As a second language, it perpetuates links with the native country and signifies cultural heritage.

The third generation has a similar linguistic pattern to that of its parents. For the third generation, the native tongue is an historical artifact that the immigrants cannot eliminate, but it is learned only to maintain a link with Italy or for cultural enrichment. For this generation identification either to the native country or to the host society is total. In the family, French is dominant. This linguistic practice may be interrupted only occasionally by the native language to use a previously developed code. This practice refers to the theory of code switching developed by Fishman and by Dabène and Billiez (1965, pp. 67-88, 1986, pp. 309-25).

The ability of immigrants and their children to speak in both languages allows for an original manner of communication permitting play with linguistic structure within homogeneous groups, particularly family. The choice of words is not only an effect of style but also a means of personalizing speech and establishing difference from others.

The role of gender in perpetuating the native language

“French” or “Franco-Italian” women are attached to the sentimental aspect of language and serve as a vehicle for the mother tongue. “Italian” or “Italo-French” women consider the functional aspect more important. Nevertheless, some women among “Franco-Italians” adhere to the functional approach.

The second generation does not favor the inter-generational transmission of the mother tongue. However, they are not totally opposed to it. Opposition is more common among men than women.

With the arrival of the third generation, the reasons are less categorical and different. The majority of men speak the native language to maintain a link with Italy. For women the justifications are more diverse. Learning the native language does not appear to be a necessity, but rather its acquisition is linked with enriching the cultural background through the knowledge of a “new” language.

The acquisition of the native language becomes unnecessary for the following generations especially among men who identify more strongly with the host society whether they be “French”, “French-Italian”, or “Italo-French”. A French identity characterizes those rejecting the native language. This is true for both sexes. Thus, identification to the native country is secondary. The children born of immigrant parents (second generation) not only do not recognize themselves as “Italian”, but are opposed to linguistic transmission as well.

The desire for integration as a main reason for rejecting the acquisition of the native language appears mainly among the group identified as “Italo-French”. This behavior is very significant because it reveals once again the existence of an identity conflict within the second generation.

The third generation agrees with the uselessness of learning Italian or a dialect. Nevertheless, this is only the opinion of the men, but they do not oppose acquisition. Rather maintenance of the native language falls within a folkloric process or a return to ethnic values. Thus, the third generation is more identified with the host society and more likely to consider the native language useless.

This statement symbolizes an ambiguous and paradoxical characteristic of the native language. It is able to identify the individual as a member of an ethnic group, but the individual may reject it for its role in creating that very distinction. Thus, it contributes both to cohesion and to separateness. All three generations play with the native tongue. Thus, de-ethnification or ethnification according to linguistic practice is significant, but not sufficient. An assimilationist goal requires other external factors. Early monolingualism may determine the level of integration in the host society, but it should be considered only as one factor in assimilation and is initially rarely decisive.

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Sommario

Gaetano Rando analizza le opere del prolifico scrittore italoaustraliano Pino Bosi. Nato a Gorizia nel 1933 ed emigrato in Australia all'età di diciotto anni non si accontentò di integrare il suo inglese scolastico con la lingua parlata ma appena giunto nel nuovo continente decise di studiare la lingua dagli inizi. Il linguaggio ha una notevole rilevanza negli scritti di Bosi, pubblicati sia in italiano che in inglese, egli si sforzò infatti di unire all'italiano popolare quello parlato dagli emigrati. Conquistò il successo con una serie di racconti, poi confluiti in *Australia Cane*, il suo libro più noto di ambiente italoaustraliano. Attento ai temi della diversità etnoculturale, Bosi analizzò anche quelli relativi alla stratificazione sociale all'interno della comunità immigrata.

Il saggio di Chiro e Smolicz analizza l'esperienza del mantenimento linguistico da parte di un gruppo di studenti di origine italiana in Australia. Si tratta per lo più di giovani di seconda generazione di circa vent'anni. Gli autori integrano dati quantitativi con l'analisi delle storie di vita. Emergono le difficoltà derivanti da una situazione di apprendimento di tre lingue: l'italiano, l'inglese e il dialetto di origine che viene parlato a casa. Nonostante lo scarso interesse della comunità italiana per l'Italiano standard, cui semmai preferisce come lingua veicolare il dialetto, che ha portato ad una parziale perdita della conoscenza della lingua, gli italiani in Australia si collocano ancora in una posizione intermedia rispetto al mantenimento della lingua, se confrontati ad altre comunità etniche.

L'integrazione linguistica costituisce un fattore determinante nel processo di integrazione nella società ospite, in particolare nel processo di ripensamento del senso di appartenenza. L'identificazione è il risultato dell'integrazione strutturale, nei campi dell'istruzione e lavorativo, e il senso di appartenenza emerge quale risultato del processo di integrazione nella società ospite. Gli immigrati italiani e i loro discendenti a Grenoble, in Francia, sono catalogati in due principali gruppi, i francesi e gli italiani, a loro volta suddivisi in altri due gruppi intermedi: franco-italiani e italo-francesi. Obiettivo del saggio di Avenas è di determinare il ruolo esercitato dall'integrazione linguistica nel sentimento di appartenenza e in quale misura l'identità etnica influenza l'uso della lingua.

Abstract

Gaetano Rando Takes a look at the works of the prolific Italo-Australian writer, Pino Bosi. Born in Gorizia in 1933, he emigrated to Australia at the age of eighteen. Not content just to integrate the English he had learnt at school with the spoken language, no sooner had he arrived on the new continent, than he started studying the language from the beginning again. Language plays an important role in Bosi's writings, published both in Italian and in English, and he tried to combine standard Italian with that spoken by the immigrants. He achieved success with a series of short stories, which were then brought together in *Australia Cane*, his bestknown book in Italo-Australian circles. Attentive to the themes of ethno-cultural diversity, Bosi also analyzed those relating to the social stratification within the immigrant community.

The essay by Chiro and Smolicz looks at the experience of maintaining a language by a group of students of Italian origin in Australia, most of whom are second generation and aged about twenty. The authors integrate quantitative data with the analysis of case histories. They reveal the difficulties arising from the problem of learning three languages: Italian, English and the Italian dialect spoken at home. Despite the scant interest in standard Italian among the Italian community, whose preference of dialect as a linguistic medium has led to a partial decline in the knowledge of the language, the Italians in Australia are still in an intermediary position as regards the maintainance of their language, when compared with other ethnic communities.

Linguistic integration is a determinant in the process of integration into the host society, particularly in the process of rethinking the sentiment of membership. The identification results from the structural integration, in terms of education and employment, and the sentiment of membership appears as a result in the process of integration into the host society. The Italian immigrants and their descendants born in Grenoble, in France, are categorized within two main identity groups, French and Italian, themselves subdivided into two intermediary groups, French-Italian and Italian-French. The focus of this paper is to determine the role of the linguistic integration in the sentiment of membership and the extent to which ethnic identity influences the use of language.

Résumé

Gaetano Rando analyse les œuvres de l'écrivain prolifique italo-australien Pino Bosi. Né à Gorizia en 1933 et émigré en Australie à l'âge de dix-huit ans, il ne se contenta pas de compléter son anglais scolaire par la langue parlée, mais il décida, dès son arrivée sur le nouveau continent, de reprendre l'étude de la langue depuis le début. Le langage a une importance considérable dans les écrits de Bosi, publiés tant en italien qu'en anglais, car il s'efforça d'unir à l'italien populaire la langue parlée par les émigrés. Il remporta le succès avec une série de récits, réunis ensuite dans *Australia Cane*, son livre le plus connu sur le milieu italo-australien. Attentif aux diversités ethno-culturelles, Bosi analysa également les thèmes relatifs à la stratification sociale à l'intérieur de la communauté immigrée.

L'essai de Chiro et Smolicz analyse une expérience de maintien linguistique menée par un groupe d'étudiants d'origine italienne en Australie. Il s'agit principalement de jeunes de deuxième génération, de vingt ans environ. Les auteurs complètent les données quantitatives par l'analyse d'histoires vécues. En émergent les difficultés dérivant d'une situation d'acquisition de trois langues: l'italien, l'anglais et le dialecte d'origine parlé à la maison. Malgré le manque d'intérêt manifesté par la communauté italienne envers l'italien standard, auquel elle préfère le dialecte comme langue véhiculaire, ce qui a amené une perte partielle de la connaissance de la langue, les Italiens en Australie se situent encore, en ce qui concerne le maintien de la langue, dans une position intermédiaire par rapport à d'autres communautés ethniques.

L'intégration linguistique constitue un facteur déterminant du processus d'intégration dans les sociétés d'accueil, en particulier lorsqu'il s'agit de repenser le sentiment d'appartenance. Dans les domaines de l'instruction et du travail, l'identification est le résultat de l'intégration structurelle, de même que le sentiment d'appartenance résulte du processus d'intégration dans la société d'accueil. À Grenoble, les immigrés italiens et leurs descendants sont catalogués en deux groupes principaux, les Français et les Italiens, eux-mêmes subdivisés en deux autres groupes intermédiaires: Franco-Italiens et Italo-Français. L'objectif de l'essai d'Avenas est de déterminer quel est le rôle exercé par l'intégration linguistique dans le sentiment d'appartenance et dans quelle mesure l'identité ethnique influence l'usage de la langue.

Resumo

Gaetano Rando analisa as obras do prolífico escritor italo-australiano Pino Bosi. Nascido em Gorizia em 1933 emigrou para a Australia aos 18 anos de idade e não achando suficiente integrar o seu inglês aprendido na escola com a língua falada, ao chegar no novo continente, resolveu estudar a língua desde o início. A linguagem tem uma grande relevância nas obras de Bosi publicadas seja em italiano que em inglês; ele se esforçou de incluir ao italiano popular aquele falado pelos imigrantes, conquistou o sucesso com uma série de contos, que depois confluíram em *Australia Cane*, o seu livro mais conhecido sobre o ambiente italo-australiano. Prestando muita atenção aos assuntos relativos às diferenças étnico culturais, Bosi analisou também aquelas relativas a estratificação social dentro da comunidade imigrada.

O ensaio de Chiro e Smolicz analisa a experiência da conservação linguística por parte de um grupo de estudantes de origem italiana na Australia. Trata-se, na maior parte de jovens da segunda geração de cerca vinte anos de idade. Os autores integram informações numéricas com a análise das histórias de vida. Emergem as dificuldades derivantes de uma situação de aprendizado de três línguas: italiano, inglês e o dialeto de origem falado em casa. Apesar do escasso interesse da comunidade italiana pelo italiano de trâmite, o que levou a uma parcial perda do conhecimento da língua, os italianos na Australia são ainda colocados numa posição intermédia respeito à conservação da língua, se comparados com as outras comunidades étnicas.

A integração linguística constitui um fator determinante no processo de integração na sociedade que hospeda, especialmente por quanto concerne o processo de repensamento do senso de pertencer. A identificação é o resultado de integração estrutural, nos campos da instrução e do trabalho, e o senso de pertencer emerge como o resultado do processo de integração na sociedade hospede. Os imigrantes italianos e os seus descendentes em Grenoble, na França, foram catalogados em dois grupos principais, os franceses e os italianos, subdivididos ainda em outros dois grupos intermédios: franco-italianos e italo-franceses. O objetivo do ensaio de Avenas é de determinar a função exercida pela integração linguística no sentimento de pertencer e em qual medida a identidade étnica influencia o uso da língua.

Extracto

Gaetano Rando analiza las obras del fecundo escritor ítalo-australiano Pino Bosi. Nacido en Gorizia en el año 1933 y emigrado a la Australia a la edad de dieciocho años, no se quedó contento con completar su nociones de inglés escolar con el lenguaje hablado, sino tomó la resolución de empezar de nuevo a estudiar el inglés luego su llegada en el nuevo continente. La cuestión de la lengua tiene una notable relevancia en las obras de Bosi, publicadas sea en italiano sea en inglés; en efecto, el autor se ha esforzado a juntar el italiano popular y la lengua hablada por los emigrados. Bosi alcanzó una buena reputación con unos cuentos juntados después en Australia Cane, su obra de ámbito ítalo - australiano más conocida. Atento a los asuntos que conciernen las diferencias étnicas y culturales, Bosi analizó también ellos relativos a la estratificación social en la comunidad de los inmigrados.

El ensayo de Chiza y Smolicz, analiza la experiencia de la conservación lingüística en un grupo de estudiantes de origen italiana que viven en Australia. Se trata en la mayoría de jóvenes de segunda generación, cerca de los veinte años. Los autores completan los datos cuantitativos con la análisis de las historias personales: se evidencian así las dificultades derivantes de una situación que comporta la adquisición de tres lenguas, el italiano, l'inglés y el dialecto originario que se habla en familia. A pesar de la falta de interés de la comunidad italiana por la elngua standard (el dialecto es preferido como lenguaje vehicular), que ha determinado la pérdida parcial del conocimiento de la lengua italiana, todavía los italianos en Australia se ponen en posición intermedia respecto a la conservación de su lenguaje originario, si comparados con otras comunidades étnicas.

La integración lingüística constituye un factor determinate en el proceso de integración en la sociedad huésped, en particular relativamente a la reflexion sobre el sentido de pertenencia. La identificación resulta de la integración estructural en los sectores sea cultural sea laboral, y el sentido de pertenencia trae su origen del proceso de integración en la sociedad huésped. Los inmigrados italianos y sus descendientes a Grenoble, en Francia, son catalogados en dos grupos principales, los franceses y los italianos, a su vez subdivisos en otros dos grupos intermedios: franco-italianos, y italo-franceses. El ensayo de Avenas intende determinar la importancia de la integración lingüística en el sentido de pertenencia, y en cual mediuda la identidad étnica influencia el uso de la lengua.



Dionigi Albera e Paola Corti: Oltre Braudel. La mobilità nella montagna mediterranea

Maddalena Tirabassi

Dall'8 al 10 ottobre si è svolto a Cuneo il convegno internazionale "La montagna mediterranea: una fabbrica d'uomini? Mobilità e migrazioni nell'arco alpino e nell'area mediterranea in una prospettiva comparata". Abbiamo intervistato gli organizzatori del convegno, Dionigi Albera dell'Università di Aix-en-Provence e Paola Corti dell'Università di Torino.

Quali obiettivi vi siete proposti nell'organizzare questo convegno?

Con la promozione del convegno abbiamo cercato di realizzare una comparazione ragionata sulle forme di mobilità in diverse aree che circondano il Mediterraneo. Sono messi a confronto, in una prospettiva di lunga durata, i fenomeni di mobilità esistenti nelle Alpi, nella dorsale appenninica, nelle montagne della penisola iberica e del Maghreb.

I tempi ci sono sembrati maturi per una riflessione comparativa di questo tipo sulla base di quanto si sta delineando negli studi sui movimenti migratori. Negli ultimi vent'anni si è assistito a una forte crescita delle indagini sulla mobilità territoriale in diversi settori della ricerca storico-sociale. Vari studi hanno rilevato i limiti della teoria della transizione demografica, hanno scalfito l'immagine di un mondo preindustriale immobile, mettendo in discussione il passaggio repentino da una quasi totale sedentarietà a un esodo di massa e il teorema che poneva in relazione l'emigrazione con l'industrializzazione e l'urbanizzazione. Si è realizzata così una saldatura tra fenomeni migratori che in precedenza erano considerati del tutto eterogenei, come la mobilità *d'ancien régime* e l'esodo di massa di fine Ottocento. Sono state ridimensionate le note teorie del push-pull e con queste le abituali contrapposizioni tra età preindustriale e industriale, tra migrazioni interne ed esodo internazionale.

Sono risultati intaccati sia quello che si può definire il "paradigma della sedentarietà" – che identificava la mobilità con lo sradicamento – sia il pervadente "paradigma fisiocratico", che affidava all'agricoltura una sorta di "primato ontologico" e finiva per attribuire le migrazioni all'esclusiva carenza del fabbisogno agricolo.

Va detto però che il panorama degli studi è ancora estremamente composito. Alle divergenze che dividono tuttora scuole storiografiche nazionali si aggiungono le diversità di prospettive tra scienze sociali e storiografia. Esiste poi il rischio di una moltiplicazione di ricerche microanalitiche che potrebbe comportare una frammentazione eccessiva degli studi o una genericità dei tentativi di sintesi. C'è infine il pericolo di un troppo netto capovolgimento dei modelli di interpretazione considerati a giusto titolo obsoleti. Opporsi al "paradigma della sedentarietà", come noi riteniamo corretto, non può comportare, per esempio, un'astorica e indiscriminata attribuzione della mobilità a ogni organizzazione sociale del passato.

Ci sembra utile cominciare a costruire delle tassonomie provvisorie e individuare differenti forme di mobilità attraverso delle comparazioni che si contrappongano alla frammentazione delle ricerche, al perdurare delle barriere tra le diverse tradizioni nazionali e alle difficoltà di comunicazione tra discipline. In questo senso una prospettiva promettente può essere quella che collega gli spazi di mobilità con gli spazi ecologici. Le aree montuose attorno al bacino del Mediterraneo si presentano come un terreno privilegiato per sviluppare una prospettiva comparativa di questo tipo. L'importanza dei movimenti migratori a partire da queste zone è diventata ormai una sorta di luogo comune storiografico perpetuato dalla celebre formula braudeliana della montagna mediterranea come fabbrica di uomini.

Qual è il senso del riferimento esplicito a Braudel e alla formula della "fabbrica d'uomini"?

Indubbiamente la proposta del convegno fa propri alcuni temi forti dell'approccio di Braudel: dall'attenzione al quadro ambientale alla scelta di un respiro cronologico di lunga durata, senza contare l'apertura mediterranea dell'orizzonte comparativo. D'altro canto essa contiene un nucleo centrale fortemente critico nei confronti della visione delle società di montagna riconducibile a Braudel. Nell'opera di quest'ultimo s'impone una caratterizzazione abbastanza netta della montagna mediterranea, che ne accentua la rozzezza, la primitività, la povertà, il connaturato sovrappopolamento.

Benché l'unilateralità di questa tipizzazione sia qua e là attenuata da giudizi più sfumati, nella ricezione dell'opera braudeliana sono state privilegiate sicuramente le formule perentorie con cui il modello veniva tratteggiato. E a questa regola non fa eccezione neppure la visione dell'emigrazione che lo stesso Braudel fa scaturire, deterministicamente, dall'immobilità sociale e culturale delle montagne. Si tratta di un nesso che ha continuato a pesare negli studi successivi

crystalizzando nella reiterazione della formula della “fabbrica d'uomini ad uso altrui”.

Nel programma del convegno si legge che le Alpi sono il punto di partenza per avviare una riflessione critica sul modello braudeliano concernente la montagna mediterranea. Perché questa scelta?

Una parte consistente della ricerca condotta negli ultimi due decenni sulle Alpi si è contrapposta decisamente ed esplicitamente al modello braudeliano e ha prodotto studi di taglio micronalitico condotti con un'angolatura rovesciata rispetto all'ottica urbanocentrica di Braudel. Da un lato la ricerca effettuata sulla base di fonti demografiche, realizzata nei villaggi alpini, ha messo in discussione i presupposti demografici di questo modello, impliciti nella prima parte della celebre formula della “fabbrica d'uomini”, e ha rivelato in molti casi dei regimi demografici “a bassa pressione”, caratterizzati da una mortalità abbastanza modesta e da una natalità contenuta. L'esuberanza della popolazione dunque non costituiva affatto la regola in montagna. Dall'altro una serie di lavori storico-antropologici recenti, condotti nella stessa prospettiva, ha messo in discussione la validità della seconda parte della formula di Braudel: “ad uso altrui”. Se questa espressione sottolineava la passività e la subalternità degli spostamenti, facendone una conseguenza del binomio povertà-sovrappopolamento, il quadro di cui ora disponiamo è ben più sfaccettato e dinamico. Si è profilata la diffusione di forme di mobilità legate all'esercizio di mestieri itineranti qualificati e alla vasta ramificazione di reti commerciali, artigianali e imprenditoriali ben presenti già durante *l'ancien régime*. La lunga abitudine agli spostamenti ha dato luogo a una capacità di adattarsi alle trasformazioni e alle crisi ricorrenti. Questa “cultura della mobilità” ha poi permesso di muoversi con agilità lungo rotte anche molto distanti e di cogliere le opportunità che nell'epoca delle grandi emigrazioni otto e novecentesche si aprivano all'interno dei mercati del lavoro e dei sistemi commerciali internazionali.

Qual è la pertinenza del modello alpino rispetto alla montagna mediterranea?

Come abbiamo già detto, nel processo di revisione interpretativa degli studi sulle Alpi il principale bersaglio polemico è stato sicuramente il modello ipotizzato da Braudel in relazione al Mediterraneo e la sua immagine della montagna come una fabbrica d'uomini spinti verso la più ricca pianura dalla pressione demografica e dalla necessità economica.

A prima vista sembrerebbe di esser di fronte a una sorta di sfasatura geografica. In realtà le cose sono più complesse e la nozione di montagna mediterranea può essere intesa in un senso piuttosto ampio, tanto da includere l'insieme delle catene montuose che circondano il bacino mediterraneo. Lo stesso Braudel si riferisce spesso, ne *La Méditerranée*, alle Alpi, sia nella descrizione dell'arretratezza economica e culturale della montagna mediterranea, sia nelle frequenti esemplificazioni del mondo dell'itineranza dei montanari. Si tratta di capire in quale misura il diffuso stereotipo sul montanaro, ampiamente smentito nello studio della civiltà alpina, sia ancora applicabile alla montagna mediterranea; e di valutare in che modo le indicazioni che vengono dalle ricerche innovative concernenti le Alpi possano essere delle piste di indagine e di riflessione per altre montagne attorno al Mediterraneo.

Negli ultimi decenni sono state effettuate numerose comparazioni all'interno dell'area alpina, mettendo a confronto indagini microanalitiche mirate su campioni territoriali ristretti. Molti sono stati i convegni dedicati a questo tema, da quello tenuto a Cuneo nel 1984 – di cui il convegno attuale costituisce un'ideale prosecuzione – fino ai più recenti incontri di Trento (1996) e di Grenoble (1997). Non vanno poi dimenticati alcuni importanti lavori di sintesi. Ci riferiamo in particolare al libro di Pier Paolo Viazzo sulle comunità alpine e a quello di Laurence Fontaine sul *colportage*, entrambi condotti con un'ottica comparativa. L'approccio di quest'ultimo lavoro ha il merito di stabilire un confronto tra l'arco alpino e altre regioni montuose dell'Europa (soprattutto i Pirenei, il Massiccio centrale e la Scozia). Facendo tesoro di queste esperienze, nel nostro convegno tentiamo di esplorare un ambito geografico più ampio.

Quali sono i riscontri che il modello di mobilità elaborato per le Alpi trova all'interno della montagna mediterranea? Ad esempio, per restare nel nostro paese, affiorano degli elementi comuni con la mobilità appenninica?

Nell'ambito degli studi italiani, dopo la lunga disattenzione della storiografia sulla “grande emigrazione” per le componenti non strettamente congiunturali ed episodiche dei fenomeni di mobilità, si sta profilando un quadro abbastanza articolato di indagini che mostrano molte analogie tra i modelli migratori delle Alpi e quelli individuabili nella dorsale appenninica. Sono studi che sembrano ridimensionare l'interpretazione miserabilista.

Consolidate tradizioni migratorie legate al *colportage* e all'artigianato sono state riscontrate negli studi dedicati all'Appennino toscano. Si tratta di correnti con itinerari assai diversificati e con mete spesso distanti già in età moderna. Questi flussi mostrano notevoli capacità di penetrazione ed espansione nel momento in cui, nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, si vennero a scoprire i nuovi itinerari transoceanici. Alcuni movimenti migratori individuati nell'Appennino ligure ed emiliano hanno permesso di muovere forti critiche alle tradizionali interpretazioni storiografiche della mobilità montanara e soprattutto alle sue letture esclusivamente ruraliste e pauperistiche. Anche nelle aree montane meridionali alcuni studi condotti sulla montagna abruzzese hanno mostrato come già durante *l'ancien régime* la mobilità si configurasse professionalmente assai diversificata e non legata alle sole attività agricole o pastorali. Altre indagini storico-antropologiche hanno mostrato come l'emigrazione da alcune comunità dell'Italia centro-meridionale non fosse costituita prevalentemente di manodopera dequalificata. Già prima dell'avvio dell'esodo transoceanico, essa si nutreva di correnti di lavoro artigiano e si alimentava di una “cultura delle mobilità” non dissimile da quella registrata nelle aree alpine:

un'attitudine che anche qui avrebbe avuto un ruolo non irrilevante nella formazione e nell'orientamento del successivo esodo transoceanico

Lo stesso si può dire per altre aree montane del Mediterraneo?

Diremmo di sì. Consideriamo ad esempio il grande sistema migratorio che ha interessato per più secoli una vasta area che si estende dalla Spagna fino alle Alpi occidentali, passando per i Pirenei, la Linguadoca e il Massiccio Centrale. Esso rivela già in età moderna itinerari e attitudini professionali ben distanti dalle descrizioni braudeliane e piuttosto vicini a quelli individuati per le Alpi. Nel XVII e XVIII secolo, infatti, i mercanti, i commercianti di minore rilievo e gli artigiani che raggiungevano alcune città della Spagna provenivano dall'alto Delfinato, dal Béarn, e dal Massiccio Centrale. I Pirenei, come ha mostrato Laurence Fontaine, si caratterizzano già a partire dal Medioevo come uno degli epicentri europei dell'emigrazione mercantile. Mentre altri studi hanno mostrato come, nel XVIII e XIX secolo, dagli stessi Pirenei partissero per la Linguadoca e la Catalogna correnti di muratori definiti come "una sorta di aristocrazia operaia": un'élite locale che nei propri villaggi svolgeva un ruolo di notabilato.

E anche se si abbandona il continente europeo, spostandosi sulla riva sud, ci si imbatte in non pochi elementi che non trovano una collocazione all'interno del modello braudeliano. Esempio è il caso del Rif. Sembra difficile conciliare l'alta densità urbana di questa zona montana del Marocco in epoca medievale, il fiorire di città, lo sviluppo di un'architettura elaborata con la presunta selvatichezza della montagna mediterranea. E risulta altrettanto difficile ricondurre a una supposta primitività la straordinaria concentrazione di eruditi e moschee, che si protraggono nei secoli successivi. Senza contare poi che i movimenti dei maestri coranici a partire dal Rif, reiterati nei secoli – e praticati ancora oggi – ci mostrano una forma di itineranza montanara che è ben lontana dalla caratterizzazione braudeliana.

Sempre in area maghrebina gli abitanti della Cabilia erano tanto agricoltori quanto commercianti e il commercio itinerante comportò spesso l'installazione di negozi nelle città e nei centri rurali toccati dal *colportage*. Vocazioni commerciali di questo tipo sono riscontrabili anche tra alcune popolazioni dell'Anti-Atlante. Con le loro reti migratorie esse arrivarono a monopolizzare il commercio delle spezie all'ingrosso e al dettaglio in varie aree del Maghreb. La complessità sociale e culturale della società di montagna, e la sua inserzione in un "tessuto continuo" con la pianura, per riprendere un'espressione di Jacques Berque, sembrano essere dei tratti estendibili all'insieme della montagna maghrebina, al di là delle differenze pur consistenti tra i vari settori.

Insomma, svariati elementi distintivi della mobilità alpina trovano riscontro in altre parti della montagna mediterranea. Tutto sembra suggerire che arrestarsi alla semplice complementarietà tra montagna e pianura, riassunta dalla formula della "fabbrica d'uomini", costringerebbe a confinare la riflessione a una tappa piuttosto preliminare.

Quali ipotesi si possono prospettare per andare oltre questa tappa preliminare?

Se il divario ambientale costituisce innegabilmente la base di partenza, su di esso si è elevato uno spessore sociale dagli esiti complessi e diversificati. Lo sguardo microanalitico, tipico dell'approccio antropologico e di quello microstorico, può consentire di indagare le sfaccettature di questa morfologia sociale che sfugge dall'esame dei dati aggregati e delle grandi serie. Questa prospettiva mirata e qualitativa può essere esaltata se ad essa si allea una propensione comparativa. Un approccio di questo tipo può far avanzare le conoscenze sulle società di montagna e sulla loro articolazione col resto del mondo mediterraneo. Concentrarsi sulla mobilità significa leggere in modo diverso il territorio. Inversamente, partire da un territorio, (in questo caso le società di montagna attorno al bacino del Mediterraneo) può permettere di precisare le analisi della mobilità consentendo di delineare e mettere alla prova dei modelli interpretativi in larga misura alternativi a quelli che hanno dalla loro parte la forza persuasiva del senso comune.

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Rassegna



Convegni

Le Comunità Toscane all'Estero

VI° Convegno Internazionale dell'Associazione Lucchesi nel Mondo

Lucca, 10-13 settembre

Fra il 10 e il 13 Settembre 1998 si è tenuto a Lucca il VI Convegno Internazionale dell'Associazione Lucchesi nel Mondo in occasione del XXX° anniversario della sua fondazione; il precedente si era svolto nel 1992 a New York e Chicago. Al convegno hanno partecipato i rappresentanti delle sessantasette Sezioni e Delegazioni sparse in tutti i continenti, autorità nazionali e studiosi del fenomeno "emigrazione" italiani e stranieri.

Tre almeno le novità di questo Convegno. Per la prima volta non si è parlato soltanto di lucchesi, ma di toscani in genere (il tema del Convegno era "Le Comunità Toscane all'Estero") in stretta collaborazione con la Regione: la consulta Regionale dei Toscani all'Estero aveva infatti tenuto nei giorni immediatamente precedenti, sempre a Lucca, la sua annuale riunione plenaria dando il via ad una nuova legge regionale in materia di emigrazione nella quale vengono anche rivalutate la presenza e l'azione delle associazioni in Italia e all'estero. Si è voluto poi offrire una panoramica sullo status attuale dello studio del fenomeno "emigrazione" sia sul piano storico che su quello politico: si è trattato di relazioni di alto livello scientifico. Emilio Franzina dell'Università di Verona ha svolto il tema "Stato - Istituzioni - Associazionismo: retrospettive e prospettive dell'emigrazione italiana"; Amoreno Martellini dell'Università di Ancona ha affrontato l'argomento "Il valore dell'emigrazione nella storia nazionale e le richieste degli italiani oggi", relazione che avrebbe dovuto tenere il compianto padre Gianfausto Rosoli; Rudolph Vecoli, nato negli Stati Uniti da genitori provenienti dalla lucchesia, direttore del prestigioso Immigration History Research Center dell'Università del Minnesota, ha ripercorso la vicenda secolare dell'emigrazione italiana, "Conoscere il passato per capire il presente"; Roland Sarti, anche lui nato in lucchesia, docente all'Università del Massachusetts, ha illustrato lo stato attuale de "La lingua italiana nelle strutture scolastiche americane"; Maddalena Tirabassi della Fondazione Agnelli ha presentato un'esauriente panoramica su "Gli istituti di ricerca sulla storia dell'emigrazione".

Sul piano più specificamente politico ed in particolar modo sulla questione del voto, all'inizio del convegno ha parlato ampiamente il Ministro degli Esteri Lamberto Dini, assicurando l'impegno del governo per risolvere una volta per tutte il problema, mentre l'onorevole Mirko Tremaglia ha ricostruito con precisione quanto in questi anni è avvenuto in Parlamento sulla dibattuta questione. Altri interventi di carattere generale sono stati quelli di Ferruccio Pisoni su "La mobilità nei Paesi della Comunità Europea oggi e domani", dell'ambasciatore Bruno Scapini e di Fabrizio Morri, del dipartimento Italiani nel Mondo della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, su "Coordinamento degli interventi statali e regionali", mentre Camillo Moser, direttore generale dell'U.N.A.I.E., ha parlato delle "Associazioni degli emigranti e loro funzioni"; sempre per quanto riguarda nello specifico la realtà migratoria toscana e lucchese, Adriana Dadà ha trattato "Miti e realtà dell'emigrazione dell'area toscana", Stefania Scaglione, Università di Pisa, de "L'italiano nella comunità lucchese della California nord occidentale", Adriano Boncompagni, University of Western Australia, della "Realtà lucchese nel Western Australia", Umberto Sereni de "I periodici ed i giornali di collegamento fra gli emigrati e la terra di origine" mentre Marialina Marcucci e Luigi Moscardini, rispettivamente Presidente e Vice Presidente della Consulta Regionale Toscani all'Estero, hanno illustrato "L'attività della C.R.E.T.E."

Ma certamente la novità vera del Convegno è che per la prima volta il compito di presentare l'attuale situazione degli italiani, dei toscani ed in specifico dei lucchesi all'estero è stato affidato a loro, a quelli cioè che vivono fuori ed hanno appunto per questo affrontato, per così dire dall'interno, tutte le problematiche degli italiani fuori d'Italia.

I cinque relatori sono stati Sergio Scocci di Bruxelles per l'Europa, Mario Rossi di La Plata per il Sud America, Leo C. Moriconi di Detroit per il Nord America, Mauro Lucchesi per il Sud Africa, Sauro Antonelli di Sidney per l'Australia. Le relazioni costituivano la sintesi di un lungo lavoro di indagine e di raccordo svolto nei vari continenti nei mesi precedenti fra i coordinatori e i responsabili delle singole Sezioni dell'associazione Lucchesi nel Mondo e dei Circoli Toscani.

Non facile è sintetizzare le ampie e documentate relazioni: per quanto riguarda l'attuale situazione dei toscani all'estero sul piano economico sembra che esistano situazioni di sofferenza, anche se in diminuzione rispetto al recente passato, solo in Sud America, stante anche l'incerto andamento dell'economia di quei Paesi, mentre nei restanti continenti l'integrazione positiva, anche economica, è in atto e non da ora. Certo non si può generalizzare perché ad esempio, anche in certi Paesi dell'Europa, la situazione di alcuni emigrati, soprattutto i più anziani, dopo anni di duro lavoro, non è rosea. Circa l'atteggiamento, verso la terra di origine, delle vecchie e nuove generazioni, è stato confermato quanto da tempo era noto, e per certi versi scontato ma che assume particolare significato in quanto ufficialmente dichiarato da chi risiede lontano da anni o da decenni: è un atteggiamento fortemente diverso. In più ci è sembrato di capire che gli sforzi fatti in seno alle associazioni o ai Circoli toscani, ovunque, di inserire nelle strutture e nella stessa vita associativa rappresentanti delle

giovani generazioni, non hanno generalmente dato buoni risultati, anzi, oggi si guarda, al contrario di ieri, alla vita associativa legata a certi valori, come ad una “ghettizzazione”. Ai giovani oggi interessa stabilire con la terra di origine non quel particolare rapporto che nutrivano i loro padri o i loro nonni ma un più intenso e continuo collegamento con la realtà culturale, economica, socio politica di un Paese al quale guardano con simpatia e che sono fieri sia il Paese in cui sono nati i loro avi.

Di qui un atteggiamento pienamente positivo, e non solo da parte dei giovani, verso iniziative come quelle dei soggiorni in Italia di studenti o lavoratori impegnati in aziende, soggiorni che permettono loro oltretutto di entrare in contatto diretto con la lingua dei padri che tutti vorrebbero più presente anche nei cicli scolastici dei Paesi in cui risiedono. Di qui un appello che dalle comunità di tutti i continenti è rivolto in particolare al Governo centrale perché si adoperi, attraverso i Consolati e gli Istituti di Cultura e forse con strutture più agili e più moderne, per recuperare alla lingua italiana, dalle elementare alle Università, quegli spazi che pure un tempo ebbe.

Ancora un comune denominatore nelle relazioni inerenti l'informazione: è necessario che sia dato concreto aiuto ai giornali, ai periodici italiani che si stampano in tutto il mondo così come a quelli in partenza dall'Italia per i vari continenti. Inoltre, in questa civiltà globalizzata, il collegamento radiofonico e televisivo deve essere fortemente arricchito, reso effettivamente bidirezionale e la ricezione deve essere la più ampia possibile. Il delegato dell'Australia ha ricordato che fino al maggio scorso era possibile, anche se ad una piccola minoranza e a pagamento, recepire quotidianamente il telegiornale della RAI; poi questa TeleItalia è fallita e i programmi di Rai International, spesso discutibili anche nei contenuti, sono stati passati ad un consorzio arabo che ne ha comprato i diritti senza avere le potenzialità di distribuzione: oggi pochissime case sono cablate e solo 2500 italiani ricevono, a pagamento, i programmi. Questo argomento è stato ampiamente dibattuto perché centrale se vogliamo facilitare le giovani generazioni a scegliere fra una consapevole integrazione nei Paesi in cui risiedono, conservando un proprio aggancio con la terra di origine, e la più semplice e più facile assimilazione alla società del Paese ospitante.

Un cenno critico soprattutto dal Sud America ai recenti provvedimenti della “finanziaria” italiana che spesso penalizzando proprio coloro che si trovano in situazioni più disagiate per età e condizioni economiche ed un plauso, in particolare alla Regione, per le iniziative prese in questo settore.

Queste alcune considerazioni e osservazioni comuni alle cinque relazioni “continentali”, ma si tratta solo di alcune che risultano essere un po' il denominatore comune. Personalmente ho rilevato che la questione del voto agli italiani all'estero, trattata ampiamente agli inizi del Convegno dal Ministro Dini ma anche da tutti gli altri interventi ha trovato poco spazio nelle relazioni dei delegati continentali; questo conferma quanto già scritto in passato, si ha cioè l'impressione che i diretti interessati, oltre che amareggiati da come sono andate le cose, siano ormai tediati da un comportamento che è a dir poco offensivo nei loro confronti.

David Rovai

Italian American Politics: Local, Global, Cultural, Personal
Hunter College, City University of New York, 13-15 novembre 1998

La trentunesima conferenza annuale dell'American Italian Historical Association si è svolta a New York, presso lo Hunter College (City University of New York), dal 13 al 15 novembre 1998. Il titolo del convegno era “Italian American Politics: Local, Global, Cultural, Personal”.

Gli argomenti delle 43 sessioni comprendevano una gran varietà di temi e di terreni d'analisi, spaziando dagli studi di genere, alla letteratura, alla musica, al cinema, all'arte. Una tale quantità di contributi dimostra la vivacità del dibattito, prospettive di studio così differenti e talvolta nuove e stimolanti offrono una visuale a trecentosessanta gradi dell'esperienza italo-americana. Tuttavia, a livello congressuale, questa abbondante produzione crea un problema di organizzazione, costringendo allo svolgimento di cinque o sei eventi contemporaneamente. Di conseguenza, diventa impossibile seguire i lavori se non in maniera parziale. Inoltre, gli altrimenti numerosi partecipanti si disperdono nelle varie sessioni con effetti penalizzanti sulla discussione che segue gli interventi.

Il congresso ha avuto il suo prologo in una serata dedicata a Vito Marcantonio, svoltasi presso la New York University. L'evento ha avuto molto successo, anche in termini di pubblico: erano presenti circa quattrocento persone, numerose delle quali estranee alla comunità scientifica. È stato curioso osservare l'appassionata partecipazione di componenti di un gruppo che viene genericamente ritenuto di tendenze conservatrici (l'ennesimo stereotipo?), ad un incontro finalizzato alla riscoperta e alla celebrazione dell'opera di un politico radicale particolarmente attivo sul fronte dei diritti civili.

Gerald Meyer, biografo di Marcantonio, alla cui figura anomala nella storia politica statunitense ha dedicato buona parte della sua vita intellettuale, ha parlato della serata come di “un sogno divenuto realtà”. A margine degli interventi sono stati proiettati documenti filmati particolarmente interessanti: un film di propaganda dell'American Labor Party per la rielezione di Marcantonio nel 1950 e una serie di interviste a militanti vicini a Marcantonio, tra i quali Annette Rubinstein, curatrice della raccolta di discorsi di Marcantonio “I Vote My Conscience”.

Durante il congresso, su temi propriamente politici, ricordiamo favorevolmente, per il suo largo respiro, la sessione “New York from the Turn of the Century to Giuliani”. Il dibattito comprendeva un contributo su italo-americani e politica newyorkese alla fine del diciannovesimo secolo (Sergio Bugiardini), un confronto in termini politico-culturali tra Fiorello

La Guardia e Rudolph Giuliani (Tom Angotti), l'analisi degli aspetti politici di un evento di grande impatto sulla vita degli italo-americani di New York come la seconda guerra mondiale (Gary Mormino) e una riflessione su radicalismo e populismo nell'impegno pubblico di La Guardia (Gerald Meyer).

Sempre nel campo della storia politica convenzionale, ma in una prospettiva di ambito nazionale, la sessione su "Italian American Political Experience in the United States" ha visto relazioni sui governatori di origine italiana (Frank Cavaioli) e sull'ascesa politica degli italo-americani a Chicago (Dominic Candeloro) e a New York attraverso il caso del Madison Democratic Club di Brooklyn (Charles LaCerra).

A un episodio della militanza sindacale degli italo-americani è stata, invece, dedicata la sessione "The Lawrence Strike, 1912: New Approaches". Nunzio Pernicone ha esaminato il ruolo degli anarchici italiani in questo sciopero. Michael Miller Tropp si è soffermato sul significato di tale vicenda per gli anarco-sindacalisti, avanzando la tesi che questo avvenimento avrebbe segnato per Carlo Tresca la svolta che lo avrebbe allontanato da preoccupazioni di mero carattere etnico per calarlo nelle battaglie della classe operaia. Marcella Bencivenni si è occupata della produzione poetica di Arturo Giovannitti.

In un'insolita commistione di sociologia e critica letteraria, la sessione "Assimilation Politics" ha annoverato tre pregevoli relazioni. Edward Cifelli, autore di una recente biografia di John Ciardi, si è soffermato sul rapporto di questo poeta italo-americano con le sue radici etniche. Richard Juliani, di cui è appena uscito un magistrale studio sulla formazione della comunità italo-americana di Filadelfia, ha delineato un profilo di alcune delle famiglie dei primi immigrati a Filadelfia e si è interrogato sul significato dell'identità etnica degli italo-americani nelle successive generazioni fino ai nostri giorni. Louise Napolitano-Carman ha analizzato il tema dell'assimilazione nella narrativa di Pietro di Donato, John Fante e Guido D'Agostino.

Storia e politologia si sono intrecciate nella sessione "The United States and Italy: Political Themes". Salvatore LaGumina ha ricostruito il ruolo di Generoso Pope nella campagna condotta dagli italo-americani per convincere amici e parenti rimasti in Italia a non votare per i candidati del Fronte Popolare nel 1948. Louis Gesualdi ha commentato le reazioni suscitate dalla pubblicazione dell'oramai non più recente "Making Democracy Work" di Robert Putnam.

Nella sessione intitolata "Italian American Studies: The State of the Field", che ha visto la partecipazione di Rudolph Vecoli, Paola Sensi Isolani, Philip V. Cannistraro, Fred Gardaphè, Anthony Tamburri e Mary Jo Bona, è emersa una certa frustrazione per l'insufficiente coinvolgimento e supporto della comunità e delle istituzioni italo-americane alle iniziative culturali riguardanti il proprio gruppo etnico, ed è stata avvertita la necessità di intensificare il lavoro per vincere questa inerzia. D'altra parte, sono stati sottolineati i significativi risultati conseguiti per il riconoscimento della dignità accademica del settore degli studi italo-americani. Ad esempio, nel 1995, il John D. Calandra Institute è stato strutturato formalmente come istituto universitario, afferente al Queens College (City University of New York), con funzioni specificamente rivolte alla didattica e alla ricerca nell'ambito degli studi italo-americani. Presso lo stesso college è attivo proprio un insegnamento di studi italo-americani, di cui è titolare Philip Cannistraro. Un progetto ambizioso che verrà realizzato a breve sotto l'egida del Calandra Institute e del Queens College è la mostra documentale "The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement". L'esposizione, a cui stanno lavorando numerosi studiosi di prestigio dell'AIHA, sarà ospitata dalla New York Historical Society e verrà inaugurata nell'ottobre 1999.

Tra gli studiosi provenienti dall'Italia intervenuti al congresso ricordiamo Emilio Franzina, che ha aperto i lavori con una relazione sullo stato dell'arte dello studio sull'emigrazione italiana nel mondo, e Adele Maiello, che ha parlato dell'imprenditorialità italiana in California e dei suoi rapporti con la forza lavoro messicana.

La prima conferenza dell'AIHA, tenutasi nel 1968, venne dedicata a un argomento apparentemente analogo ("Ethnicity in American Political Life: The Italian American Experience") e fu incentrata su un'unica relazione scientifica di storia politica, svolta da LaGumina, sul caso dei rappresentanti italo-americani di New York City al Congresso. Trent'anni più tardi, la varietà dei temi trattati e la nutrita partecipazione a questo trentunesimo congresso testimoniano sia la crescita numerica dei membri dell'associazione sia la conferma della scelta dell'AIHA di trascendere la sola dimensione dell'analisi storica, nella direzione di un'estrema multidisciplinarietà, anche se non ancora in una compiuta prospettiva interdisciplinare. Forse proprio per questa molteplicità di spunti e approcci, mentre è evidente la grande vitalità della ricerca, è ancora difficile individuare al suo interno delle linee guida o delle tendenze "forti".

Simone Cinotto e Stefano Luconi

Segnalazioni

Emigrazione e immigrazione nei piccoli Stati

Nel marzo del 1999, in collaborazione con l'Università degli Studi e il Centro Studi permanente sull'Emigrazione, si terrà presso il Museo dell'Emigrante di San Marino un convegno di due giorni su "Emigrazione e immigrazione nei piccoli stati". Il convegno si propone di analizzare le realtà migratorie attraverso una panoramica storico-sociologica che, partendo

dall'esame della storia dell'emigrazione opererà una valutazione dei flussi di immigrazione e delle problematiche ad essi connesse. I lavori si articoleranno in interventi sulle motivazioni socio economiche e sulle condizioni culturali che hanno portato una parte della popolazione ad affrontare l'esperienza dell'emigrazione (storia dell'emigrazione e dati statistici sulle partenze, paesi d'accoglienza, mestieri, rientri).

Italian Americans: A Retrospective on the Twentieth Century, American Italian Historical Association Conference

This, the last conference of the 20th century and of the millenium, is designed to look back, re-examine and reflect on significant events that have marked the Italian immigrant experience in the United States. While presentations by scholars and researchers are invited on any topic related to the general broad theme of the conference, we especially welcome papers that focus on Italian Americans and World War II, Italian Americans and the world of entertainment, Italian Americans and Hispanics, Italian Americans and Asians, and any aspect of the Italian experience in the West. Papers are encouraged from a broad range of disciplines, ranging from anthropology, to literature, history, sociology, etc.

The conference, sponsored by Saint Mary's College of California, will be held at the Italian American Museum, located at Fort Mason in the San Francisco Marina. Proposals for individual papers should include a title and be no more than one typed page in length, while panel proposals, also with title, should be no more than three typed pages. A brief resume of each presenter should be included, the materials sent to the conference chair: Professor Paola A. Sensi-Isolani, Chair, Anthropology & Sociology Department, Saint Mary's College of California, PO Box 4613, Moraga, Ca 94575. Phone: 925-631-4776/ 4706, Fax: 925-376-2411. Proposals can also be sent online to ckelly@stmarys-ca.edu All conference presenters and panelists must be members of the American Italian Historical Association. To be eligible for consideration, dues for 1999 must be paid at the time the proposal is submitted. Checks should be made out to the AIHA and included with the proposal or sent to the Chair of the Membership Committee: Edward A. Maruggi, 51 Tobey Court, Pittsford, NY 14534-1857. Yearly membership dues are regular \$35; family/partners \$50; students \$15; retired \$20.

Proposal deadline: may 1, 1999

We encourage those interested in the conference to check the conference web site at: <http://william.stmarys-ca.edu/cynaut/AIHA>



Rassegna



Musei

Museo dell'emigrante

San Marino

L'idea di realizzare un Museo dell'Emigrante nasce nel 1980 quando a San Marino vengono istituite per legge le Comunità e la Consulta dei cittadini Sammarinesi all'estero, riuniti in 24 Comunità di cui dieci in Italia, sei in Argentina, due negli Stati Uniti, cinque in Francia ed una in Belgio.

Nel 1994 la Consulta dei Cittadini Sammarinesi Residenti all'Estro approva il progetto del Museo dell'Emigrante che viene finanziato dalla Segreteria di Stato per gli Affari Esteri.

Nell'ottobre 1996 il Congresso di Stato istituisce il Museo dell'Emigrante con annesso il Centro Studi, al quale viene assegnata come sede un'ala dell'Antico Monastero di Santa Chiara. Il convento, la cui costruzione ebbe inizio nel 1565, è stata sede fino al 1971 dell'ordine delle monache clarisse, oggi i suoi spazi sono utilizzati per convegni ed ospitano talvolta mostre temporanee ed esposizioni.

La realizzazione del Museo ha coinvolto tutta la popolazione. Sono stati resi partecipi le scuole e gli studenti universitari per effettuare interviste ad ex emigrati ed è stato raccolto nelle diverse case materiale documentale e iconografico. La ricerca è stata avviata anche nelle 24 Comunità di cittadini residenti all'Estero. Tutto il materiale esposto è frutto di donazioni e prestazioni di cittadini sammarinesi. Il Museo è finanziato da alcuni enti statali con la collaborazione di associazioni internazionali (come UNESCO e SUMS).

Le finalità di questo Museo, in sintesi, possono essere così riassunte:

Creare una grande mostra documentaria che presenti l'emigrazione sammarinese nel suo essere evento storico e racconto.

Creare un cantiere storico che permetta alla popolazione residente e non residente ai giovani ed agli anziani di operare insieme ad un progetto comune.

Creare un laboratorio interdisciplinare per costruire un discorso storico e proporre nuovi approcci ed interessi per la storia di San Marino.

Creare un luogo simbolo che nel corso degli anni, di generazione in generazione, al di là dei grandi eventi o dei piccoli fatti, al di là di singole persone o di gruppi numerosi, al di là del tempo e dello spazio, possa continuare a raccontare l'avventurosa saga di un piccolo popolo che partito per "Terre assai lontane" anela oltre che al riscatto dalla fame e ad una inconscia ascesa sociale al proprio ritorno in patria.

Il percorso espositivo del Museo, che si snoda lungo sette stanze seguendo un immaginario nastro del tempo, racconta attraverso brevi testi (ricavati dalle testimonianze orali), immagini, documenti originali ed oggetti, la storia dell'emigrazione evidenziando le grandi tematiche di questo evento: la situazione sammarinese dei primi del novecento, la partenza ed il viaggio, la creazione dei primi organismi di tutela degli emigranti, i luoghi ed i paesi di accoglienza, l'economia dell'emigrazione ed i mestieri degli emigranti. Sono stati anche ricostruiti alcuni piccoli ambienti di lavoro con relativi mestieri, per rendere l'esposizione più suggestiva ed accessibile a tutti. Inoltre lungo il percorso espositivo si trovano grafici tridimensionali che, realizzati sulla base di dati statistici, aiutano a riflettere su alcuni temi legati all'indagine storica.

La prima sala prende in considerazione tutti gli aspetti legati alla partenza e al viaggio. Si analizza la situazione economica nel nostro piccolo Stato quando l'andamento demografico e la caduta del prezzo del grano determinarono uno squilibrio tra risorse e popolazione e divenne quindi inevitabile per molti la scelta di abbandonare il paese. Si creano così dei veri e propri flussi migratori verso l'Europa e le Americhe. Questo movimento viene anche evidenziato in un grafico tridimensionale basato sul numero dei passaporti rilasciati dalla Segreteria di Stato per gli Affari Esteri tra il 1923 ed il 1940.

La seconda sala è dedicata a Pietro Franciosi, presidente della S.U.M.S. (Società Unione Mutuo Soccorso) esponente del socialismo riformista e filantropico che, nel 1907, fu ispiratore dell'istituzione dell'Ufficio per l'emigrazione temporanea in Europa, favoriva il collocamento degli operai sammarinesi, assistendoli nel nuovo ambiente di lavoro in caso di infortuni e di controversie. L'Ufficio lavorò a favore degli emigranti per più di quindici anni e cessò di fatto la propria attività nel 1923 quando fu la Segreteria di Stato per gli Affari Esteri ad occuparsi direttamente dell'emigrazione.

La terza sala è dedicata all'arrivo ed alla vita dei Sammarinesi all'estero. Un grande planisfero mostra la distribuzione territoriale degli oltre 13.000 cittadini che ancora oggi vivono lontani dal Titano. Si analizza l'iter di costituzione delle Comunità che nascono spontaneamente come comitati di assistenza e solo successivamente vengono riconosciute giuridicamente con le leggi n° 76 e 77 del 30 novembre 1979. Documenti scritti e fotografie testimoniano e raccontano

momenti di vita delle famiglie sammarinesi all'estero, pannelli testo illustrano le modalità e i regolamenti d'ingresso in alcuni paesi d'accoglienza.

La quarta sala si presenta divisa in due distinte sezioni: il lavoro all'estero ed il rientro. Braccianti e operai hanno costituito per gli anni compresi fra il 1923 e il 1940 la quota prevalente dei mestieri degli emigranti sammarinesi; ma anche ingegneri, avvocati, medici, le cui competenze non trovavano alcuno sbocco nell'economia sammarinese, hanno rappresentato un diverso, ma non trascurabile, impoverimento di risorse intellettuali e tecniche. Il flusso di ritorno dei Sammarinesi inizia negli anni '60, quando il turismo divenne il vero volano della rinascita economica. Il rientro di queste persone, profondamente cambiate in mentalità e status, fu determinante per il processo di modernizzazione che il paese visse nel secondo dopoguerra.

La quinta sala è dedicata ai mestieri svolti dagli emigrati sammarinesi e alla ricostruzione di piccoli ambienti di lavoro. Sono qui esposti molti oggetti legati alle diverse attività.

Agricoltore, garzone, serve e balie, scalpellino, minatore e muratore sono i mestieri che vengono brevemente analizzati ed approfonditi in questa sala. Agricoltore, garzone, serve e balie sono mestieri che rimandano alla realtà contadina, legata alla realtà migratoria in quanto serbatoio inesauribile di forza lavoro. Minatore e muratore sono stati i mestieri più frequentemente intrapresi dai giovani sammarinesi all'estero. Gli scalpellini sammarinesi, proprio perché, particolarmente esperti, erano molto apprezzati nei luoghi di emigrazione.

Nella sesta sala sono a disposizione del pubblico due archivi informatici, uno dei quali contiene i dati, completi di fotografie, relativi a 12.000 passaporti rilasciati tra il 1923 ed il 1961 e depositati presso l'Archivio della Segreteria di Stato per gli Affari Esteri e, l'altro, contiene una raccolta di tutte le fotografie che sono state donate al Museo da ex emigranti e che verrà aggiornato continuamente col materiale inviato dalle Comunità

Nella settima sala vengono proiettate video-interviste ad ex-emigrati rientrati in Repubblica ed un filmato realizzato non solo per illustrare, all'interno del percorso espositivo, alcuni aspetti del Museo che potrebbero sfuggire durante la visita individuale, ma anche pensato soprattutto come strumento divulgativo e di facile comprensione. Una sorta di filmato multimediale che permetta di entrare visivamente nel Museo e che intende offrire spunti di riflessione personale per stimolare una ricerca ulteriore legata alla memoria e al ricordo.

Un ultimo accenno, infine, all'ottava sala, l'antica cucina del monastero di Santa Chiara, che risale al 1800 e che è stata recentemente restaurata, ed è attualmente dedicata ad una mostra storico documentaria intitolata "bolle, lasciapassare, salvacondotti, fogli di via e... passaporti" che ha l'obiettivo di valorizzare il documento storico permettendone una vasta consultazione, mostrare le diverse fasi di restauro dei documenti cartacei, ed evidenziare come l'analisi dei documenti storici sia fonte primaria di reperibilità dei dati. La mostra è la prima di una serie di esposizioni tematiche temporanee pensate allo scopo di approfondire aspetti diversi legati alla storia dell'emigrazione.

Annesso al Museo dell'Emigrante È attivo il Centro Studi Permanente sull'Emigrazione che ha come obiettivo prioritario quello di continuare la ricerca e raccogliere tutte le informazioni, tutti i documenti e tutte le testimonianze inerenti l'emigrazione sammarinese. Per il prossimo anno intendiamo realizzare un filmato "l'emigrazione sammarinese a New York e a Detroit" e pubblicare due ricerche già avviate sull'emigrazione in Africa e il lavoro nelle miniere del Belgio.

Sono, inoltre, fase di realizzazione un CD ROM sul tema dell'emigrazione ed una visita virtuale al Museo su Internet, che completerà il sito già esistente. Sempre attraverso la rete Internet si manterranno i contatti con tutte le 24 Comunità di residenti all'Estero per avere un più rapido e diretto contatto con i cittadini all'estero e, grazie alla creazione di un sito protetto da password, per dare modo di consultare e completare l'archivio informatico.

Il Museo, candidato al "Premio per il Museo Europeo dell'anno 1998" ha ricevuto, nel febbraio scorso, la nomination che lo ha incluso nella rosa dei primi dieci candidati al premio. Il Centro è anche membro effettivo dell'AEMI – Associazione dei Centri di Studio Europei sull'Emigrazione.

Noemi Ugolini



Rassegna



Libri

Luciano Trincia

Emigrazione e diaspora. Chiesa e lavoratori italiani in Svizzera e in Germania fino alla prima guerra mondiale
Roma, Edizioni Studium, 1997, 349 pp., Lit. 46.000.

Negli ultimi anni Luciano Trincia ha lavorato molto sui collegamenti e i problemi internazionali della Chiesa cattolica di fine dell'Ottocento. Non sempre i suoi contributi hanno riguardato la storia dell'emigrazione, basti pensare, per esempio, al suo studio diplomatico su "Francia, Cina e Santa Sede: la "querelle" intorno alla nunziatura di Pechino nel 1886" (*Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, LI, 1997, pp. 1-34). Tuttavia al problema migratorio ha dedicato la tesi di dottorato (Università di Friburgo in Brisgovia), dalla quale sono germinati un intervento su *Studi Emigrazione* ("L'immigrazione italiana nell'Impero tedesco fino alla prima guerra mondiale", n. 123, 1996, pp. 370-90) e infine questo volume.

La ricerca di Trincia è benemerita. Non soltanto si basa sullo spoglio di fonti vaticane (le carte della Segreteria di Stato nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano e i dossier dell'Archivio della S. Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari), svizzere e tedesche, ma integra il dibattito storiografico sul cattolicesimo svizzero e tedesco e soprattutto arricchisce le nostre scarse conoscenze sull'immigrazione italiana nell'area tra Svizzera e Germania.

Questa regione conobbe uno sviluppo economico relativamente tardivo, rispetto a Gran Bretagna, Francia e Belgio. Tuttavia divenne rapidamente un magnete immigratorio e attirò forza-lavoro dall'Est (argomento questo abbastanza studiato: *L'emigrazione tra Italia e Germania*, a cura di Jan Petersen, Manduria-Bari, Lacaita, 1993; *Distant Magnets. Expectations and Realities in the Immigrant Experience, 1840-1930*, a cura di Dirk Hoerder e Horst Rössler, New York-London, Holmes & Meier, 1993; *European Migrants. Global and Local Perspectives*, a cura di Dirk Hoerder e Leslie Page Moch, Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1996) e dal Sud, cioè dall'Italia. Quest'ultima riforniva da secoli il mercato lavorativo dell'impero asburgico, ma a fine Ottocento ridirezionò i suoi flussi verso l'emisfero occidentale dell'area germanofona.

Gli storici, in particolare quelli italiani, non hanno approfondito modi e ragioni di tale spostamento. Esso in compenso attirò l'attenzione delle Chiese cattoliche locali (in primo luogo quella di Lorenz Wrthmann, segretario della diocesi di Friburgo e organizzatore del *Caritatsverband*), del Vaticano e di alcuni prelati italiani. Tra questi ultimi bisogna ricordare in primis Geremia Bonomelli, vescovo di Cremona e fondatore nel 1900 dell'Opera di assistenza per gli emigrati italiani in Europa, nonché gli arcivescovi di Milano e Torino e sacerdoti come Pietro Pisani, allora professore al seminario di Vercelli e in seguito uno degli specialisti romani di questioni migratorie.

Trincia ricostruisce e dipana questa complessa storia, nella quale più fili si intrecciano: rivalità entro e tra le Chiese cattoliche locali; scontri politici con lo stato in Italia e in Germania; il disprezzo xenofobo e religioso verso immigrati provenienti dal Sud e per giunta cattolici – nella Germania bismarckiana stato, protestantesimo e anticlericalismo liberale si allearono saldamente; strategie e finalità degli emigranti. E per spiegare l'intersezione dei diversi fenomeni ricorre implicitamente a una tripartizione del volume: quadro socio-politico generale; iniziative cattoliche locali; strategia cattolica internazionale e risposta svizzero-tedesca.

I primi due capitoli descrivono la genesi dei flussi verso la Svizzera e l'Impero tedesco, mentre il terzo è dedicato all'*Italianerfrage* (cioè al problema dell'assimilazione e della convivenza) nell'area germanofona. È così descritta la tela di fondo degli avvenimenti analizzati. Nel quarto capitolo sono studiate le tre minoranze cattoliche in gioco: quella svizzera, quella tedesca e quella degli emigranti italiani. Si seguono poi le iniziative tedesche (in particolare quelle di Werthmann) e svizzere per venire incontro agli italiani (cap. V) e quelle italiane per sostenere i propri conpaesani emigrati (capp. V e VI). Nel quadro di questi ultimi capitolo si descrivono i viaggi di Pisani, l'attività di Giuseppe Luraghi e della lega operaia cattolica, il coordinamento attuato e le proposte avanzate da Bonomelli e Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, vescovo di Piacenza. Infine, e siamo alla terza parte, si discutono le iniziative internazionali per sostenere e inquadrare gli emigranti.

A tal proposito Trincia nota come si inizi con la benedizione del Vaticano, ma si tenda a una sempre più spiccata autonomia locale. La protezione dell'emigrazione sfugge così al controllo vaticano e alla fine mina la centralizzazione sognata da Leone XIII e tentata ai tempi di Pio X. Una serie di funzioni è quindi demandata o meglio conquistata dai vescovi svizzero-tedeschi o da quelli italiani precipuamente interessati alla questione migratoria e comunque vicini ai luoghi di emigrazione. In questa fase la Chiesa riuscì comunque a seguire gli emigrati cattolici. Le difficoltà crebbero, anzi stavano già crescendo, quando l'emigrazione dall'Italia meridionale, scarsamente accudita dai vescovi italiani, si riversò in territori più lontani (le Americhe o l'Australia), dove un clero missionario proveniente dall'Italia settentrionale non seppe muoversi tra masse di connazionali, che in realtà sentiva assai lontani e dalle quali era poco amato.

In conclusione lo studio di Trincia non soltanto arricchisce le nostre conoscenze sull'emigrazione italiana e sul ruolo della Chiesa cattolica, italiana e internazionale, ma offre spunti per una riflessione comparativa a più ampio raggio.

Dalmazia Notari

Donne da bosco e da riviera. Un secolo di emigrazione femminile dall'alto appennino reggiano (1860-1960)
Parco dei Giganti, 1998, s.l., pp. 238.

L'opera di Dalmazia Notari si occupa dell'emigrazione femminile dell'Appennino reggiano, nell'arco di un secolo. L'emigrazione femminile, analizzata in due capitoli che riguardano cronologicamente il periodo 1860-1914 e quello del fascismo e del secondo dopoguerra, è inserita in quegli spostamenti verso le città della componente maschile, abituata a lunga tradizione migratoria, che negli anni ottanta dell'Ottocento prende la strada del lavoro di città, facendo da "battistrada" all'emigrazione femminile.

L'autrice ricostruisce la tradizione emigratoria dell'area appenninica reggiana, fatta di spostamenti periodici che hanno permesso per secoli la sopravvivenza economica e sociale di quelle popolazioni. La crisi economica dei territori di montagna colpisce nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento anche il reggiano, portando nelle aree a dipulvio dell'Appennino masse di montanari in cerca di lavoro o di informazioni sul mercato del lavoro per effettuare successivi spostamenti. La Toscana è l'area prescelta sia per uomini sia per donne, che a partire dagli anni ottanta iniziano a trovare collocazione in un mercato del lavoro tutto particolare: quello dei servi, mestiere in via di femminilizzazione, al quale le montanine di tutto l'Appennino daranno un significativo e massiccio contributo.

Per molti che si spostano dai territori montani del reggiano, come da altre del Centro Italia, restano le tradizionali aree di emigrazione stagionale, la Maremma, la Corsica, la Liguria, il Sud della Francia, con l'apertura delle nuove destinazioni transoceaniche, con un alternarsi di partenze per luoghi diversi durante l'arco della vita di in individuo o di varie generazioni che dimostra l'intercambiabilità delle destinazioni interne, europee o transoceaniche, caratteristiche di tutto l'Appennino.

All'interno di questo quadro l'autrice si occupa delle donne che emigrano, rilevando che sono prevalentemente donne sole quelle che emigrano in una prima fase fino al 1890 circa, donne che hanno un' "identità incerta": la contadina che cerca lavoro nelle città di pianura in un mercato fluttuante e instabile passa infatti spesso dal lavoro di domestica, serva, a tentativi di collocazione matrimoniale, finendo in qualche caso "perduta", con figli a carico, situazioni sentimentali difficili, talvolta anche nel mondo della prostituzione.

L'allargarsi delle prospettive di lavoro, l'aspettativa delle donne borghesi di avere domestiche robuste, resistenti, apre alle montanine con il Novecento un mercato del lavoro più conveniente e sicuro, dal quale le donne del reggiano sapranno trarre soluzioni ai propri problemi economici. La collocazione lavorativa le porterà ad assumere spesse volte un nuovo ruolo all'interno delle famiglie paterne. fino all'acquisizione di una coscienza della propria identità; caratteristiche queste che l'autrice rintraccia in maniera netta nelle donne ancora in vita ed intervistate.

Il volume (del quale è stata pubblicata in altra versione la parte sull'emigrazione femminile, nel saggio *Da contadina a serva: l'emigrazione femminile dall'Alto Appennino reggiano fra '800 e '900*, "Il Risorgimento", 3, 1997) è poi integrato da altre parti sulla realtà socio-economica dell'area studiata, sull'atteggiamento di socialisti e cattolici di fronte al problema della montagna e dell'emigrazione in generale. È questo uno dei tanti aspetti del fenomeno migratorio che meriterebbe ulteriori approfondimenti per capire meglio il legame fra emigrazione e comportamenti politici, in parte già tratteggiati dall'autrice.

Il volume ha un corredo di tavole nelle quali sono stati raccolti dati su proprietà fondiaria, popolazione residente, presente, sull'emigrazione ed immigrazione dell'area.

Da segnalare che la parte più cospicua di materiali che servono ad illustrare il fenomeno migratorio, soprattutto per la componente femminile, deriva da un lavoro di scavo negli archivi comunali che sappiamo duro, faticoso, ma ricco di "doni d'archivio", che nel caso di questa ricerca, per esempio, permettono di dar volti e definire tante storie di vita. L'unione poi di questo tipo di fonte con quella delle interviste permette di ricostruire una storia economico-sociale così complessa e nascosta nelle pieghe della Storia come quella dell'emigrazione femminile, che in questo volume assume spessore. Non era un lavoro facile, visto che come dice l'autrice: "da qualsiasi prospettiva si guardi, l'emigrazione di queste montanare somma la magmaticità delle migrazioni temporanee e la precarietà del lavoro femminile e del servizio domestico in particolare, formando un frastagliato arcipelago difficilmente perimetrabile".

Adriana Dadà

Javier P. Grossutti

I "rientri" in Friuli da Argentina, Brasile, Uruguay e Venezuela (1989-1994)
Udine, Ente Regionale per i Problemi Agrari (ERMI), 1997, pp. 122.

In base a una ricerca ancora in corso (si vedano le Conclusioni, p. 98), gli immigrati provenienti dall'America Latina e

diretti verso le regioni italiane del Nord-Est (Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Trentino Alto-Adige) sono stimati tra le 8.000 e le 10.000 persone, la maggior parte delle quali è arrivata nel biennio 1990-91. L'analisi di Grossutti è relativa a questo fenomeno e approfondisce le caratteristiche dell'immigrazione proveniente da Argentina, Brasile e Venezuela e rivolta alle province di Udine, Pordenone e Gorizia, nel periodo compreso tra il 1989 e il 1994.

Dopo una iniziale rassegna bibliografica (pp. 9-28) e alcune riflessioni sull'impatto emotivo del fenomeno del "rientro" nelle provincie friulane (pp. 29-33), il libro può essere idealmente diviso in due parti: la prima (pp. 33-76), nella quale l'Autore procede ad un esame approfondito delle stime dei rientri dai tre paesi latinoamericani, basate sui dati anagrafici forniti dai comuni; la seconda, nella quale le testimonianze degli immigrati, le relazioni di questi ultimi con le strutture pubbliche e private e con l'associazionismo latinoamericano offrono elementi di riflessione sulle forme di inserimento nella società friulana (pp. 76-94).

Le statistiche locali (l'autore sottolinea la differenza tra i dati che ha raccolto e quelli pubblicati dall'ISTAT) e le interviste, non registrate, fatte ad alcuni immigrati costituiscono le fonti principali di questa ricerca. I grafici e le mappe (pp. 43-57) sintetizzano efficacemente l'organizzazione e i risultati dello studio demografico, individuando l'inserimento dell'immigrazione latinoamericana non solo per comuni, ma anche per zone altimetriche. Nell'insieme, si tratta di 1.498 persone (dunque il 15 o il 19 per cento dell'immigrazione complessiva latinoamericana stimata nel nord-est), provenienti soprattutto dall'Argentina (1.069 immigrati) e, in misura minore, dal Venezuela (267 immigrati), dal Brasile (152) e dall'Uruguay (10).

Sin dalla Premessa, Grossutti sottolinea le caratteristiche peculiari di una immigrazione non solo connessa, ma in qualche modo causata dai flussi emigratori dei decenni precedenti la Prima guerra mondiale e del secondo dopoguerra. Si tratta infatti di emigrati che ritornano nei loro paesi di origine, oppure di figli, nipoti o pronipoti dei protagonisti della grande emigrazione.

Ai fini dell'analisi, la differenza tra i rientri e l'immigrazione è fondamentale, anche se difficile da stabilire in base ai dati statistici; la sua importanza emerge con chiarezza nella seconda parte del libro, quando le esperienze e le testimonianze dei singoli mostrano i diversi profili dei cosiddetti rientrati e degli immigrati, cioè di quei discendenti degli emigrati in Argentina, Brasile e Uruguay che hanno deciso di "tornare" nei luoghi di origine della famiglia. L'attenzione dell'Autore si sofferma su questi ultimi e particolarmente sulle forme di integrazione nella società friulana. Il quadro che ne deriva è molto diverso da quello immaginato da chi temeva, nel 1989, una sorta di invasione del Friuli da parte degli italo-argentini. Da un lato, infatti, le giovani generazioni non mirano all'inserimento definitivo in Italia, ma a soggiorni temporanei, di studio, lavoro, specializzazione. D'altro lato, l'identità italiana o friulana non è così preponderante come la società di accoglienza si aspettava. L'identità italo-latinoamericana, presente in qualche misura tra i venezuelani, che pongono in luce le differenze tra la cultura italiana e quella del resto della popolazione venezuelana, non è percepita dai giovani argentini, che non sentono alcun contrasto tra l'identità argentina e una supposta identità italo-argentina. Tutti -"rientrati" e immigrati- si adattano con difficoltà ai modelli di vita provinciali e paesani, in forte contrasto con i modelli urbani interiorizzati nei paesi di provenienza. La diversità culturale, in sostanza, è più forte degli elementi di contatto, quali la memoria dei luoghi di origine e lo status di cittadini italiani, ottenuto, per gli immigrati, mediante il doppio passaporto.

Grazie alle osservazioni di Grossutti è possibile costruire uno scenario interessante, aperto a ulteriori ricerche sul campo, che configura la formazione di minoranze italo-latinoamericane, costituite da friulani → ma soprattutto da discendenti di friulani → che hanno vissuto l'esperienza migratoria. In tal senso, le attività svolte dalle associazioni argentine e dalla ancora informale associazione venezuelana (mostre artigianali, proiezione di film, riunioni gastronomiche, celebrazione di messe, corsi di lingue) e descritte paragrafo 2.6 sono gli indizi non solo della ricerca di una collocazione nel mondo del lavoro (commercio, insegnamento della lingua) e del desiderio di ricreare all'estero le forme di socializzazione americane, ma anche della necessità di far conoscere un patrimonio culturale probabilmente ignorato o sottovalutato nei luoghi di immigrazione.

Chiara Vangelista

Joseph Pivato, a cura di
The Anthology of Italian-Canadian Writing
Toronto, Guernica Editions, 1998, pp. 387.

Pasquale Verdicchio
Devils in Paradise. Writings on Post-Emigrant Cultures
Guernica Editions, 1997, pp. 160.

Devils in Paradise è un titolo molto intrigante: se in letteratura il Paradiso quasi non esiste senza il nostro Dante, più volte citato nei saggi raccolti nel volume, quei diavoli fuori luogo ci spingono culturalmente altrove ed è il cieco Milton che ci guida con passo sicuro verso qualcosa di più terragno. Siamo di fronte a un paradiso riconquistato, quindi, all'altro capo del mondo, e se i diavoli ci ritornano, non possono altro che ridiventare angeli. Rimane, forse, il contrappasso: se Lucifero/Pasquale millanta la riconquista del Paradiso/Napoli/Italia per rasserenarsi nella memoria delle lingue della sua

infanzia, si ritrova sempre negli sconfinati spazi nordamericani volontariamente a ricostruire sottovoce la sua storia in una lingua che è diventata tutta sua perché non gli appartiene mai.

La questione meridionale e la questione della lingua, chiaramente manifestate nei primi due saggi, “Subalterns Abroad” e “The Borders of Writing”, scandiscono il ritmo del volume e diventano i temi conduttori ed unificanti per proporre un “non canone” contro l’inferno bifronte che brucia e consuma gli scrittori emigrati/espatriati nel Nord America e particolarmente nel Canada. Verdicchio lancia dantescoemente moniti al suo luciferino manipolo di scrittori italo canadesi affinché smettano di considerarsi e di accettare di essere considerati dei poveri diavoli, e li incita a considerare la loro vera semenza. Non ascoltate i canti nostalgici delle itale sirene, che idealizzano l’unità della patria lontana, o quelli altrettanto mistificatori del ben orchestrato coro canadese, arrangiato sulle basi del mosaico etnico, ma esprimetevi fuor di lingua, fate incursioni nell’inglese e nel francese minandone struttura e senso con un italiano ad orologeria, anzi, fate brillare le micce dei vostri dialetti; lasciate tracce linguistiche, ma non fatevi incastrare nei canoni di critici che non sanno leggere; restiamo uniti sotto le loro etichette di comodo, ma sparsi per tutti i territori, indivisibili nella comune solitudine: se ci vogliono catturare, dovranno uscire dai loro bastioni culturali, dovranno decifrare i nostri messaggi, appropriarsi dei nostri codici, imparare le nostre lingue... ma quando i gendarmi letterari italiani e canadesi entreranno in un covo italo canadese, troveranno soltanto nuove tracce da decrittare con vecchi cifrari. Altroché Gramsci! Solo alla fine del libro il Comandante Verdicchio si lascia intervistare con il passamontagna parzialmente alzato, e controlla il suo messaggio dirompente traducendolo ad uso di lettori di lingua inglese o, almeno, così sembra suggerirci il sottotitolo, *Writings on Post-Emigrant Cultures*. Un lettore italiano smaliziato, per quanto più uso ad affrontare testi in altre lingue padronali di quanto non lo sia il lettore canadese nell’interpretare quelli in lingue subalterne come l’italiano e i suoi dialetti, si rende subito conto che, non solo sulla base dei labili riferimenti al ’68, ma ancor più a certe frequentazioni eversive come Artaud, Modotti, Pasolini e Porta, solo per citarne alcuni, se avessero acchiappato Verdicchio in territorio italiano in quel periodo, qualsiasi tribunale letterario lo avrebbe condannato all’ergastolo come un ideologo inequivocabilmente pericoloso. Ma se gli scrittori italo canadesi accettassero il manifesto di Verdicchio, in quali termini esisterebbero veramente? Come possiamo mappare il loro DNA letterario per individuarli e sapere chi sono?

The Anthology of Italian-Canadian Writing, a cura di Joseph Pivato, sembra offrirci l’aiuto necessario in termini altrettanto impudenti, ma con una strategia apparentemente accettabile e tradizionale, quindi, antitetica a quella dell’amico Verdicchio. Le brevi pagine dell’introduzione e quelle dedicate alle più di cinquanta biografie degli scrittori antologizzati sotto l’etichetta italo-canadese, accennano alle storie personali e permettono a Pivato di costruire la Storia del gruppo secondo il “canone”, non partendo dalle solite candele romane accese nel 1978, quasi nello stesso periodo in cui l’Accademia italiana scopriva la letteratura canadese, ma risalendo alla prima traccia in lingua italiana nella Nuova Francia, la Breve relazione del 1653 del missionario gesuita Bressani, anzi, perfino al primo piede italiano che ha calcato il suolo canadese, John Cabot, nel 1497. Pivato sembra dirci che Pasquale ha ragione, ma dal momento che non riusciamo a capire chi sono e che cosa stanno scrivendo, ci traduce tutto in termini a noi comprensibili.

“Questa non è una delle tante antologie qui citate, ma è l’antologia dove potete trovare la storia, le date, i nomi, le biografie e una scelta tratta dai testi più importanti per noi; personalmente di scrittori ne ho trovati più di centoventi, che scrivono in inglese, francese, italiano e dialetti, ogni genere di forma letteraria tradizionalmente catalogata secondo il vostro canone. Come vedete, non sono il solito gruppo, ci sono tutti i diavoli del paradiso, cominciate a fare lo sforzo di leggerli e mi sapete dire”.

Dovremmo ora elencare tutti gli scrittori, oppure, come in ogni recensione che si rispetti, solo quelli che ci piacciono maggiormente? Preferiamo per ora lasciare questa responsabilità a ciascun lettore, anche perché a questo punto ci accorgiamo che i dati numerici, le date, i fatti, le quantità ci mettono con le spalle al muro perché l’antologia è un *sample corpus*, dove non ci possiamo più formalizzare davanti alla presenza o all’assenza del trattino, dove le ripetitive esperienze etniche diventano *pattern* letterari, oppure dove una loro dichiarata assenza non esclude l’essenza etnica da scavare fuori dalle lingue, da stanare nella trappola dei significati delle esperienze canadese. D’altronde, “a man is made out of muscle and blood”, come dice la canzone, e di qui escono sentimenti e sensazioni, desideri e manifesti, ideologie e sogni per attraversare tutti i confini, aggiungendo timbri a timbri nell’anima.

Due libri, quindi, non contrapposti, ma quasi sovrapposti, che ci costringono a ripensare quanto si è detto fino ad ora, che ci portano a disserrare il già letto con altre chiavi, che ci sfidano a inventare nuovi canoni per deglutire il loro non canone, rimboccandoci le maniche e faticando con gli attrezzi della linguistica e della letteratura comparate. Sia Verdicchio sia Pivato ammettono che la scrittura italo canadese è il prodotto di una minoranza, ma ci avvertono che minore, pur avendo la stessa radice, non è automaticamente applicabile al loro prodotto. Che complicazioni questa lingua materna, quasi mai nostra.

Raffaele Cocchi

Eleonora Maria Smolensky, Elba Maria Casetta e Alberto Spadoni
Storie di immigrati toscani a Buenos Aires
s.l., Associazione Lucchesi e Toscani nel mondo, s.d., pp. 13.

Gustavo A. Brandariz

La presencia de los toscanos en el paisaje urbano de Buenos Aires

Associazione lucchesi e toscani nel mondo, Buenos Aires, 1998, pp. 88.

L'Associazione Lucchesi e Toscani nel mondo ha avviato in Argentina con questi due volumi una collana di studi intitolata "Quaderni dell'immigrazione/ Cuadernos de la inmigracion", dedicata alla ricerca delle radici della toscanità degli immigrati in Argentina, in sintonia con gli obbiettivi della Consulta Regionale dei Toscani all'Estero che cofinanzia le pubblicazioni. I volumi finora pubblicati sono dedicati all'analisi della presenza dei toscani nell'area di Buenos Aires per ciò che attiene sia l'attività culturale sia l'identità dei toscani emigrati.

Il primo, a cura di Smolensky, Casetta e Spadoni, raccoglie una serie di interviste ad emigrati, prevalentemente toscani, nel tentativo di ricostruire le motivazioni del loro espatrio, le vicende della loro permanenza a Buenos Aires, i legami conservati con la zona d'origine. "Molti di loro, argentini che portano il segno, l'impronta della cultura delle proprie origini (come i muratori italiani), cullati dalle loro mamme con quelle vecchie canzoni toscane riscattano per sè e per i propri figli la nazionalità dei loro antenati, la lingua, un nome ed una storia, un posto della loro cultura. Come un'eredità che non dovrà sparire perché, con le loro azioni, cercano di darle il posto che deve avere: quello di aver servito per costruire la propria storia che è una parte della storia dell'Argentina.

La ricerca, basata su interviste, punta alla ricostruzione della crescita di questa consapevolezza, rotta qua e là dall'emozione del ripercorrere esperienze di strappi dalle proprie terre di origine, dalla nostalgia di un ambiente che resta nel cuore e nel cervello per sempre. Si tratta di una nostalgia sulla quale si può lavorare per esistere, per costruire una vita al di là dell'Oceano che separa dai luoghi di origine ai quali si cercherà sempre di ritornare con i ricordi, i viaggi in qualche caso, come quello di una donna intervistata, rientrando alla propria terra anche contro il parere di amici e parenti, che continueranno a richiederla in Argentina. Ma la vita di tutti gli emigrati come lei è segnata da una separazione definitiva, qualunque sia la scelta: "Molti mi dicono "Perché non ritorni, giacché sei sola?" [a Montepulciano, Siena]. No, dopo più di quarantacinque anni non si può ricominciare un'altra volta. Siamo come una gallina d'un altro pollaio, francamente, adesso siamo un po' di qua, un po' di là e non siamo di nessuna parte. Abbiamo due patrie e qual'è la propria? Non si sa. Però, vivere, qua".

Una raccolta molto semplice e "primitiva" di testimonianze, che non hanno quindi alcuna pretesa di lavoro scientifico, ma intendono far riflettere immigrati in Argentina e toscani tutti sulle proprie radici ed esperienze.

Il secondo volume della collana, è, a differenze del primo, nella lingua del paese di adozione e si occupa della presenza dei toscani nel paesaggio urbano di Buenos Aires. Il volume dà dei flashes sulla presenza della cultura toscana nel paesaggio urbano di Buenos Aires, attraverso l'analisi del ruolo di artisti, architetti, ingegneri, imprese edili, nella costruzione di opere di edilizia e scultura che hanno dei possibili riferimenti con una "toscanità" di queste arti e mestieri. L'operazione lascia un po' perplessi, nel senso che sono accomunati in questo mito della cultura artistica toscana, definita sulla base del paesaggio, dell'architettura e delle varie arti tipiche soprattutto di Firenze, Pisa Siena, artisti toscani con esperienze culturali varie, artisti non toscani che hanno studiato o lavorato in Toscana.

Pur con questa impostazione un po' esasperata ci offre comunque una serie di ritratti di artisti, – pittori, scultori – ingegneri, che hanno operato nel paesaggio urbano di Buenos Aires, interessanti non solo per le loro opere, ma per come sono state accolte, integrate in una dimensione di multiculturalità che la città ha necessariamente espresso nell'ultimo secolo e mezzo.

Il libro è arricchito da foto di palazzi, opere di pittori e scultori, che ci danno in qualche caso la dimostrazione delle radici culturali legate a realtà delle varie parti della Toscana. In altre occasioni sembrano mostrarci l'eclettismo e l'apertura ad ambienti culturali molto più ampi, come nel caso della Torre Pirelli a Buenos Aires, opera di un architetto livornese.

Adriana Dadà

Assunta Tagliaferri

America Latina feconda di martiri. I 12 missionari italiani che hanno dato la vita per la Chiesa latinoamericana

Fondazione CUM, Centro Unitario Missionario, Verona 1998, pp. 95, lire 10.000.

Il libro, scritto da una missionaria che ha operato nelle Filippine, in Africa e in America Latina, rientra nel genere dell'agiografia religiosa. Vengono infatti presentate sinteticamente la vita e le opere di una schiera di sacerdoti e di missionari laici cattolici italiani che hanno incontrato una morte violenta in America Latina. Insieme alla storia succinta di due personalità latinoamericane (l'arcivescovo Romero di El Salvador e il sindacalista brasiliano Chico Mendes), le vicende di questi missionari cattolici italiani, originari soprattutto dal Nordest della penisola, possono anche costituire un particolare punto di osservazione delle tensioni politiche e sociali nell'America Latina degli anni ottanta e novanta. Infatti, ad eccezione di alcuni incidenti o assassinii per futili motivi, le uccisioni dei missionari si collocano soprattutto all'interno di dinamiche locali, mettendo in evidenza la durezza e la drammaticità degli scontri.

I missionari uccisi nei paesi dell'America centrale dai guerriglieri degli anni ottanta o, più recentemente, in Perù, ad

opera dei seguaci di Sendero Luminoso, oppure in Brasile, all'interno degli scontri tra piccoli e grandi proprietari terrieri mostrano inoltre uno degli aspetti più importanti e discussi dell'azione della chiesa cattolica in America Latina.

Chiara Vangelista

Vania Beatriz Merlotti Herédia

Processo de industrialização da Zona Colonial Italiana

EDUCS, Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 1997, pp. 240.

Il libro è una elaborazione della tesi di dottorato in Storia delle Americhe, difesa dall'Autrice all'Università degli Studi di Genova, ed è finalizzato allo studio della storia del *Lanifício São Pedro*, la prima industria tessile della regione, sorta alla fine del secolo scorso a Caxias do Sul, nello stato brasiliano del Rio Grande do Sul.

Lo studio di caso permette di approfondire alcuni aspetti della formazione della colonia di Caxias e della sua funzione di nucleo di sviluppo economico, individuando le condizioni sociali, economiche e politiche che permisero, insieme ad alcune congiunture favorevoli (ad esempio le commesse militari, a partire dalla Prima guerra mondiale; la politica di sostituzione delle esportazioni, a partire dal 1930) l'affermazione di una fabbrica operante per tutto il secolo.

Il libro è diviso in tre parti: dopo un'analisi delle condizioni sociali ed economiche nelle quali si sviluppò la colonizzazione di Caxias do Sul ("Fundamentos do desenvolvimento da Zona Colonial Italiana no Nordeste do Rio Grande do Sul", pp. 29-81), l'esame della nascita e dell'affermazione sul mercato locale e regionale del Lanifício São Pedro costituisce la parte centrale e più consistente dell'opera (parte seconda: "Condições socio-econômicas da indústria têxtil na Zona Colonial do Rio Grande do Sul", pp. 83-199). La terza ed ultima parte è dedicata allo studio della città operaia di Galópolis, sorta attorno al lanificio, e alle relazioni sociali che in essa si sono sviluppate, dalla sua nascita ai giorni nostri ("Desenvolvimento econômico e social de Galópolis a partir da Companhia Lanifício São Pedro", pp. 201-25).

Lo studio si avvale di un consistente corpo documentale, offerto dall'archivio della fabbrica (che purtroppo è stato privato di una parte della documentazione, in un periodo precedente alla ricerca svolta da Heredia), dagli archivi parrocchiali e vescovili, dal catasto e da ogni archivio, locale e regionale, che potesse offrire documentazione atta alla ricostruzione della storia del Lanificio.

Alle fonti scritte si sono aggiunte le fonti orali, raccolte dal 1989 al 1991, tra ex operai e impiegati della fabbrica e tra i dirigenti e aderenti alle associazioni sindacali locali.

Il lavoro di Vania Merlotti Herédia mostra come la storia delle imprese sia un approccio fondamentale per la ricostruzione della storia di una microregione della quale la storiografia ha evidenziato per lungo tempo soltanto la dimensione rurale e contadina. Nel libro emerge invece l'articolazione tra settore rurale e industriale e, in entrambi, la forza innovativa del processo migratorio. Nato come cooperativa fondata da un gruppo di operai di Schio, emigrati a Caxias do Sul (1894-1906), il Lanificio trasforma nel corso del secolo la sua organizzazione interna e conquista nuovi mercati, grazie sia ad alcune circostanze politiche ed economiche, sia alla capacità di effettuare il salto qualitativo da attività artigianale a industria, mettendo a frutto le condizioni favorevoli di un mercato in espansione.

Lo studio di Galópolis, la città operaia fondata dai primi immigrati da Schio e sviluppatasi nei decenni successivi, mostra in modo efficace le relazioni politiche, sociali ed economiche che sono alla base del successo dell'impresa e evidenzia nel contempo i tratti salienti di una società che, nata da un progetto statale di popolamento, segue un autonomo processo di formazione e di trasformazione.

Chiara Vangelista

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Rassegna



Riviste

Regione Toscana, Giunta Regionale dei Toscani all'Estero,
"Storia dell'emigrazione toscana"
Quaderni 1, s.d., settembre 1998

La Giunta della Regione Toscana, unitamente alla Consulta Regionale dei Toscani all'Estero, ha avviato un programma di "attività che racconti e ricordi le storie della nostra storia", soprattutto dei cittadini partiti negli ultimi secoli dalla Toscana, delle loro realizzazioni in altre terre, dei loro "rientri" più o meno fortunati.

Il primo numero della pubblicazione periodica "Storia dell'emigrazione toscana. Quaderni", che dà il via a queste iniziative si presenta come un numero monografico sull'emigrazione lucchese, con materiali di vario tipo. Il primo saggio, "Profilo dell'emigrazione lucchese" è infatti la riproposizione di materiali pubblicati in precedenza da David Rovai. Ne discende un'impostazione di ricerca con alcune carenze rispetto ai riferimenti storiografici più recenti.

Il saggio è utile a ricostruire non solo la lunga serie di emigrazioni delle *élites* di mercanti e banchieri che dal Cinquecento videro numerosi lucchesi tenere rapporti e spostare i propri interessi verso le maggiori piazze commerciali d'Europa, ma anche la storia dell'emigrazione delle migliaia di "gente comune", partita negli ultimi due secoli, definita come "i senza voce".

Per la stesura di questa parte del lavoro l'autore utilizza i ricchi materiali dell'Archivio Comunale di Lucca, relativi alla corrispondenza intercorsa nel periodo 1894-97 fra il sindaco e semplici cittadini che dall'estero si rivolgono all'autorità comunale per chiedere aiuto nella ricerca di persone, nel disbrigo di pratiche, finanche nel riscuotere denari da depositi bancari lucchesi.

Come ben si sa è questa una delle fonti più preziose per la storia dell'emigrazione che ci permette di cogliere attraverso le difficoltà in cui versa l'emigrante uno spaccato della vita quotidiana, dove i sentimenti della bntanza, le difficoltà finanziarie ed emotive si evidenziano in forma diretta. Tanto che fra le lettere, contenenti in genere richieste precise su fatti materiali, l'autore ne ha rintracciata una dalla California che efficacemente sintetizza lo stato d'animo di tanti emigranti, che "non [ho] potuto fare cinquecento lire per ritornare e vedere i [miei] figli che aspiro di vederli", per cui "La prego di non ammettere più a nissuno di venire qua perché è più grosso il patire che del godere". Peccato che le indicazioni dei riferimenti archivistici di questi numerosi estratti di lettere siano assenti.

Il secondo saggio "L'emigrazione lucchese in Australia occidentale. Distribuzione geografica e scelte occupazionali" è il lavoro di uno studioso italiano che svolge la propria attività presso l'Università di Perth in Australia. Egli ha così avuto modo di consultare gli archivi australiani di Perth, soprattutto per quanto riguarda le naturalizzazioni richieste dai residenti stranieri del periodo 1900-60 e i moduli di entrata in Australia del periodo 1949-64.

Emigrati, come da altre parti d'Italia, negli anni venti-trenta e poi nel periodo postbellico, ma soprattutto nel periodo 1950/60, gli emigrati toscani provengono prevalentemente dalla Lucchesia, anche se non mancano provenienze dalle altre aree. L'autore si è occupato di dati relativi a 1400 persone, prevalentemente lucchesi, per i quali dispone di informazioni concernenti la data e la località di nascita, L'occupazione dichiarata in Italia, la data di arrivo in Australia, la professione esercitata nel nuovo paese, la località di residenza.

I dati relativi alle occupazioni verificate sull'analisi del campione e da interviste effettuate dal ricercatore dimostrano la veridicità degli studi precedenti; prevalgono nettamente infatti impieghi nel settore minerario e nel disboscamento delle aree interne dell'Australia occidentale. Anche in questa area è poi facile imbattersi in un'attività terziaria tipica di questo tipo di emigrazione, quella legata alla ristorazione che comprende cuochi, camerieri, personale di servizio.

Il maggior esito di emigrazione definitiva o di lunga durata, verificata per quest'area australiana rispetto all'emigrazione toscana e lucchese in altri paesi, è, come per gli emigranti provenienti da altre regioni, legata all'occupazione di posti di lavoro a livello medio-basso; da questo discendeva spesso l'impossibilità del ritorno anche il per il costo del viaggio e la grande distanza con l'Italia.

Adriana Dadà

Lucilla Briganti
"L'emigrazione toscana in America Latina tra '800 e '900"
Africana. Miscellanea di studi extraeuropei, 1997, pp. 41-59.

Da alcuni anni l'autrice svolge ricerche sull'emigrazione dalla Lucchesia al Brasile nel periodo a cavallo del XX secolo. Con questo articolo ha voluto estendere il settore di ricerca a tutta quella che fu l'emigrazione della regione verso il continente sudamericano. Si tratta di una prima ricognizione che utilizza sia la bibliografia esistente, sia lo studio

geografico-quantitativo delle direzioni dei principali flussi dalle varie province verso gli insediamenti latinoamericani nel periodo della grande emigrazione.

Questa impostazione va di pari passo con gli studi avviati per la Toscana, mirati su microaree che delineano, attraverso l'analisi sistematica di molteplici fonti, le strategie di emigrazione, le reti di collegamento e l'inserimento nelle nuove realtà.

L'articolo è strutturato in tre parti; nella prima viene descritto in modo cronologico e sommario l'avvicinarsi delle presenze toscane nel continente, dai marinai livornesi e viareggini che affiancano i liguri nel piccolo cabotaggio fluviale sul "Plata" intorno al 1850, agli artigiani girovaghi della fascia appenninica (Garfagnana, Lunigiana e Pistoiese) che percorrono la pampa, le *picadas* e le *fazendas* brasiliane per vendere "chicaglierie, pannine e statuine di gesso", ed infine al consistente flusso di famiglie di piccoli contadini e braccianti che emigrano sempre più dalle zone montane e collinari ma anche dalle pianure di tutte le province.

L'America Latina fu il principale sbocco dell'emigrazione transoceanica dalla regione fino alla fine del secolo, ed il Brasile rappresentò la meta principale (nel periodo 1887-1902 la Toscana era al quinto posto fra le regioni italiane come numero di espatri verso questo paese). I dati aggregati su base provinciale rilevano alcune specificità nelle direzioni ed individuano come principali bacini emigratori le province di Lucca e Massa Carrara.

Nella seconda parte del saggio della Briganti vengono presentati alcuni degli insediamenti principali dei toscani in America Latina, una mappa costellata da tante destinazioni, da cui emerge anche il ruolo delle catene migratorie familiari e compaesane. Da ultimo viene descritto un caso di catena emigratoria molto interessante emerso dalle ricerche svolte negli archivi comunali della provincia di Lucca: i carbonai di Corsagna (comune di Borgo a Mozzano, in provincia di Lucca) a Campo Grande (Rio de Janeiro), con un avvicinarsi di componenti di più gruppi familiari esercitanti sempre mestieri legati dapprima alla produzione, poi anche alla vendita di carbone e, più tardi, di altri combustibili.

L'articolo mette in risalto come, per portare a termine un'indagine esaustiva del fenomeno, siano necessarie ancora molte ricerche nella documentazione esistente su base locale, non solo per quanto riguarda gli aspetti statistico-demografici e storico-economico-sociali, ma manchino anche le analisi svolte nei luoghi di arrivo per individuare ulteriori connessioni che legano alcune aree di questa regione con specifiche zone oltreoceano. Nell'insieme l'autrice ci offre un esempio ben impostato e documentato di ricostruzione di percorsi e reti emigratorie di parecchi decenni fra due aree ben individuate e per un mestiere specifico – quello dei carbonai – tipico dell'area montuosa appenninica, ma ancora poco studiato.

Adriana Dadà

Donna R. Gabaccia [et al.]

"Food, Recipes, Cookbooks, and Italian-American Life"

Italian Americana, Volume XVI, Number 1 (Winter 1998), Number 2 (Summer 1998)

Basta una visita al supermercato "Super Fresh", all'incrocio tra la 5th e Delaney Street nel centro di Philadelphia, per rimanere colpiti dalla grande quantità e varietà di cibi "italiani" sugli scaffali. Ce ne sono a decine: Alfredo Pasta Roni, Maggio Provolone Cheese, Sorrento Shredded Mozzarella, Celentano Eggplant Parmesan, Carando Mortadella, Floresta Square Ravioli e via dicendo. Tralasciando il fatto che questi cibi ricordano molto da lontano gli "originali", nondimeno si tratta di prodotti chiaramente etichettati e presentati come italiani. Non siamo in una Little Italy d'inizio secolo, ma a due anni dal 2000, in un supermercato situato in una zona residenziale, abitato da famiglie di professionisti WASP.

Questo è un indizio di una realtà che solo recentemente ha cominciato ad essere studiata: il cibo è l'elemento dell'esperienza italoamericana di più grande influenza e durata nella società e nella cultura americana. Gli italoamericani ne sono ben consci e ne sono orgogliosi. Essi hanno sopportato a lungo il peso di un'immagine negativa che ha concorso a ritardare il loro successo nelle professioni: l'essere associati dai media e nell'immaginario collettivo alla malavita organizzata, alla partecipazione alla guerra dalla parte "sbagliata", ad un certo ritardo nell'assimilazione e nella scolarizzazione. Questo ritratto negativo è un problema diffusamente sentito tra gli italoamericani. La cucina invece, così ampiamente apprezzata dagli altri americani, costituisce l'aspetto più positivo di questa immagine.

Il cibo, inoltre, è un elemento culturale, materiale e simbolico intimamente collegato alla vita delle comunità e delle famiglie italoamericane. Infine, ma non meno importante, il settore dell'importazione e della vendita di prodotti alimentari e dei ristoranti ha costituito per molti immigrati e per i loro figli un'opportunità unica per sfuggire ad un lavoro salariato e costituire la propria impresa indipendente, nella grande tradizione degli American Dreamers.

Detto della centralità del cibo nella vita italoamericana, non stupisce l'interesse per l'argomento di uno storico di primissimo piano come Donna Gabaccia. La studiosa della North Carolina ha pubblicato da poco un libro sul significato delle cucine etniche nella società americana in prospettiva storica (*We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*, Harvard University Press) e questo saggio sui cookbooks di cui è la coordinatrice. L'articolo è composto da cinque parti: Gabaccia firma "Italian-American cookbooks: from oral to print culture"; Carol Helstosky, "The tradition of invention: reading history through "La cucina napoletana"; di Helen Barolini viene riproposta l'introduzione del suo libro di ricette "Festa" ("Heritage lost, heritage found"); seguono altri due contributi di autrici di cookbooks: Catherine Tripalin Murray, "A taste of memories" e Cassandra Vivian "The Italian immigrant kitchen: a journey into identity".

Il lavoro di Donna Gabaccia si segnala innanzitutto per l'encomiabile volontà di alzare il livello del discorso e di portarlo sul terreno metodologico. I libri di ricette sono naturalmente delle fonti importanti per lo studio storico dei costumi

alimentari, di una cucina e, come in questo caso, di una cucina etnica. Gabaccia concentra la sua attenzione su “quei cookbooks scritti da, o per, gli immigrati e i loro discendenti, e particolarmente su quei cookbooks che offrono informazioni sulla cucina e sui cibi di origine italiana nelle cucine degli immigrati italiani e dei loro discendenti”. Ma il problema è che, mentre nelle case delle massaie americane i libri di ricette erano molto numerosi e diffusi già a metà del secolo scorso, in Italia questi erano rarissimi. Le tradizioni culinarie popolari venivano trasmesse oralmente: come dice la stessa Gabaccia, “gli immigrati che giungevano negli Stati Uniti portavano le loro ricette con sè nella loro testa”. La quasi totalità delle immigrate (e degli immigrati) giunti negli Stati Uniti durante la grande ondata migratoria della volta del secolo cucinavano nei modi che avevano appreso in famiglia e senza usare unità di misure precise e facilmente condivisibili. Questo è proprio uno dei motivi per cui la cucina è un simbolo della tradizione familiare riguardato con tanto affetto; perchè è parte del “sapere” familiare ed è legato a persone care o al loro ricordo. Si cucina un certo piatto in un certo modo perchè così faceva la mamma, la nonna, la suocera o la cognata. Spesso la “tradizione” non nasce neanche dalle spiegazioni fornite da queste cuoche, ma dalla semplice osservazione.

Pochissimi libri di ricette scritti da immigrati italiani sono stati pubblicati negli Stati Uniti. Almeno così risulta dalla più grande collezione di cookbooks esistente, quella della New York Public Library. Gabaccia cita un “The Italian Cookbook” pubblicato a New York nel 1919 e “Il cuoco di tutti” pubblicato a Firenze e venduto a San Francisco nel 1923, prima della versione dell'Artusi adattata e tradotta in inglese (1940). Gli immigrati hanno lasciato direttamente una minima documentazione scritta della loro cucina. Questo fatto è anche indicativo del disinteresse del pubblico americano, fino a molto dopo la Seconda Guerra Mondiale, per la cucina degli immigrati, almeno se erano loro a scriverne. I “foreign cookbooks” venivano pensati come un mezzo per espandere la conoscenza gastronomica del lettore americano, permettergli di variare la sua dieta, preparare piatti salutari, imparare ad utilizzare al meglio ingredienti economici. Quasi invariabilmente gli autori erano americani “che avevano viaggiato e conoscevano bene quel paese” o esperti stranieri. Come osserva Donna Gabaccia, anche quando gli autori erano cuochi italoamericani, questi tendevano a presentare la cucina dell'Italia del dopoguerra ad un pubblico americano.

A seguito della *new ethnicity* degli anni sessanta e settanta i libri sulla cucina delle Little Italy hanno finalmente trovato un'audience. Ciò è avvenuto, occorre sottolinearlo, quando gli altri americani avevano imparato da tempo ad apprezzare e a cucinare nelle loro case alcune specialità come spaghetti, lasagne e pizza. A quel punto, cioè solo dopo l'accettazione e l'approvazione da parte della cultura dominante, si sono moltiplicati i *community cookbook*.

Questi ricettari sono scritti da discendenti di immigrati, spesso pensati per raccogliere fondi a favore di associazioni a carattere etnico, e rivolti principalmente ad un pubblico etnico anch'esso. I *community cookbooks* sono tentativi di preservare un'eredità che va scomparendo, un atto d'amore verso l'esperienza degli immigrati, della propria famiglia e della comunità attraverso le generazioni. Soprattutto le ricette sono un mezzo peculiare per ricercare le proprie “radici”, quel patrimonio di tradizioni e conoscenze che costituisce il retaggio culturale degli italiani d'America. L'identità è legata alla memoria. I sapori e gli odori della cucina materna fanno parte della storia personale di ognuno (più spesso, in questo caso, bisognerebbe parlare di cucina della nonna). Queste memorie sono condivise dagli appartenenti al gruppo etnico e perciò costituiscono una parte della memoria collettiva su cui si basa l'identità del gruppo nel suo insieme.

Le riflessioni delle tre autrici di *cookbook* rivelano tutte una comune motivazione: collegare le ricette alla memoria, alla storia della propria famiglia e alla propria identità.

Cassandra Vivian ha raccolto le ricette di “Immigrant's Kitchen: Italian” dalla madre, figlia di immigrati della provincia di Arezzo. Nel suo articolo espone dettagliatamente tutte le operazioni creative e finanziarie che le hanno permesso di realizzare il suo progetto. Vivian sottolinea come la cucina della sua famiglia abbia subito relativamente poche alterazioni nel tempo. Si tratta di una cucina regionale, che ha poco a che fare con quella di origine meridionale, che è diventata la cucina italoamericana nelle sue forme più diffuse. È interessante notare come Cassandra Vivian abbia dovuto metodicamente tradurre in unità di misura “un pizzico di questo” e “un po' di quello” di cui le parlava la madre.

Helen Barolini, l'autrice di *Festa* è anch'essa un'italoamericana di terza generazione. Il cibo occupa uno spazio centrale nei suoi ricordi e nella definizione della sua etnicità: “Mangiando, ricordo. My memory seems more and more tied to the table, to a full table of good food and festivity; to the place of food and ritual and celebration in life. Food is the medium of my remembrance – of my memory of Italy and family and children at my table”. Ma la scrittrice ricorda anche il giovanile disgusto provato per i cibi italiani “in a import store which I hated to enter because of the smells – smells that were Italian and which intensified my own determination not to be.” Quei cibi erano doppiamente disgustosi perchè non-americani, come evidentemente alieni erano coloro che li vendevano. Solo dopo la diretta conoscenza dell'Italia e il matrimonio con lo scrittore-gourmet Antonio Barolini, la scrittrice scoprì il cibo italiano e la sua italianità. L'identità è anche una questione di scelta, di incontri, di abbandoni e di ritorni.

Catherine Tripalin Murray dice del suo libro di ricette raccolte nel quartiere italiano di Madison, Wisconsin, “Ho scritto questo libro perchè volevo conoscere mia nonna [morta poco prima che lei nascesse]. Volevo ricattare un'epoca e la sua gente... mentre diventavo parte della comunità siciliana/italiana che amavo così tanto ma di cui non avevo mai fatto parte”.

Qua e là compare un certo intento celebrativo romanticizzante che comporta il rischio di confondere il proprio passato con quello che si crede essere il proprio passato. O con quello che si vorrebbe che fosse. Di questo aspetto dei *community cookbooks* occorre tenere conto, a mio avviso, a proposito dell'utilizzo scientifico di questi libri che viene caldeggiato nell'articolo, “cookbooks remain the single best starting place for this project, [recovering the history of Italian American cooking]”. Se i *community cookbooks* devono testimoniare l'eccezionale persistenza del cibo etnico anche tra la terza e la

quarta generazione di italoamericani, la speciale relazione che esiste tra cibo, etnicità e memoria, e ciò che gli italoamericani mangiano realmente oggi – e quindi il processo di consolidamento e acculturazione nell'ambito dei costumi culinari – sono documenti molto interessanti; se invece si vogliono utilizzare per la ricostruzione del mondo alimentare degli immigrati, vanno usati con cautela.

Di diversa natura è il contributo di Carol Helstosky. Prendendo spunto dal ricettario “La cucina napoletana pei golosi e buongustai”, pubblicato a New York negli anni Quaranta, Helstosky sottolinea la netta divaricazione tra i consumi alimentari dell'Italia fascista e degli italiani d'America nello stesso periodo. Nonostante la Depressione prima e il razionamento del tempo di guerra poi, nelle cucine italoamericane entravano abitualmente generi che in Italia le classi popolari potevano permettersi raramente (la carne bovina, il burro, le uova, il caffè “vero”, lo zucchero). Per le classi svantaggiate, la “cucina del poco”, caratterizzata dal largo impiego degli avanzi e dei surrogati, raccomandata dal regime fascista in tempi di autarchia e guerra del grano, diventò poi, con la guerra, la cucina del niente.

Per concludere, è vero ciò che questi saggi suggeriscono: i *cookbook* sono fonti importanti per scrivere una storia delle abitudini alimentari italoamericane, ma non sono le sole utili per questa impresa. Per esempio, non ci dicono quasi nulla sulla gran quantità di cibi “italiani” nel supermercato di Philadelphia. Per ricostruire nella maniera più comprensiva possibile una questione così multidimensionale occorre utilizzare fonti eterogenee: menu di ristoranti, rubriche di quotidiani e riviste, studi e inchieste di organizzazioni ufficiali, rapporti di assistenti sociali, pubblicità a stampa, radiofoniche e televisive, bollettini di industrie alimentari, interviste, memorie, e quant'altro. Chi vuole raccogliere l'invito di Donna Gabaccia a “prendere la cucina seriamente” e intraprendere questo studio dovrebbe tenere conto di questa varietà di risorse.

Simone Cinotto

Isabel Manachino de Pérez Roldán
“Inmigrantes italianos e industria en Córdoba contemporánea”
Cuadernos del CITAL 7, diciembre de 1996, pp. 46.

Il saggio di Isabel Manachino è il risultato di una ricerca sul ruolo degli immigrati italiani nello sviluppo industriale di Córdoba (Argentina), con particolare attenzione nei confronti di piccoli e grandi imprenditori, tra Ottocento e Novecento. Il lavoro si basa infatti principalmente sui censimenti del 1895 e del 1906, analizzando, per settori, i capitali italiani e il personale impiegato. L'autrice si sofferma infine sui percorsi di alcuni grandi imprenditori italiani, operanti in vari settori (alimentare, costruzioni, carta, tipografia) e provenienti soprattutto dal Nord dell'Italia, che sono arrivati a Córdoba dopo altre esperienze di lavoro in Argentina e portando con sé capitali o conoscenze tecniche.

Chiara Vangelista

Javier Grossutti
“Da Vallegger oltreoceano. Emigranti canevesi in Brasile fine Ottocento”
Numero Unico, *Caneva*, Società Filologica Friulana, Udine 1997, pp. 367-84.

Analisi dell'emigrazione dal comune di Caneva (distretto di Sacile) in Brasile. Dopo un esame delle cause dell'emigrazione, dapprima temporanea e rivolta all'Europa (bacino danubiano e Croazia meridionale), l'autore si sofferma sull'emigrazione in Brasile, particolarmente importante tra il 1875 e il 1880. Buona parte dell'articolo è dedicata all'emigrazione verso lo stato brasiliano di Espírito Santo e alla successiva differenziazione delle destinazioni (Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo). La natura della documentazione raccolta permetterà future analisi di interi percorsi migratori di gruppi familiari: dalla partenza per il Brasile al ritorno al paese di origine.

Chiara Vangelista

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<http://www.italynet.com/columbia/casaintr.htm>

CIEMI

<http://members.aol.com.ciemiparis>

CMS Center for Migration Studies

<http://cmsny.org>

Ellis Island

www.ellisland.org

EAAS European Association for American Studies

<http://www.let.ruu.nl/eaas>

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IHRC Immigration History Research Center

www.umn.edu/ihr

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Museo dell'emigrante, San Marino

<http://www.omniway.sm/emigration>

Una storia segreta Istituto italiano di cultura

<http://www.io.com/~segreta>

Centri di emigrazione europei**The Association of European Migration Institutions**

<http://cybercity.dk/users/cccl3652>

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