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Research Unit.

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Language is both a tool for communication and an important marker of one's cultural or national identity. When migration entails a move across linguistic as well as international borders, migrants often face the challenge of acquiring a new way of communicating and of reframing their understanding of self in light of their new surroundings. For individuals who migrate as children and teenagers the generation

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Networks of migration have long linked Austria and the Balkans. They stretch from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, through the labour recruitment policies of the post-World War II years, and into the 1990s when Austria received thousands of families fleeing war during the break-up of Yugoslavia (Feichtinger and Cohen 2014). In Carinthia – one of Austria's most rural states – individuals born in Bosnia-Herzegovina now make up the second-largest group of immigrants after those from Germany (Österreichischer Integrationsfonds 2014). Though many studies of immigration to Austria focus on the city of Vienna, Carinthia presents an interesting case study because of its population's and its infrastructure's relative unfamiliarity with immigration. The presence of a historical minority of Slovene speakers in the state's southern districts also means that issues of multilingualism, language rights, and education are often high-profile and emotionally charged (Busch and Doleschal 2008). It is in this setting that the young Bosnian Austrians involved in this project have grown up negotiating between cultures and languages. Though an examination of the way they reflect on their own multilingualism, I hope to shed light on the diversity of experiences and attitudes that are not always reflected within institutional narratives about language use among immigrant youth.

The study will begin with a review of the existing literature on the connections between language and migration, on child and teenage migrants' language acquisition and use, and on the dynamics of Balkan-Austrian migration. Next, the methodology of the study will be presented. Finally, the study's findings will be discussed in three empirical chapters that focus on the process of becoming multilingual, the construction of identity through language, and the role language plays in aspirations for the future.

In the European context, language's role as a marker of identity is also bound up in the concept of the nation state. The 'one nation one state one language' model that grew out of the eighteenth-century German and French nationalist movements explicitly drew the link between language and nation, both as an identifying characteristic and a means of legitimizing political sovereignty (Edwards 1985; Beswick 2010). More recently this logic of 'homogenize within and heterogenize outwardly' can be seen in the Balkans, where a shared language, Serbo-Croatian, was imposed across linguistically diverse Yugoslavia (Bugarski 2001: 73). Following Yugoslavia's dissolution and the wars of the 1990s, the reassertion of national languages (Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian) and political battles over the use of minority languages in the successor states show the continued vitality of this thinking (Bugarski and Hawkesworth 2004). If, as Barker (1927: 173) asserts, 'a nation must be an idea as well as a fact before it can become a dynamic force', in many European nation-states language is a powerful part of that idea.

Yet despite its persistence in modern linguistic nationalism the idea of

language being spoken at any given time (Clyne 2003). These phenomena can be intentional or subconscious and occur for a number of reasons, including not finding a fitting word in one language, adding emphasis or style to a statement, or self-identifying oneself through the use of an in-group language or one recognised as prestigious (Weinreich 1968; Fishman 1972; Beswick 2010). Lexical borrowing and code-switching are used by different individuals to different extents, and can depend on both the social context and the topic at hand. Importantly, however, they represent some of the strategies that multilingual individuals employ to position themselves within the host country, within immigrant spaces, and in relation to the home country (Lo 1999).

While considerable research has been done on topics relating to mixed-language use by immigrant populations, far fewer academic studies have featured the reflections of migrants themselves. As Yasuko Kanno (2000) argues in her exploration of young bilingual Japan

Focus on Child and Teenage Migrants

Many studies concerned with the intersection of language and migration utilise the concept of migrant generations to describe changes in language use. This is particularly true in studies of language shift – a speech community's move away from one language – usually the heritage language, and towards primary use of the dominant national or regional language (Veltman 1983). Whether mourned as a loss of cultural identity or celebrated as an indicator of successful integration policies, language shift is commonly assumed to follow the three-generation model first proposed by Calvin Veltman (1983) and Joshua Fishman (1988). First-generation immigrants – i.e. those who have themselves migrated – are assumed to have a higher level of proficiency in and generally favour the heritage language, though they may begin to learn the language of the host country. Their children, the second generation, grow up fluent in the language of the host country and, to varying degrees, bilingual in their parents' mother tongue. For members of third generation, the grandchildren of immigrants, the host-country language becomes the primary means of communication and only trace knowledge of the heritage language remains. This model has been widely applied in both the United States and Europe, though more recent studies emphasise a number of complicating factors, including exogenous marriage and the geographic distribution of speech communities that may extend or shorten this process (Alba *et al.* 2002; Kim and Min 2010; Medvedeva 2012). Thus, while generation is a commonly chosen framework for studying acculturative processes like language shift that are navigated over time and within families, it should not be used uncritically.

Particularly relevant to this project is the following critique from David Kertzer's (1983) thorough analysis of the concept's problematic use in sociological studies:

[I]mmigrants range in age from infancy to octogenarians. Does it make sense to lump these together as members of the same generation? The cultural imprint of foreign birth on the 80-year-old is entirely different from the imprint on the infant. (141)

Young migrants are an uneasy fit for the generational framework. As R.S. Oropesa and Nancy Landale (1997) demonstrate in a study of English proficiency among Latino Americans, if foreign-born children are grouped together with native-born individuals as part of the second

generation – a common practice (see e.g. Mills 2005; Midtbøen 2013) – the group's level of fluent bilingualism and English monolingualism will be driven down. If, however, they are considered to be part of the first generation alongside older migrants, the group's average level of English proficiency will rise as the young migrants enter host-country schools and experience linguistic socialisation in a way older first-generation migrants will not. In matters of language, perhaps more than any other aspect of acculturation, the experiences of child and youth migrants are undeniably unique. One emergent answer to this mismatch – and a concept that will be employed in this study – is the use of the term *1.5 generation* to describe this distinct group (Rumbaut and Ima 1988; Rumbaut 1994). It has gained considerable currency and is now used to in studies of young immigrants whose socialisation has occurred in both the countries of origin and of destination. However, though the *1.5 generation* adds needed nuance to the existing framework, there is, as of yet, no consensus over the developmentally-significant age parameters for the category (Rumbaut 2004).

When language is the subject of migration research, this focus on age of arrival must be coupled with a careful consideration of a child's linguistic development. Though most children are able to communicate freely in their first language (L1) by the time they enter school, it is now generally accepted that L1 learning continues roughly until puberty (Klein 1986). Some elements of language – most notably vocabulary – continue to develop throughout one's life. Because first language acquisition is intimately bound up with the child's cognitive and social development, it is through L1 learning that the child begins to understand and express

In the previous section, educational policy and practice were mentioned as some of the ways in which host country institutions most influence young migrants' language acquisition.

(2009) notes in her analysis of integrationist and exclusionary discourses in Austrian politics,

an exception, mixing testing data with student survey results, though its primary focus is not language learning (PISA 2012).

Carinthia – the geographic focus of my research – is one of Austria's more rural states. As can be seen in Figure 1, above, it is also one of the states where foreign-born individuals make up a relatively low percentage of the overall population. Of the circa 10% of Carinthian residents that were born abroad, the two largest groups by far are those from Germany and from Bosnia-Herzegovina (Österreichischer Integrationsfonds 2014). Among research that focuses on the life experiences of young immigrants in Austria, two studies – both PhD projects – have particular relevance to my project because of their regional focus and their interview-based approach. In the *Die Sprache der Migrantenkinder* (2008), Sanela Pejić considers how 1.5 generation Croatian-speaking immigrants from Croatia or Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria experience bilingualism. Though Jasmin Berger's project *Leben mit zwei Kulturen: Identität jugendlicher ImmigrantInnen aus dem ehemaligen Jugoslawien* (2004) does not focus specifically on linguistic experience, the role of language in the experience of migration and identity formation is raised in several interviews. Despite the fact that the latter includes interviews with individuals from across Yugoslavia, its focus on Carinthia makes it an interesting point of comparison. With this study, I hope to contribute to this growing body of research that considers the dynamic place of young immigrants in Austria.

While most studies on migration to Austria focus on Vienna, I have selected Carinthia precisely because it does not fit the mould of the European multicultural metropolis. A second motivating factor is that debates about linguistic diversity in the state are not limited to the discussion of recent immigrant languages. Southern Carinthia is also home to one of Austria's autochthonous minorities: the Carinthian Slovenes. Following the end of World War I, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and prolonged fighting in Southern Carinthia, a plebiscite was called to decide whether the area and its mixed population of German- and Slovene-speakers would become part of Austria or of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). A majority of 59.01% to 40.96% voted in favour of Austria (Valentin 2009). Slovenian – along with Czech, Croatian, Romani, Slovakian, and Hungarian – is a legally recognised autochthonous minority language in Austria (Haslinger

2010). According to the Ethnic Groups Act of 1976, the Carinthian Slovene population has the legal right to receive an education and to interact with the government in Slovene. Though as the *Ortstafelstreit* – a political dispute that stretched from the 1970s until 2011 over the erection of bilingual topographical signs in Southern Carinthia – demonstrates, the presence of a linguistic ‘other’ in Carinthia and the exercise of their political and cultural rights have not gone uncontested (Rasinger 2014).

A final feature to consider in any study of Carinthia’s linguistic landscape is the presence of a distinct regional dialect. Though linguistic variance seldom runs neatly along borders, Austrian dialects are generally associated with one of the country’s nine states (Martin Bellamy 2010), and many Austrians claim to be able to

During a three-week period of fieldwork in Austria, I interviewed individuals who had migrated from Bosnia-Herzegovina to Carinthia when they were between 6 and 16 years old, but who are now over 18.² This age range, borrowing from the concept of the 1.5 migrant generation, was chosen because such individuals would have received some level of schooling and socialisation in both countries (Oropesa and Landale 1997; Rumbaut 2004). A call for participants was shared with students at the University of Klagenfurt, but ultimately snowballing from existing contacts proved to be the most effective means of identifying potential interview partners.³ While snowballing shares the limitations of other non-probability sampling methods – notably the lack of representativeness or generalizability – for this study, it proved advantageous. I was able to mitigate the danger of only sampling within one social network by beginning from four unacquainted starting points (Seale 2012). In addition, this method enabled me to interview individuals who may not otherwise have volunteered to participate in an academic study. My sample includes individuals from a range of professional and educational backgrounds, those who identify strongly as Bosnian and those who do not, those who are confident speaking a variety of languages and those who are more self-conscious about their linguistic abilities. Because of the limited time available in which to conduct fieldwork and following a number of promising conversations with individuals who had arrived before the age of 6, the age parameters of the sample were extended downward. Though this does not adhere strictly to some definitions of the 1.5 generation, I believe it has enriched my sample. Because this research is exploratory in nature and does not aim for generalizability, I view the use of snowballing and the expansion of the age parameters of the sample as a chance to include a greater variety of narratives.

In addition to varied age of arrival in Carinthia – the oldest being 14 and the youngest 1 year old – every effort was made to create a diverse sample in terms of gender, region of origin in Bosnia-Herzegovina and of settlement in Carinthia. Of the eight participants, three were women and five men. Two, Anel and Haris, are brothers. Several came from Bihać and Bosanska Krupa, but other places of origin included Brčko, Doboje, and Zenica. Within Carinthia, participants grew up in both cities, like Villach and Klagenfurt, and towns, including Spittal an

² See page 56 for the initial project proposal.

³ See Appendix 1 for the Call for Participants and English translation.

der Drau and Velden. Table 1, below, provides further details on the interview participants and their proficiency in a variety of languages. Though concerns have been raised about the accuracy of such self-reported measures, previous research has shown them to be reliable and strongly correlated with actual linguistic ability (Fishman and Cooper 1969; Tran 2010).

TABLE 1: BOSNIAN AUSTRIAN INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Name ⁴	Age at arrival in Carinthia	Languages spoken	Self
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The majority of these interviews were conducted in person in Carinthia. In two cases, interviews were conducted via Skype with individuals who were not able to meet with me

teachers. I conducted interviews with five educators, listed in Table 2, who were based in three different cities: Klagenfurt, Villach, and Feldkirchen. The interviews were conducted in much the same way as those described above with young Bosnian Austrians, though the questions asked were tailored to explore the role each individual plays in their respective school.

TABLE 1: BOSNIAN AUSTRIAN INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Name	Position	School Type
<i>Vera</i>	Teacher of German as a second language	Comprehensive school
<i>Herbert</i>	Headmaster	Comprehensive school

In this opening chapter, I will briefly discuss how the young Bosnian Austrians involved in this study characterise their migration to Austria. I will then look more closely at the way they narrate the process of acquiring German as a second language, of maintaining their heritage language, and of learning other foreign languages. These personal histories will be compared throughout to institutional and educator narratives about immigrant youth language acquisition.

Though I made no mention of year of arrival while recruiting interview partners, only that they must have arrived before the age of 16, I was struck by the similarity of their stories of coming to Austria. With one exception, all migrated in 1991 or 1992, having observed the fighting in neighbouring Croatia or following the outbreak of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was often a hastily made decision. Emira describes her parents' decision to move the family to Austria, recalling that they 'took anything we had on this was it and they packed us into the car and we drove here'⁸ Though Semir arrived in 1999, after the war had ended, his story shares another common feature with the other interviewees: Austria was chosen as a destination because a parent or other relative was already living there. For Lajla, immigration was not even the intended goal of her 1991 trip to Austria 'we went up to visit my dad and then the shootings and the war started in my region and so it ended up with us staying here'⁹ While some of the participants initially arrived in other parts of Austria, including the brothers Anel and Haris whose family briefly lived with an uncle in Vorarlberg, all eventually settled in Carinthia.

The sudden arrival of these and many other children and teenagers from the Balkans posed a challenge to the Austrian educational system in the school year 1992/93. All children between the ages of 6 and 15 currently residing in Austria, regardless of nationality or immigration status, are required to attend school (§ 1 3 Schulpflichtgesetz). Federal law also

⁸ Interview with Emira, 10/7/2014.

⁹ Interview with Lajla, 18/6/2014.

specifies that the language of instruction will be German, except in the case of recognised linguistic minority schools – such as those that serve the Slovene-speaking community in Carinthia – and, under unique circumstances at the request of the school's headmaster and with permission of the local school authority (§ 16 Schulunterrichtsgesetz). The latter exception was used in 1992/93 by some schools in Vienna to set up special classes designed to meet the needs of the unusually high number of Bosnian refugee children that entered the city's schools that year (BMBWK 2005). In Carinthia, where the number of young immigrants was lower, though still significant, arrangements were usually made on a case-by-case basis through 'German for Students with a non-German Mother Tongue' programming. The design of such programmes also became, as of the start of that year, a part of the mainstream regulation of public education in Austria and a new curriculum was issued, though its exact implementation across the country varied based on local circumstances (BMBWK 2005).

This 'shock to the system' went both ways. An initial language barrier was cited by many Bosnian Austrian interviewees as one of their first impressions of life in Austria. While most had a parent living in Austria before their immigration, only the oldest arrival, Semir, reported having learned any German before immigrating. For the majority, the first day of school marked the beginning of German acquisition. As Edin remembers it:

On the first day of school – my dad came with me – My father couldn't speak German very well and neither could I. It was strange because [the teacher] asked me a lot of things in German – and I didn't

some recalled moments of frustra

have many options ¹⁷ In addition, all respondents said they noticed a difference between how

These statements reveal two important things about this type of language acquisition: even though they had lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina until a certain point in their childhood, many noted that their acquisition of the heritage language was incomplete and that they now make mistakes when speaking it. Secondly, the role of the parent-as-teacher becomes even more important than in conventional language acquisition because of the absence of a wider language context or formal instruction. For younger arrivals who never attended school in Bosnia-Herzegovina, this parental influence also played an important role in whether they learned to read and write. As Goran, who left the Serbian-speaking Republika Srpska when he was 2.5 years old explained 'Writing I can't do at all. I can only speak. I learned that at home, but otherwise I'm completely set to German' laughs.²² Edin, similarly, never learned to write growing up, but chose to take introductory Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian courses at university and says he can now do 'the basics'.²³

At some Austrian schools, elective heritage language instruction (*muttersprachlicher Unterricht*) is offered for students with a first language other than German. The roots of this programme are closely linked with Austria's history of labour migration. Though the Turkish and Yugoslav migrants of the 1960s and 1970s were primarily male *Gastarbeiter*, a number of children either accompanied their parents to Austria or were born there. It was then noticed, upon the family's return to their country of origin that the Austrian-schooled children found it difficult to adjust to education in their heritage language. Following agreements between the Austrian government and those of Yugoslavia and Turkey, supplementary lessons in Turkish and Serbo-Croatian were held in Austrian schools for the first time in 1972 (Woplatek 2010). The aim of these early courses was not to encourage immigrant bilingualism within Austrian society. Heritage language instruction was viewed by the home countries as a way to ensure smooth reintegration and by Austria as a way to encourage remigration rather than settlement.

Over the course of the last 40 years, these goals have changed. As settlement rather than cyclical migration became the prevailing trend, three new narratives emerged to justify the continuation of the courses: The first, and most long-standing is that a good knowledge of the heritage language can have a positive impact on the child's performance in German and

²² Interview with Goran, 20/7/2014.

²³ Interview with Edin, 15/8/2014.

There they learn writing straight away and then they have an advantage. Then they know both. They can write and read Bosnian *and* German.²⁶

I just speak Bosnian. Not because I studied it somewhere, but because I heard it. ... He studies it. He writes really well and he speaks really well. He makes no mistakes. I make mistakes when I speak Bosnian that I don't make in German.²⁷

By comparing their educational experience with those of their younger relatives, they acknowledge both the gaps in their own knowledge of the heritage language and the role that classroom instruction has on the development of skills like writing.

Though many interview participants described certain aspects of their heritage language acquisition as imperfect – be it never having learned to write, inability to use complex grammatical structures, or the lack of technical vocabulary – all overwhelmingly saw growing up with more than one language in a positive light. It meant being able to communicate with more people in more places²⁸ and it was a bonus – an extra language.²⁹ A few also mentioned that they felt they had an advantage when it came to learning foreign languages as school:

Every new language I learned was easier for me than for those people who just had one language as their native language – especially with Slavic languages, but not just them.³⁰

Because the Austrian educational system places emphasis on learning foreign languages, this is indeed an advantage. As the author of an article in *Forum Schule*, a magazine published by the Carinthian State School Board put it – no country can afford nowadays to raise its youth in only the national language – Larcher – Though further linguistic research among immigrant students in Carinthia would be needed to draw a well-founded conclusion, these participants' statements echo Abu-Rabia and Sanitsky's (2010) findings regarding the effect of a bilingual childhood on later foreign language acquisition.

As this chapter has shown, a variety of social, familial, and educational influences shaped the linguistic development of this group of young Bosnian Austrians. The fact that

²⁶ Interview with Edin, 15/8/2014.

²⁷ Interview with Emira, 10/7/2014.

²⁸ Interview with Semir, 3/7/2014.

²⁹ Interview with Haris, 9/7/2014.

³⁰ Interview with Emira, 10/7/2014.

While Chapter 1 focused on the process of language acquisition, this chapter looks at the intersection of language and identity. Building on the understanding that even the most private of identities is not imaginable as anything other than the product of a socialised consciousness and a social situation, it explores the way language shapes interpersonal interactions and how they in turn inform young migrants' understandings of themselves (Jenkins 1994: 218).

Linguists have long observed that most bi- and multilingual individuals do not use all of the languages they speak uniformly across all situations and with all audiences (Wei 2010). Many of the young Bosnian Austrians in this study commented on a pronounced divide between the public and private domains of their lives. Commonly, German was used at work or university, and the heritage language was used at home. In describing language use within the family, however, they often painted a more complex picture. Though parents were usually identified as the post-migration teachers of the heritage language, several participants noted that the roles were reversed when it came to their parents' use of German

It's adorable when my dad gets back – he's one of the team leaders in the company and he starts writing his reports on what they did and how the work went. And he will ask 'how do you write that?' and 'can you please spell that?'³²

Recently my mom called me and asked 'how do you write *Fahrrad*?' She knows what a

Interactions with siblings were similarly varied. In many cases, a shift over time was linked to entrance into the Austrian school system. The acquisition of German as a second

Effective communication was the most important thing. Others, like Emira, were discouraged from mixing. With my father I speak Bosnian. He doesn't mix. He's really patriotic.³⁸ Here, she links her father's linguistic preferences with his national pride, interpreting his aversion to code-switching as a reassertion of his identity as Bosnian within the German-dominant Austrian context. At school, picking and choosing³⁹ was similarly discouraged. As educators explained, this was done out of concern for students' linguistic development in German and the heritage language rather than the languages' patriotic connotations. Nevertheless, most participants described it as common practice, as this exchange with the brothers Anel and Haris shows:

LS: With [your brother] do you speak more German or Bosnian?

Anel: Always Bosnian.

LS: Do you ever mix the languages?

Anel: Yea, somewhat. No matter what conversation, a few German words always slip in and then you mix the whole thing. That really is a bad habit [laughs] but it's normal.

Haris: Everyone does that. That's just how bilingualism is.⁴⁰

Though Anel has internalised the idea of lexical borrowing as a 'bad habit', he also views it as normal. Agreeing with his brother, Haris goes on to describe language mixing as a fundamental feature of bilingualism. Rather than

in Austria. As examples, several cited the long-fought battle of the Carinthian Slovenes to assert their linguistic rights and the campaign slogans of right-leaning political parties like the Freedom Party of Austria's (FPÖ) 1991 *Wien darf nicht Chicago werden* (Vienna must not become Chicago) or the more recent *Deutsch statt "nix versteh'n"* (German, not no understand). Even having learned to speak accent-free German, Lajla commented that she sometimes felt treated differently because [she] was an *-i* and not a Müller.⁴³

expressed disapproval of the state's bilingual policies. Her first reason for this was based on a comparison with the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina:

I don't like it that they want to have their language on those road signs and everything. We have it in Bosnia with Cyrillic and Latin. ... It just divides people.

She also expressed a more personal reason for her negative reaction. As a child, she and her family briefly lived in Slovenia and were forced to change the spelling of their name on official documents because

in Slovenia, you're not allowed to use a *š* in your name even if you're from Bosnia or Serbia or Croatia. You speak Slovenian, the official language, and that's it. In Austria they try to have their second language, but they don't allow it for minorities in their country. That's not OK.⁴⁵

Despite the fact that the Carinthian Slovenes are Austrian rather than Slovenian citizens, this negative experience with the Slovene government's unwillingness to accommodate Bosnian names is carried over in her feelings towards Slovene language rights in Carinthia.

Being able to speak German, thus, remained the most important way of interacting with and fitting in to Carinthian society. For some interview participants, trouble with the language was a source of insecurity. One recalled being told by a teacher that she pronounced the letter *R* wrong when speaking German – an incident that still makes her self-conscious and has informed her preference of foreign languages:

I really like speaking English the most because in English you don't have the *Rrr* [Austrian *R*] that I can't say. That's how people immediately know that I'm not from Austria – I just feel safer when I speak English.⁴⁶

Despite having arrived in Austria at the age of 4 and now holding Austrian citizenship, she considered her inability to pronounce the Austrian *R* a clear sign to others that she wasn't Austrian after all.

The challenge of speaking German in a way that leads to inclusion was not simply a matter of losing the lingering influence of the heritage language. As Rudolf de Cillia *et al.* (2013) note, German itself is a pluricentric language and the question becomes: what *kind* of German

⁴⁵ Interview with Emira, 10/7/2014.

⁴⁶ Interview with Emira, 10/7/2014.

do you speak? When asked if they ever use the Carinthian dialect, many of the Bosnian Austrians in this study replied in dialect with a laughing *siha red I karntnarisch* (of course I speak Carinthian).⁴⁷ For Goran, Austrian Standard German was only used in certain situations:

I hardly ever speak normal German. Maybe if someone from Germany were here I would think don't speak dialect. They won't understand you. But with friends, I speak complete dialect.⁴⁸

However, even though most of the Bosnian Austrians in this study said they use dialect and enjoy being able to speak like the neighbours,⁴⁹ others had more ambivalent feelings:

I try to speak mostly standard German but Carinthian sometimes you just don't have it under control.⁵⁰

The German language standard German I like much more. It just sounds nicer. It's just *right* laughs when I hear myself speak Carinthian in a video or something I think ooof [embarrassed].⁵¹

This can be seen as an example of what Clyne (1995: 33) describes as a linguistic cringe – a feeling of linguistic inferiority that has been observed among native-born Austrians as well, particularly in relation to the more internationally-recognised *Bundesdeutsch* of Germany (Kaiser 2006; Bellamy 2010). While accepting that dialect is a common feature in their own speech, these two participants expressed a preference for standard German. In the second example Anel's preference was based on his belief that standard German sounds nicer or is more correct. These judgments are framed in terms of the dialect's aesthetic qualities, rather than its social role as highlighted by individuals who saw dialect as a way of speaking like their friends or neighbours.

As with German acquisition more generally, many viewed their use of dialect as automatic and the natural consequence of daily interaction with German-speaking Carinthians. In conversation with German as a Second Language teachers Mirna and Vera, however, both remarked on how challenging some students found the duality of German used

⁴⁷ Interview with Naida, 5/7/2014.

⁴⁸ Interview with Goran, 20/7/2014.

⁴⁹ Interview with Edin, 15/8/2014.

⁵⁰ Interview with Naida, 5/7/2014.

⁵¹ Interview with Anel, 9/7/2014.

in Carinthia. Unlike many Austrian students who learn the Carinthian variety of spoken German first a 9(n)-4(7E1 -21.98 Td [(f3(l)10(2(w)5)9(n)St)4 7E1 -21.98ardw)5

the way they position themselves in relation to the two cultures in which they grew up. The result was often though not always an increased acceptance of one's roots and pride in the heritage language, as well as an assertion of one's place within Carinthian society. However, reflections on questions of dialect use,

This final section takes up the narrative, mentioned in Chapter 1, of language skills as a career

higher qualifications (AMS 2006: 311) and as a competitive disadvantage in the market for apprenticeships. AMS Thus, while other European languages are seen as an additional advantage and one that may serve students well in the wider European context, a solid command of German is characterised as the key to employment in Austria.

Though not yet widespread, there is also an increasing recognition of young immigrants heritage languages as a potential job-market resource. A Public Employment Office report on the tourism sector notes that:

Guests increasingly expect particularly in larger hotels, the presence of staff members who can speak to them in their own language. This opens up interesting possibilities for individuals with a migration background who have a good command of both their mother tongue and German. AMS

Similar opportunities have been noted in other fields as well, though as in this example, it is usually coupled with an understanding that the individual's German proficiency must also be at

[Our school] has a good relationship with companies in Sarajevo and we've sent students there, to a technical office for instance. That's when we noticed that these

differently and understand their humour .⁶³ This combination between linguistic skills and cultural background was also cited as an advantage by Edin. Now finishing a degree in pedagogy, he hopes to teach German courses for adult immigrants in Klagenfurt. As an immigrant himself, he believes he would be an ideal teacher because he can understand where they re coming from and how hard it is to learn another language, especially German. The fact that he would have a shared first language with some of his students also meant that he would know where the weak points are and what needs extra practice ⁶⁴

For Haris and Lajla, their linguistic backgrounds were already an active part of their careers. Haris is a singer-songwriter and has worked with musicians from across the Balkans.

informs young immigrants' career choices and aspirations. In an examination of educational literature and economic studies, three separate narratives emerged about the job-market potential of different languages. The gradual recognition of young immigrants' heritage languages as an economic resource mirrors, to a certain extent, the shift in scholarly literature towards a view of diaspora culture as creative and dynamic, rather than a simple look back

by its speakers. Many interviewees expressed an evolution of their feelings towards both the countries and the languages in which they grew up. For many, this led to an increased acceptance of a hybrid in between sense of belonging and an appreciation for the various advantages they attributed to their multilingual childhoods.

Though this research was exploratory in nature and cannot be seen as representative, it reveals a diversity of language experiences and attitudes among young Bosnian Austrians and suggests several potentially fruitful avenues for future research. Through further exploration of immigrant language practices like dialect use and code-switching as a tool for asserting one's national or multilingual identity, a more complete picture of the intersection of migration, youth, and language may emerge.

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Working Title

Growing up between languages: Multilingualism among young Bosnian immigrants in Carinthia, Austria

Aims and Objectives

Carinthia – one of Austria's most rural states – has experienced an increased level of immigration in recent decades. Of the circa 62,800 individuals now living in Carinthia who were either born abroad or hold a non-Austrian citizenship – approximately 11.3% of the state's population – the

Linguistic research has thoroughly explored the processes of second language acquisition (Klein 1986) and the creative potential of contact between different social or cultural groups (Winford 2003). In addition, sociolinguistics and the sociology of language provide a wide range of case studies centred around the way migrants and subsequent generations use language (Dailey-
O C

Issues of migration in Austria and in more rural spaces, finally, remain relatively understudied

the project and will be solicited. A second potential challenge is the fact that the data gathered

In addition, while many studies focus on migrant language learners as a homogenous group or distinguish only between the first and second generation and are based in urban centres, this study will look at the unique experience of migrant children and teenagers that have grown up learning and speaking multiple languages in a less cosmopolitan space where issues of language rights are nevertheless already present. This study hopes to contribute empirical evidence to the thriving literature on question of language planning and migration-related linguistic change.

Word count: 1,460

References & literature to explore

The following is a list of text I am either currently reading or plan to read:

Berger, J. (2004) *Leben mit zwei Kulturen. Identität jugendlicher ImmigrantInnen aus dem ehemaligen Jugoslawien*, unpublished dissertation, University of Klagenfurt.

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Though the final project adhered relatively closely to the initial proposal in both theme and approach, several small modifications were made. As was explained in the methodology section, the parameters of my sample were extended from individuals who arrived between the ages of 6 and 16 to include anyone who had arrived before the age of 16. The original design focused on individuals who had attended at least one year of school in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and thus received a certain level of first language socialisation outside the home. While this sticks closer to the general definition of the 1.5 migrant generation, the time available to conduct fieldwork was limited and, in the end, I think my research is richer for having included the narratives of younger arrivals as well. Because of the adjustment, I was able to include a set of brothers as well as individuals from a greater variety of locations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The topics covered in this dissertation largely reflect those mentioned in my proposal.

Nonetheless, interview participants' responses to two particular issues surprised me. The first was in regard to the possible effect of national and regional language planning for Austria's autochthonous minorities on the way migrant communities use language (research question 3b). While I learned fairly early on during my review of the literature that regional minority languages and immigrant languages are treated as two separate matters in Austrian law—as they are in many countries—I was surprised at the low level of interest or even negativity on the part of the interviewees when I raised this topic. The opposite was true when I broached the subject of Carinthian dialect use. The playfulness and the great variety of views on the significance of speaking dialect versus Austrian Standard German by immigrants were fascinating and, given time, a topic I would be interested in expanding upon.

Ich möchte Sie einladen an einem Forschungsprojekt teilzunehmen, welches die Verbindung zwischen Migration und Sprache untersucht. Als Teil meiner Masterarbeit an der University College London, möchte ich Personen interviewen, die im Alter von 6 bis 16 Jahren von Bosnien-Herzegowina nach Kärnten ausgewandert sind und jetzt älter als 18 Jahren sind.

Growing up between Languages: Multilingualism among Young Bosnian Immigrants in Carinthia, Austria

Aufgewachsen zwischen Sprachen: Mehrsprachigkeit unter jungen Bosnischen ImmigrantInnen in Kärnten, Österreich

In vielen Ländern wird die Sprachkenntnis, sowohl von ImmigrantInnen als auch von Einheimischen, als einer der wichtigsten Faktoren angesehen, um sich gut in die Gesellschaft integrieren zu können, sich zu Hause zu fühlen und die Möglichkeiten in der neuen Wahlheimat voll ausschöpfen zu können. Für Personen die, als Kinder oder Jugendliche,

eingewandert sind, heißt das oft ihre Kindheit in zwei (oder noch mehreren) Ländern, Kulturen, und Schulsysteme zu verbringen und mehrere Sprachen und Dialekte zu lernen bzw. zu sprechen.

Das Ziel des Projektes ist es ein besseres Verständnis für die verschiedenen Erlebnisse mit dem Spracherwerb und der Sprachpflege, regionalen Mundarten und anderen linguistischen Einflüssen von bosnischen KärntnerInnen, zu erlangen.

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project that seeks to examine the connection between migration and language. As part of my

(Growing up between Languages: Multilingualism among Young Bosnian Immigrants in Carinthia, Austria)

Bitte nehmen Sie sich einen Moment Zeit, die folgende Informationen zu lesen und das Blatt

Please take a minute to read the following information and to fill out the sheet below.

Your experience with languages is a valuable source of information. Participation in this interview is voluntary and you don't need to answer any questions that you are uncomfortable with. All data will be treated as confidential and will be anonymised before use. If you have questions I'm happy to answer them. Many thanks in advance for your help!

First name: _____ Age: _____

Place of birth: _____

How old were you when you came to Carinthia? _____

Which languages do you speak? How would you evaluate your language skills (spoken and written)?

Basic Knowledge
(A1/A2)*

1. Where in Bosnia did you live before you came to Austria?
 - What was your first language growing up?
 - Did you attend school in Bosnia?
2. When did your family come to Austria?
 - How did you end up in Carinthia?
 - Did you know anyone in Austria before you arrived?
3. How did you learn German?
 - What was your first impression of the German language?
 - Did you speak any German before coming to Austria?
 - What was it like in school? Were there German as a Second Language classes, Mother Tongue instruction, or similar programmes at your school?
4. What do you think of the Carinthian dialect?
 - Would you say you speak more Kärntnerisch or High German?
 - When you first started learning German, could you tell the difference between the two?
5. Since coming to Austria, have you had any formal Bosnian language classes (in school or elsewhere)?
 - Is it important to you to be able to read, write, and speak Bosnian well?
 - What is it like to live in Carinthia and speak a language that isn't German?
 - Does speaking Bosnian in Bosnia and speaking it in Austria feel any different?
6. What other languages do you speak (learn in school, at university, etc.)?
 - Do you think learning languages in school was any different for you than it was for Austrian students who only grew up speaking German?
 - Which languages do you still use today?
7. Which languages do you use most often?
 - Are there certain topics or situations for which you always use a particular language? (E.g. With family or friends, religion, work, school and university, sports, etc.)
 - Do you or can you imagine working somewhere that requires you to use more than one language?

8. What language(s) do you speak with your family? (Parents, siblings, grandparents, etc.)
- Do you always use the same language with each other?
 - Has that changed over time?
 - Did your parents also learn German after coming to Austria?
 -

Lajla: Na, um, Sybiose .

LS: Ah OK Symbiosis It's basically the same

Lajla: Laughs Oh yea Man That's more or less the way it went I mean it's still funny for me when my parent say something (..) I mean my mom never worked here, so she really just learned German from her children And it's still adorable when my dad gets back he's one of the team leaders in the company and he starts writing his reports on what they did and how the work went. And he will ask how do you that? and can you please that?

LS: Mhmm

Lajla: It's just lovely (..) And it's the same way they correct me when I say something I always say la e for trousers, but it's hla e And when I'm being about pronouncing things correctly I jus y ff f