PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON A "MIGRANT VIETNAMESE"

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Today there are nearly three million Vietnamese living in more than 90 countries and territories the world over. However, this does not mean that these people speak all the languages of the countries of their residence. Like any other migrant community, the Vietnamese diasporas maintain their culture via their mother tongue. Due to different language ecology factors, the Vietnamese language used by these people can be called "a migrant Vietnamese". The paper aims to give out initial observations made on the nature of phonological, lexical and structural borrowings, integration as well as transferences of the Vietnamese used in Australia.

1. Historical background

The existence of the Vietnamese overseas can be dated back, firstly, from early the 8th Century, when Prince Ly Long Tuong, the second son of King Ly Anh Tong, took refuge in Korea or later when the Ming dysnasty invaded Vietnam and brought back with them a number of monks, and workers to China (Tran, p. 19-21). In Japan, early in the Seventeenth Century, Princess Ngoc Van of the Nguyen Dynasty, called Anio, was married to Araki Sotaro and lived in Nagasaki since then. In the Eighteenth Century, a number of Catholic disciples from Vietnam migrated to Thailand. From the second half of the Nineteenth Century to 1954, a number of Vietnamese immigrants arrived in France and other French colonies Tahiti and New Zealand. However, it could be said that a remarkable number of Vietnamese immigrants was seen in Southeast Asian countries in late the Nineteenth and early in Twentieth Centuries, the most noteworthy was from such Patriotic Movements headed by Phan Boi Chau (in Japan, and China in 1904), Tang Ban Ho (in Japan, China, Thailand 1904- 1911), Pham Hong Thai (in China, 1918). This could be said as the second turning point of Vietnamese overseas immigration. The third turning point was that, a number of youngsters who sought ways for national salvation by going to study overseas. *Typical of this trend was* Phan Chu Trinh (in France 1911- 1925), King Ham Nghi (Algeria, 1888-1947), both King Thanh Thai (1915-1947), King Duy Tan (1916-1945) in La Reunion, Africa. However, the formation of the Vietnamese diaspora was resulted from such events in between 1940s- 1950s during the Second Indochina War (Tran, 1997 & Carruthers, 2004) in Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, France, Japan, and the American War (1954 -1975) in Western nations, USA, Australia, France, Canada and in some Eastern Bloc countries. Statistically speaking, the number of Vietnam-born in the US, Australian and Canada are the most significant: 1,122,528 (2000 census), 154, 830 (2001 census (136,810 (1996 census) in the US, Australia, and Canada respectively.

Numerous studies have investigated the factors and institutions promoting the maintenance of community language other than English (CLOTEs) (Clyne, 1967, 1970; Haugen 1971, 1979; Clyne 1967, 1985; Klarger, 1976, Smolicz and Harris 1976) stressing on the wholesomeness for the human environment of the maintenance and

development of multilingualism. According to sociologists (Fishman 1965; Cooper 1969; and Green field 1970), the domain of code selection of bilinguals and multilinguals depends largely on interlocutors and such variables as ethnic ascription, situation of speaking, topic, style, role-relationship, venue, interaction type and medium (Sandkoff 1971). While in many families, English foreigner talk replaces the ethnic language as the second generation children's code of communication (Clyne 1985, p. 58), CLOTEs have been used as a main vehicle for maintaining cultures, and the sole means of communication for the first generation as well as for the monolingual groups in most urban diasporas. In their turns, these ethnic languages used in these diasporas bear quite a lot of linguistic borrowings (Haugen 1950; Myers-Scotton 1977, 1988; Poplack and Vanniarajan 1990 and Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000). In Australia, as pointed out by Clyne (1985: 94), there are as many varieties of "migrant languages" as there are speakers, since the nature and degree of English influence and general adaptation of the base language to the Australian context will largely depend on the individual speakers' activities and the life style as well as his or her experience in both languages. This study presents the characteristics of the Vietnamese being used in Australia culled from more the conversations of Vietnamese/ Australian bilinguals and monolinguals in Sydney, Melbourne and ACT and a number of prints available within the Vietnamese communities .

2. Methodology

The data collected in this study was from 37 conversations recorded on 26 Vietnamese adults (of 1.5 generation) aged between 22- 62, 17 males, and 9 females. They are of different professions, IT engineers, dentists, doctors, professors, writers, catering services, take-away servers, bakers and housewives etc. Among the 26 speakers, only 4 of them were fluent bilinguals. All the participants have at least 5 years living in Australia.

The topics of the conversations are all about daily activities and ways of life. All the interactions before and after the recordings were in Vietnamese. The conversations could be described as free-flowing descriptions, discussions or culture-specific craft explanations. In order to minimize the social distance between the field worker and the informants, I took part in the conversation from time to time. The geographical areas of data collection were Mt. Pritchard (NSW), Springvale (VIC) and Belconnen (ACT). For each data, I transcribed all the instances of thee substantives uttered which includes nouns, adjectives, verbs, interjections or any item which functions as significant linguistic units. Besides, about more than 50 texts, including short stories, articles, news of various lengths were investigated. Both lexical and structural traits were major points of focus.

3.   Linguistic analysis
3.1. Forms of lexical renewal
According to Clyne, three common ways that speakers shape their vocabulary to meeting the changing needs of life (Clyne 1985: 94) are neologism, semantic expansion and transference. In this case, neologisms in the Vietnamese created in Australia are based on the existing morphological devices of the language: Eg.

> *đi làm farm*
> *tách form/ ghép form*
> *ăn welfare, ăn ticket*
> *làm nail*
> *làm Centerlink*
> *đi shop, sang shop*
> *xin council*

In Vietnamese, *đi làm ruộng*, or *làm nông* (working on the farm) refers farming work in general, which involves ploughing, watering, harvesting and most of the work is manual. *Đi làm farm* refers to fruit-picking on seasonal base. Sometimes it refers to a cash-paid seasonal labour. *Đi shop* does not, however, mean "going shopping", but refers to "going for a specific purpose, as in *đi sóp tàu, đi sóp thịt, sóp cá*, or *shop trái cây* etc. whereas in English, *sóp Tàu* refers to Asian Groceries, *sóp thịt* butchers', *sóp cá* fish shop, *sóp trái cây* fruit shop. The word "*sóp*" (shop) is actually expanded semantically.

Meanwhile, *neo* (nail) as in *làm neo, tiệm neo, tít kẹt* or *tít-kịt* (ticket) as in *ăn tít kịt (*got fines), *Lêm* (claim) as in *lêm thuế/ bảo hiểm* (tax/ insurance claim) are examples of semantic expansion due to the influence of English homophones or the preference of archaism in the migrant language (Clyne 1985). Contrary to this tendency, lexical and semantic changes in Vietnamese are found resisted against, and in some papers, or conversations, some words (no longer used in Vietnam) are being used within the diasporas, especially, in adult groups (of over 50), which forms a stabilized use of archaisms.

> *Trong sáng thứ Tư tuần qua,* **thủ lãnh** *(*meaning: leader, current use: *lãnh đạo) Đảng Lao Động Kim Beazley lên tiếng chỉ trích …*
> (Last Wednesday morning, Leader of The Labour Party Kim Beazley raised his criticism …)
> > (From *Tự Do Không Tranh Cử*, in <u>Nam Úc Thời Báo online</u>)

> **Khởi đi** *(meaning: beginning, current use: bắt đầu) từ sự thoả thuận này, môn tiếng Anh là môn học đầu tiên mà …*
> (*From this agreement, English is the first subject that …*)
> > (From *Trường học trên toàn nước Úc sẽ có chương trình học thống nhất*, in <u>Thời Báo</u>, issue 300, 21/7/2003)

> *Sang* **Thương Vụ** *(meaning: business; current use: doanh nghiệp or cơ sở làm ăn) : Ủi dập. Cơ hội làm ăn rất tốt, không cạnh tranh, làm nhiều ăn nhiều... Cần tiền sang gấp. Xin liên lạc...*
> (Business transference: dry cleaning. Good business opportunity. Competition free. Income by products. Need money, quick transference. Please contact …)
> > (<u>Thời Báo-Vietnamese Community Newspaper</u>, issue 300, 21/7/ 2003

Ở bên Việt Nam ai có... bỏ giấy bằng **nhật trình** *(meaning: newspapers, current use: báo)*

(*Tư Ếch Di Dân*, <u>Việt Luận Online</u>, issue: 18/2/05)

Nhà chức trách Úc đã kêu gọi sự giúp đỡ của công chúng ở Đức trong một cố gắng tìm ra **căn cước** *(meaning: identity card, current use: giấy chứng minh/chứng minh nhân dân) của phụ nữ này.*

(*Một Phụ Nữ Sydney Bị Giam Giữ Nhầm Lẫn Trong Trại Di Trú*, <u>Nam Úc Thời Báo</u>, *18/2/05*)

Though maintaining archaisms is most seen in the names of countries, such as, *Hoa Lục, Nam Dương, Nhật Bổn, Mạc Tư Khoa, Luân Đôn, Hoa Thịnh Đốn, Ăng- Lê, Úc Đại Lợi*, the corpus also shows archaisms appear in various parts of speech: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs etc. These words are rarely found in the diasporas due to lack of experiences or member of communication networks, especially those in home and business domains indicating daily routines . They are: *khẩn trương, phấn khởi, hồ hởi, mạnh dạn, nhận thức, đăng ký, quần chúng, bao cấp, hộ khẩu* etc…

3.2 Forms of lexical transference

The most usual mean, as pointed out by Clyne, in "migrant languages" is through transference in English, through the idiolects of the first generation migrants in the urban "melting pot situation"(Clyne 1985). It affects practically all speakers, both bilinguals and monolinguals in various extents. Strangely, from the recordings, we found that lexical transference is not necessarily concomitant with a higher proficiency in English, but in many ways, it can be attributed to the differences in the lifestyles and preoccupations in the country of origin. Categories of lexical transference could be as follows.

  a. **Contextual:** words particularly prevalent in English references to the work, occupations, school or home domains: *shop thịt, shop hoa, shop vải, shop Tàu (shop thực phẩm á châu), shop nail, làm ga-đơn (garden), a-kao-tờn (accountant), xen-tờ-lin (Centerlink), thết- ờ guê (take-away), lin nhà (cleaning), thằng boy (boy), con gơ (girl), ê-dờn (real estate agent), lót- kờ (locker), goa rốp (wardrobe), đúp bồ ga ra (double garage), bờ rít vơ nia (brick veneer), đi bớt (going by bus), lấy hô li đêi (take holidays), bây chéc (pay check), bi-zi-nịt (business), go răn ti (warranty), in-sua răn (insurance), công trắc (contract), phom (form) (điền form, khai form), sịt tem điêu- tì (stamp duty), kao sồ (council), ốt stơ-đi (Aus Study), đai ợt (diet), phờ lét or lét (flat).*

  b. While nouns are the most common word class transferred (Haugen 1953: 406; Clyne 1985: 95) due to the direct link between form and content, other of parts of speech are as follows:

  Verb: *lin (clean), bút (book), thết (take), rân (run), mé nịt (manage), hen-đồ (handle), điêu (deal), thết ô vờ (take over), li (lease), seo (sell), ruy lét (relax), lút áp tờ (look after), thết ke (take care), ke (care), nờ gô shi ết (negotiate), rin (ring/ call), ko (call), phon (phone), ken sồ (cancel), guốc pạt*

thai (work part time)/ phun thai (full time), ga răn ti (guarantee), pho gét (forget), ít no (ignore), phài nen (finance)

Adjectives/Adverbs: *i-zì (easy), bi-zì (busy), hép pi (happy), lất kì (lucky), te-ri-bồ (terrible), sốc (shocked), nai (nice), ke-fun (careful), xếp (safe), gút (good), phờ ri/ phi (free)*

E.g., Con gơ đó **lất ki** ghê. Xấu mà sống **hép pi** lắm nghe. Được thằng bồ thiệt **nai**
(That girl is <u>lucky</u> indeed. She's not good-looking, but got a <u>happy</u> life. She's got a real <u>nice</u> boyfriend)
<div align="right">(Conversation recorded)</div>

Pronouns: du (you), mi (me/I), and personal pronouns and adjective pronouns are used interchangeably.

E.g., ***Du** lấy xe của **mi** mà đi làm*
(You can use my car to get to work)
<div align="right">(Conversation recorded)</div>

Or in the following conversation of the second- generation kids on a commercial VCD available at a local shop:

- *Cái này **me** tặng cho **you** nè. **Me** giữ một cái, **you** giữ một cái. Chừng nào you nhìn thấy nó, **you** nghĩ tới **me**. (Well, I give you this. You keep one, and I keep one. Whenever you see it, you would think of me.)*
- *À, **you** <u>lucky</u> hơn **me** nhiều lắm: vì **you** có ba nè, **you** có má nè. Mỗi lần **me** đi học về, **me** buồn lắm. **Me** khóc hoài à...**Er**.. Má **me** nói **me** là ...hổng có **me**, là má **me** <u>kills herself</u>. Rồi ba **me** nói **me** là Ba **me** thương **me** với Má **me** nhiều nhất trên đời. (You're much luckier than me, 'cause you've got your Dad and Mom. I cry all the times. Eh, Mom told me that without me she would have killed herself. And Dad told me that he loves me and Mom best of all in the world.)*
- ***Oh, oh**, nhưng mà Ba **you** xạo quá à. Nếu mà, Ba **you** thương **you** với Má you luôn há, thì Ba **you** đâu có đi theo <u>girlfriend</u> làm chi đâu? Mỗi tối, **me** cũng <u>pray to God</u>, để cho Ba **me** đừng có giống Ba **you**. Nếu mà Ba **me** mà giống Ba **you**, thì **me** sẽ mất Ba **me**. Chừng nào **you** qua bên <u>A-lá s kà</u>, **you** nhớ gọI cho **me** nhe. Oh, có cái tấm hình này để **me** tặng cho **you**. Tấm*

*hình này nè, gia đình của **me** với **you** đi trên chiếc tàu nè.*
(O…Oh… But your Dad is quite a liar. If he loved you and your Mom, too, he would not follow his girlfriend, would he? Every night, I pray to God so that my Dad won't be the same as yours. If he is, I would lose him. So long as you come to Alaska, don't forget to give me a ring. Oh, I've got you this picture, This picture, you see, you and my family got on board a boat.
- ***OK**. Chừng nào đến đó, **me** gọi cho **you** liền. Er. **Me** kiếm hình đẹp đẹp há, **me** gởi cho **you**.*
(Okay. *As soon as I've arrived there, I'll give you a call instantly.*
- *Thôi, mình đi zô chơi **game** đi, đừng có buồn nữa. (So, let's get in and play games. Don't be that sad!)*

Prepositions, conjunctions are seen rarely transferred. A few **interjections, hedges, or discourse markers** like *gueo (well), ế ni guê (anyway), rắp bít (rubbish), or ô mai gót (Oh my gosh), só rì (sorry)* are predominantly used among the young informants in the study. Most of them are bilingual proficient.

3.3 Integration
From the corpus, most of the lexical items transferred from English share more or less phonological, graphemic, semantic and grammatical integration of the recipient language.

  a. **Phonological integration**: There is a tendency of transferring an English lexeme into Vietnamese by giving it the near-similar form of the original pronunciation or integrating it to a higher or lower degree along a continuum.

High integration means eliminating phonemes that do not exist in Vietnamese, and replacing them with ones appropriate to the recipient system. E.g., ***Check** → /ʃek/, **Claim** → /leim/, dentist → /ˌdentit/, fix → /fit/.*

This often happens when there is no Vietnamese equivalent, and the dropping of the final endings are found popular. However, one of the most striking features in phonological integration in Australian Vietnamese is its falling tonalization of the transferred two lexemes. *E.g., tít-sù (tissue), i-zì (easy), ken-sồ (cancel), cao-sồ (council). Ki-pẹc (Kippax), Gưng-ga-lìn (Gungalin).* This is true with what Clyne (ibid.) referred as tonemic transference in the case of tone languages such as Chinese Vietnamese and Swedish (Clyne 1985: 104).

b. Graphemic integration:

There is a tendency to replace or omit a number of graphemes or clusters of graphemes from the donor language with some existing in the recipient one. This graphemic transference is resulted mostly from phonetic transfer. E.g., Council → written as *kao- sồ,* Centerlink as *sentờ- lin,* mana**ge** as *mé nịt,* contract as *công trắc,* commission as *kờm mít sô*ng, settle as *sét tồ.* The tendency of dropping or replacing the final letter with another in the recipient language, however, has been seen by most monolinguals only. Some original forms with partial modification could also be seen as follows:

Komplit is actually modified, Vietnamized and combined with the original form of "kitchens"

c. Semantic integration:
The data shows a tendency, in nouns mainly, of restructuring the lexical field of the vocabulary integrated.

Expansion:
Shop for *shop Tàu* (Asian grocery), *shop thịt* (butcher's), *shop bánh mì* (bakery), *shop hoa* (flourist's), *tiền shop* (money paid for shop lease), *mở shop* (open a trading business), *tách/điền form* (detach/ fill in the form), *ghép form* (officially registering for living together)

Compromise form: comprising two morphemes or more of the two languages. E.g., *tiền shop*, *tiền li* (lease), *tiền ren* (rental), *tiền côm mít sờn* (commission), *tiền bon* (bond), *chéc sổ băng* (check the bank account), *lãnh lum sum* (get a lump sum), *lấy hô li đây* (take holidays), *lấy sít li* (take sick leave), *lãnh benefit* (have family tax benefit), *ăn gueo- phe* (get welfare benefit), *làm gút dóp* (doing good job) etc.

The following advert is found on a newspaper about a business sale. Not only semantic compromise (as in *sang shop*) but also lexicosyntactic transference is found. E.g., *trên căn bản walk in walk out* (on walk-in-walk-out base).

d. **Grammatical integration**

Unlike many languages with gender and inflexion (Kaminskas 1972: 86; and Kouzimin 1972: 90 & Clyne 1985: 97), integration in Vietnamese requires no gender, or case and tense forms or assignments of plural forms. That is, transferred nouns and verbs have zero grammatical inflexions.

E,g.,   *Hôm qua anh **book** bác sĩ chưa?* (past form)
   *Một **meat pie** và hai **sausage roll*** (plurual form)
   *Tôi **take care*** (zero particle) *việc đó rồi.*

This could be accounted for in the language typology of Vietnamese. However, evidence from a number of observations shows that for Vietnamese Australians, the situation is somewhat different. There are some cases with plural and tense form transference into Vietnamese,

especially for those whose Vietnamese competency is not regarded as fluent.

3.4 Syntactic transference

Both Rayfiled (1970) and Clyne (1976, 1980, 1985) prove that lexical transference tends to proceed from L2 to L1 while phonological transference in the first generation has a reversed direction. As for syntactic transference, the data of the study just shows the direction from L2 to L2, whereas, according to Rayfield and Clyne, it occurs in both directions.

Common forms of syntactic transference are:
a. **The use of passive voice** in written language and in the spoken language of educated bilinguals:

Eg. - ***Bà đã đi ra khỏi bệnh viện Manly trong năm ngoái và đi đến Queensland, cuối cùng được tìm thấy bởi thổ dân Úc** tại Coen, thuộc miền Bắc Queensland, ngày 31 tháng 3 năm ngoái.*
(She left Manly hospital last year for Queensland and was eventually **seen by** the Australian Aboriginals in Coen, in the North of Queensland, on last March 31.)

- *Người ta tin rằng **nó chẳng bao giờ được kiểm tra bởi các nhân viên di trú**.*
(It is believed that he has never been inspected by immigration officers)
(From *Một Phụ Nữ Sydney Bị Giam Giữ Nhầm Lẫn Trong Trại Di Trú*, in <u>Nam Úc Thời Báo</u>, 18/2/ 05)

- *Một quyết định chính thức của đảng Tự Do sẽ không được đưa ra cho tới khi cuộc họp của đảng ở NSW về vấn đề này (totally loaned structure)*
(An official decision will not be made by The Liberty Party
(Tự Do Không Tranh Cử Werria, Nam Úc Thời Báo, 19/2/05)

b. **The use of objects in defining clauses:**
- *Theo nguồn tin cao cấp trong đảng Tự Do, đảng không muốn chi tiêu cho một cuộc vân động mà **nó** không nghĩ có thể chiến thắng. (in Vietnamese)*
(Tự Do Không Tranh Cử Werriwa, Nam Úc Thời Báo, 18//2/05)

c. **The English syntactic transference** in word order.
- *Tôi biết lá thư ngắn cảm ơn bà Trummer, <u>ít hàng về việc học</u>*
(Short story: Không biết mặt, Vietnamese Community Newspaper, 15/7/03)

3.5. Pragmatic transference

    a. Adoption of patterns of addressing of colleagues or workmates and acquaintances by first names.

        Eg. Tai Van Dang instead of Đặng Văn Tài

    b. The use of pronouns *"you"* and *"me"* as an indication of showing not only solidarity, cooperation but also equality, compassion and sharing (Brown & Gilman 1960, Bate & Benigni 1975, Brown & Levinson 1978, Goffman 1981, Sifianou 1992) especially among 1.5 and second generation children (as shown in 3.2.b). Sometimes, this usage is resulted in a code-switching process which signals a negation of an existing relation or a temporary social relation (Myer-Scotton 1993, Clyne 1994, Ho-Dac 1998).

  - *Anh T.* ***You*** *(instead of Anh) nói là chiều nay **You** ở nhà sơn gara, mà sao **me** (instead of em) không thấy you làm gì cả? (spoken by a wife to husband)*

  (T., You said that this afternoon you would stay home and paint the garage, but why didn't I see you did at all?)
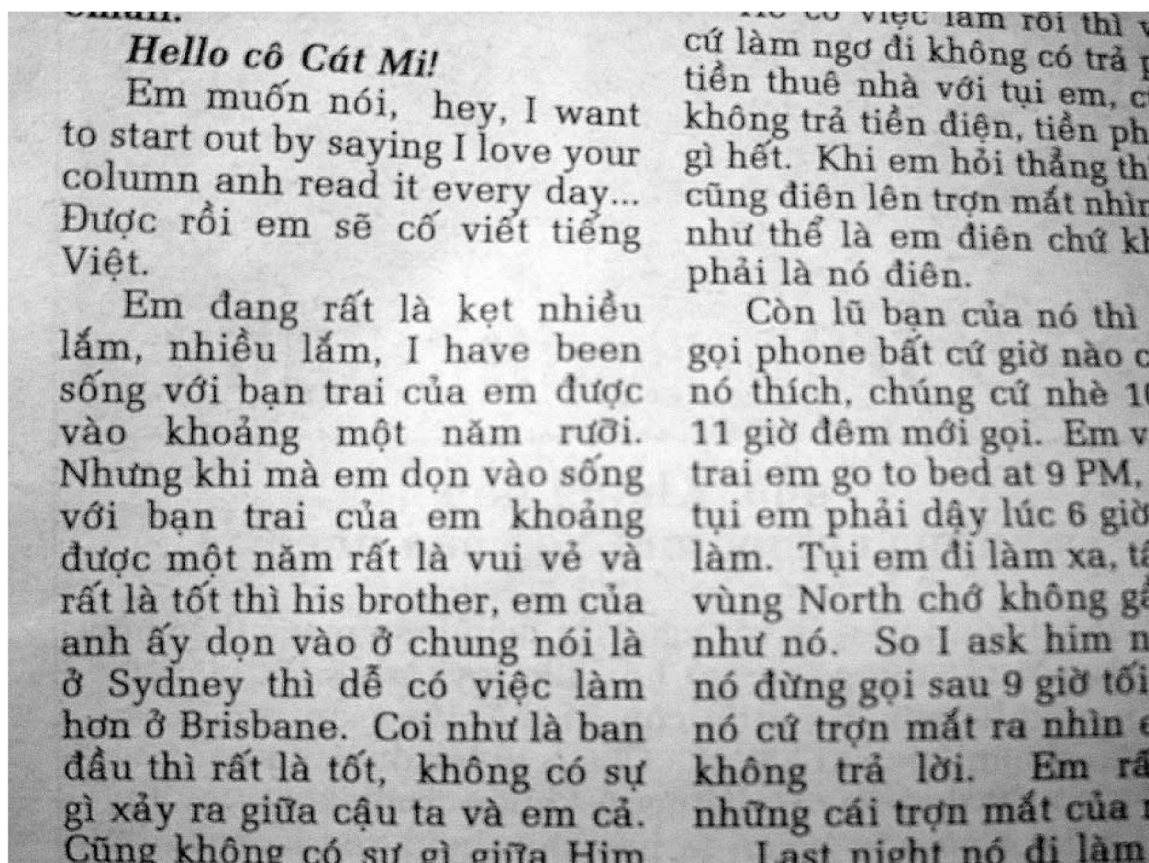
                  (Conversation recorded)

    c. The use of *"thank you"* for every little thing offered and the higher frequency of **"sorry"** compared to the traditional vocal habits are also recorded in the corpus. This is salient feature is not only reflected in daily conversation of speech etiquette, but also in every conversational interactions of both formal and informal contexts.

3.6. Code-switching and syntactic transference

Similar to Clyne's findings, a common tendency of switching from Vietnamese to English and vice versa was found among young interlocutors interacting with each other and in the presence of older people respectively. Though this tendency needs further in-depth investigation, the results gained from the study showed that such factors as domain, topic, venue, interpersonal relationship, channel of communication and nature of interaction are conductive to code switching. The most common domains are home and business-related ones where the code switching is strongly marked from Vietnamese to English, whereas the change of topics to home is found in the other way around, whatever venues might be. For some limits, the study did not show clearly whether venue is a striking feature of code-switching. However, what is most noteworthy in the study is that language convergence from Vietnamese to English occurs naturally among young interlocutors, especially when the interpersonal relationship is relatively distant. The more distant it is, the higher the tendency to use English.

    In the following "agony" column of a newspaper (Chiêu Dương, issue 24/4/05, p. 32), code switching and syntactic transference from Vietnamese into English several times within both sentences and the whole text, being a linguistic behaviour which is more and more popular in the Viet diasporas.

Hello cô Cát Mi!

Em muốn nói, hey, I want to start out by saying I love your column anh read it every day... Được rồi em sẽ cố viết tiếng Việt.

Em đang rất là kẹt nhiều lắm, nhiều lắm, I have been sống với bạn trai của em được vào khoảng một năm rưỡi. Nhưng khi mà em dọn vào sống với bạn trai của em khoảng được một năm rất là vui vẻ và rất là tốt thì his brother, em của anh ấy dọn vào ở chung nói là ở Sydney thì dễ có việc làm hơn ở Brisbane. Coi như là ban đầu thì rất là tốt, không có sự gì xảy ra giữa cậu ta và em cả. Cũng không có sự gì giữa Him

...có việc làm rồi thì v cứ làm ngơ đi không có trả p tiền thuê nhà với tụi em, ca không trả tiền điện, tiền ph gì hết. Khi em hỏi thẳng th cũng điên lên trợn mắt nhìn như thể là em điên chứ kh phải là nó điên.

Còn lũ bạn của nó thì gọi phone bất cứ giờ nào c nó thích, chúng cứ nhè 1(11 giờ đêm mới gọi. Em v trai em go to bed at 9 PM, tụi em phải dậy lúc 6 giờ làm. Tụi em đi làm xa, tệ vùng North chở không gầ như nó. So I ask him n nó đừng gọi sau 9 giờ tối nó cứ trợn mắt ra nhìn e không trả lời. Em rấ những cái trợn mắt của r Last night nó đi làm

While friendly transactions are likely to be in Vietnamese, business-related or formal communications are most found in English with high frequency. It is also assumed that the relationship between a home language and English as a host language has emerged as a key determinant of ethnic self-identity (Reitz 1980, Gitelman 1995, Shuval 1998, Remennick 2004) and this is the case with the young educated informants who have rich social capital and are using Vietnamese at home but purely English in their occupational realm. Code switching of this type is often caused by trigger-words (Clyne 1985: 106-107) in the forms of proper nouns, lexical transfers, loan words, and hedges (discourse markers) the most common of which are as *well, you know, by the way, you see, alright, okay, anyway, tell you what, you know what etc.* and the use of loan pronouns of *you* and *me*. In my study, more than 80% of obviously anticipational switching occurs with the "habitual" use of hedges, and loan pronouns and interestingly, the change of discourse topic on to business-related ones. Conversely, the convergence back to Vietnamese language happens only with the presence of non-bilingual elders, especially when the hierarchy must be defined through the use of Vietnamese forms of addressing which are traditionally age-based and family-oriented. In my view, this kind of linguistic and cultural integration process appears to be incremental and rather than replacement-oriented and bears the adhesive or segmented nature of assimilation. Having said so, I would state from the study that there is a tendency for linguistic integration as a response to the demands of the new society, where Vietnamese Australian (of the first and 1.5 generations) would make themselves more functional in their social environment. They would just add new layers to their traditional ethnic identity and lifestyle, but at the same time, try to maintain their cultural values. However, this is not the case with the second generation bilinguals, who develop their

own pathways between home and host lifestyles (Horowitz 2001, Remennick ibid.). This also calls for other in-depth investigations based on a hypothesis that linguistic adaptation and acculturation is contingent with younger age of immigration, higher social capital, social networks and transnational links as shown in our study.

4. Conclusion

This data analysis has shown not only how linguistic integration and transference from Vietnamese as a home language into English as host language occurs, but also how the cultural identity of the interlocutors as first and second immigrants is split: ethnic identity (Vietnamese-Australian) and national identity (Vietnamese). Although the division between the use of English in the public realm and the mother tongue in the private could be stated, English gradually invades informal communications and certainly prevails in business-related domains. Likewise, the Vietnamese spoken by migrants differs from community to community due to socio-cultural elements. The results of the study also shed light on the fact that the acculturation of the Vietnamese immigrants in Australia develops along additive rather than replacement lines, i.e., the Viet immigrants add English (on various levels and in different ways) to their core linguistic and cultural menu, which remains Vietnamese. This "migrant Vietnamese", in its turn, contains different ethno-linguistic identities, the variations of which are determined by the immigrants' Vietnamese fluency and competencies in other languages, age of migration, previous contact and nature of contact with the language of the countries of residence. Furthermore, what can be seen through this is that the Vietnamese migrants' work environment in Australia holds decisive importance in shaping their idiolects and sociolects of Vietnamese, which makes the language spoken in various diaspora groups "a migrant Vietnamese" bearing untold colloquial varieties greatly distant from the standard varieties spoken in the home country.

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