READ ALL ABOUT IT! COMMUNITY LANGUAGE MEDIA AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE*

This paper reports the preliminary results of an ongoing investigation into community language media provision and use in Melbourne, with special reference to first and second generation Greek Australians. The introductory section of the paper formulates a series of working hypotheses about the potential and actual role played by mother tongue media in language maintenance on the basis of previous research findings. Mother tongue newspapers, radio and television programs available to five different communities are outlined in section two, which assesses the relative strength of Greek-language media in Melbourne. Section three presents data from a series of interviews on media use conducted with thirty-six first and second generation Greek Australians living in the same city. On the basis of the information presented, the concluding section argues that it is important to distinguish between media provision and media use; while the former cannot be regarded as a reliable guide to group language maintenance efforts in Australia, the latter is indicative of individual interest in mother tongue preservation in the second generation.

1. Introduction

1.1. *Aims and hypotheses*

Little is known about the possible role played by mother tongue media in intergenerational maintenance[1] of Australian community languages.[2] The present study sets out to examine the relationship

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[1]The term "language maintenance" is used throughout to refer to the tendency to maintain community languages in Australia, whether at individual or group level. "Language shift" refers to increasing use of English, with a concomitant decrease in use of the community language.

[2]Since the arrival of non-English-speaking migrants in Australia, their

between media provision and language maintenance efforts at intercommunity level and goes on to examine use of English and Greek media by a survey sample of Greek Australians living in Melbourne. The main working hypotheses are: that speakers of languages with high maintenance rates will have provided themselves with more media resources than those with lower rates; that mother tongue media use will be limited in the second generation, who have access to mainstream English language services; that the second generation will make more use of mother tongue electronic media than newspapers, which require literacy skills; finally, it is anticipated that community newspaper use by the second generation will mainly be restricted to the reading of English supplements specifically targeted at them.

1.2. *Previous studies*

The vast majority of studies to date have examined the press (Zubrzycki, 1958; Petrolias, 1959; Gilson and Zubrzycki, 1967; Arvanitis, 1984; Tenezakis, 1982, 1984; Burke, 1989; Kanarakis, 1989a and 1989b, 1992, 1993; Bell, 1991), with little attention paid to the electronic media (Scott, 1980; Tamis, 1985, 1986, 1993). The working hypotheses presented in 1.1. were devised on the basis of previous research findings, some of which are presented below.

Before multilingualism was actively encouraged in Australia by the Whitlam government of the early 1970s (Ozolins, 1993: 112), official attitudes towards non-English-language newspapers were tolerant in so far as it was believed that the press could play a useful transitional role in helping migrants to integrate into mainstream society (Zubrzycki, 1958). At this early stage the notion that these newspapers might continue to be read by bilingual members of the second generation was considered neither likely nor desirable.

mother tongues have been variously referred to as "foreign", "transported", "migrant", "ethnic" or "community" languages. The preferred term has in each case reflected the attitude of researchers and others towards the presence and survival of such languages in Australia (Pauwels, 1988: 5). This paper uses "community" languages, which gained in currency in the mid 1970s with reference to "languages other than English and Aboriginal languages employed within the Australian community. It [the term] legitimizes their conitinuing existence as part of Australian society" (Clyne, 1991: 3).

Writing in 1959, Petrolias points out that "migrants' children, who, being frequently unable to read their parents' language, have no use for an all-ethnic-language press" have led to the introduction of English sections in the Greek press of his native America. He concludes that this is "not yet a consideration" in Australia, but adds that English pages in the Greek-Australian magazine *Oikogeneia* "represent the best effort of the Greek press in Melbourne to attract the interest of Australians in things Greek and does reach some, though very few, [monolingual English speaking] Australian subscribers (less than 100)" (Petrolias, 1959: 183–7).

Gilson and Zubrzycki rejected their own hypothesis that the "foreign-language" press was "predominantly concerned with the maintenance of the cultural identity of the ethnic minority" (1967: 45) on the basis of content analysis of twelve different newspapers, although it was stressed that the Greek press devoted some space to the promotion of mother tongue teaching.

A series of reports commissioned or funded by Commonwealth Government agencies aimed to determine the extent to which various media are used by their respective target groups, and how they can most effectively be exploited as a channel of communication between government and speakers of community languages (Scott, 1980; Tenezakis, 1982, 1984; Bednall, 1992). Emphasis in the reports lay on first generation immigrants, with little consideration given to the relevance of mother tongue media to their children.

Newspaper content analysis was carried out by Arvanitis, who believed that by using the Greek language and devoting extensive space to news from Greece and the Greek-Australian community "the Greek language press contributes to the retention of the 'Greekness' of Greek Australians" (1984: 43). This study also included interviews with the editors of the three biggest Greek newspapers in Melbourne, all of whom predicted that their publications would become bilingual and eventually entirely English.

Ata and Ryan (1989) provide a collection of essays on the presses of various non-English-speaking groups in Australia; the Greek press is reviewed by Burke, who concludes his survey of previous research with the dramatic sentence "The writing is on the wall, and the writing is in English". This issue is also addressed by Kanarakis, who provides

comparisons with the situation in America and stresses the need for adaptation to changing circumstances (Kanarakis, 1992: 121; 1993: 92–5).

Bell argued against an "explicitly or implicitly assimilationist approach" (1991: 20) and paid some attention to the value of the community language press as a vehicle for cultural and linguistic maintenance within the framework of a multicultural Australia. As such, this was one of the earliest studies to give detailed consideration to second generation readers.[3] Bell concluded that "perhaps the increasing alienation of younger readers from the ethnic press shows not that the press is necessarily of little cultural value, but that it has failed to offer a link for such English speakers to their culture of origin [...] it is difficult to decide whether the ethnic press is limited because of its ethnic orientation per se, or because of its inability to be plural within its own ethnolinguistic context" (Bell, 1991: 85).

Smolicz and Secombe's work on cultural "core values", defined as "values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group's culture, and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership" (1985: 11) throws light on the relative importance attached by the Australian-born to the retention of several aspects of "Greekness". Data processed from a questionnaire distributed to one hundred and three Greek-Australian students indicated that speaking Greek was regarded as a far more important aspect of Greek identity than reading and writing the language. Maintenance of literacy skills was seen as less vital than retaining close family ties, customs and celebrations and keeping in contact with the family and the wider Greek-Australian community (Smolicz and Secombe, 1985: 34–6; Smolicz, 1992: 229). Katsikis' investigation into attitudes towards language and ethnicity held by a group of eight second generation Greek Australians revealed that Greek language media were viewed as "informative-based material which targets [*sic*] as their audience the first generation migrants; they [the second generation] do not perceive them as language maintenance institutions" (Katsikis, 1993: 37).

[3]Tenezakis' 1984 newspaper readership survey of one hundred and fifty Greek Australians included thirteen second generation informants, but intergenerational differences in media use were not given detailed consideration (1984: 197–239).

Recent questionnaire data collected by Tsokalidou (1994: 104–5) back up earlier findings: when asked to rate six language acquisition and maintenance resources (the family, Greek lessons, reading material, films, trips to Greece and the Greek Orthodox church) in order of importance, a group of forty Greek-Australian students placed the family first and Greek lessons second, followed by watching films and reading. Exclusive use of Greek was primarily restricted to oral communication with parents and older first generation members of the community.

If spoken language survives better than literacy skills, then we would expect mother tongue radio and television to be more popular with the second generation than newspapers. This was the conclusion reached by Tamis, who has examined sociolinguistic aspects of the Greek-language media in Australia. He traces the development of publishing and broadcasting and gives newspaper readership, radio listening and TV viewing figures (1985: 44–50; 1986: 85–7; 1993: 19–20). Questions on media use were included in a survey of 1311 Greek-speaking informants living in Melbourne. Readership of Greek newspapers was found to display an intergenerational shift of 36%: "a figure which is by far higher if compared with the normal [spoken] language shift of Modern Greek of 9%"; this was attributed to the failure of the press to "impress the native-born claimants of Modern Greek" (1985: 46) rather than to weaker reading ability among the second generation. Low intergenerational shift was reported for radio and television programs, with high viewing rates reported for Greek films and programs on the multilingual television channel operated by the Special Broadcasting Service. The transmission of community language television programs was perhaps over-optimistically hailed as "a very decisive factor for language maintenance" (1986: 87).

2. Setting the scene: community languages and media in Melbourne

2.1. *Introduction*

Before any meaningful discussion about media use by Greek Australians in Melbourne can take place, we need to be aware of the general situation of community languages and media in Melbourne as a whole. Mother tongue claimant figures for the five most widely spoken

community languages are given and the media resources available to each of the groups are outlined. This is done with the aid of a set of tables presented below, which lead on to discussion of the relationship between media provision and language maintenance.

2.2. *Distribution and numerical strength of languages*

Table 1: Home use of the five most widely used community languages (1000s of speakers) by language in the state of Victoria[4] in 1991 (Source: 1991 Census [ABS 1993a])

	1000s speakers	Rank
Arabic[5]	35	5
Chinese[6]	76	3
Greek	**132**	**2**
Italian	179	1
Vietnamese	39	4

Approximately 22% of the population of Victoria regularly uses a language other than English at home (ABS, 1993a); this figure includes speakers of the second and later generations. Greek emerges as the second most widely spoken community language in Victoria and in Australia as a whole and has consistently been found to have one of the highest intergenerational survival rates (Clyne, 1991: 55–6, Tamis, 1993: 20). This is borne out by the most recent mother tongue claiming figures: "In the 1991 census, almost three-quarters of the second generation (defined as persons born in Australia with at least one Greece-born parent) reported that Greek was the language they spoke at home" (Bureau of Immigration Research, 1994: 6). While Italian and Greek migration to Australia has been on the decline since the mid-

[4]1991 figures for Melbourne only were not available at the time this report was compiled. The vast majority of speakers of the five chosen languages live in the state capital; at the time of the 1986 census, only 3.6% or 4,653 of 128,562 Greek speakers in Victoria lived outside metropolitan Melbourne (Clyne, 1991: 248, 253).

[5]"Arabic including Lebanese" (ABS, 1993a).

[6]Total of "Chinese languages not elsewhere indicated (NEI)", "Cantonese", and "Mandarin" (ABS, 1993a).

1970s, speakers of the other three languages are continuing to arrive in large numbers; Italian and Greek have more claimants in Victoria than in New South Wales, whereas the opposite is true for Arabic, Chinese and Vietnamese.

2.3. *Media resources*

2.3.1. *Print media*

Table 2: Newspaper and magazine publications on sale in Melbourne in the top five community languages in Victoria during 1990 (Source: VEAC, 1990)

	D[7]	+2/W	2/W	W	F	M	E/M	Rank
Arabic	0	1	1	2	1	0	30	4
Chinese	2	0	0	2	0	0	56	1
Greek	**1**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**48**	**2**
Italian	0	0	1	1	0	5	18	5
Vietnamese	1	0	1	4	1	1	47	3

Table 2 gives us an insight into the variety of newspaper and magazine titles available to the same five communities. The table is based on the results of a state-by-state survey into community language media commissioned by the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission (VEAC) in 1990. One should bear in mind the extreme volatility of the community language press market; Margaret Mee's *Australian Media Guide* is updated every six months and still finds it hard to keep up. The VEAC survey was preferred on the basis of accuracy regarding the Greek press and temporal compatibility with 1991 census figures.[8]

While the number of newspapers for a given group tends to

[7]Number of titles by frequency of edition. The following abbreviations are used: D daily (five or more editions per week); +2/W less than five but more than two editions per week; 2/W two editions per week; W weekly; F fortnightly; M monthly; E/M total number of editions per month.

[8]There were only two lasting changes to the Greek-Australian newspaper press sold in Melbourne between the publication of the Ethnic Affairs Commission guide and the readership survey period: the launch of the weekly *Ελληνικός Κόσμος* [*Greek Kosmos*] in November 1990 (bi-weekly since November 1991) and the disappearance of the fortnightly *Νέος Πυρσός* [*Greek Torch*] in August 1993.

decrease over time, this does not necessarily signify a reduction in overall circulation. Those newspapers which survive long term may pick up readers from titles which fail (Fishman, 1966: 54). In Australia, the top Greek and Italian newspapers constitute major business ventures concentrated in the hands of a few community media "barons". On the other hand, the recently established prolific Vietnamese press consists mainly of low budget magazines produced by small groups of people in their spare time. Accurate circulation figures for community language publications are notoriously difficult to obtain; editors may feel obliged to issue inflated figures in order to attract and maintain advertising revenue. At a recent seminar organised by the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research,[9] the circulation of the top selling Vietnamese weekly magazine *TV Tuan-San* was estimated by researcher Mr Ngoc-Phac Nguyen at 10,000, whereas the editor of the Italian weekly *Il Globo* claimed to sell four to five times that number of copies per edition.

Whatever the relationship between number of titles and circulation is, differences in publication patterns between groups are striking. Greek and Vietnamese titles appear in all but one of the frequency categories — readers of both languages show high language loyalty in both the first and second generations (Clyne, 1991: 61–9). A small-scale survey carried out by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 1983) found that of those who used a community language socially, the percentage of readers to speakers among Arabic and Chinese respondents was lower — 68% and 67% respectively — than other languages with much higher overall shift rates, e.g. German 74.5% (Clyne, 1991: 53). Yet the same two communities have active presses, producing almost all titles in the daily to weekly categories. Bearing in mind the difficulties involved in mastering two entirely different writing systems (Arabic or Chinese versus English), this is perhaps indicative of a low rate of biliteracy, whereby those who can read their own language cannot read English newspapers.

Further research into community language print media is needed

[9]Seminar entitled "The Changing Face of Australia's Ethnic Media", held at the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, Melbourne, 21.9.93.

because it throws light on the maintenance of literacy skills in Australia. While newspapers consist of more than written text,[10] the "lack of a book reading tradition among many working migrants" noted by Ellis (1981: 145) indicates that newspapers and magazines are the most widely used source of written material in the mother tongue, at least in the first generation. The 1986 and 1991 censuses only elicited data on *spoken* language in the home (Clyne, 1991: 39). Yet literacy must be regarded as an important dimension of language ecology.

2.3.2. *Radio*

Table 3: Radio broadcasts in top five community languages in Victoria on three Melbourne-wide stations
(Sources: *3EA Program Schedule*; *3ZZZ Program Guide*; *3CRAM Guide*)

	3 EA		3 ZZZ		3 CR		TOTAL		
	Progs	Time[11]	Progs	Time	Progs	Time	Progs	Time	Rank
Arabic[12]	8	405	13	780	4	150	25	1335	2
Chinese[13]	10	450	3	240	–	–	13	690	4
Greek	**12**	**540**	**10**	**660**	**6**	**510**	**28**	**1710**	**1**
Italian	12	540	3	180	1	60	16	780	3
Vietnamese	8	360	1	60	–	–	9	420	5

Table 3 gives details of programs in the chosen five languages on

[10]See for example Tenezakis' observation that "the Greek papers [...] included numerous photographs which showed members of the Greek community at social gatherings" (1984: 258). The only daily Greek paper included in the present survey (*Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* [*The Greek Herald*]) regularly devotes a full page to photographs of Greek social events in Sydney. In 1988 a short-lived attempt was made to market a Greek newspaper consisting of entirely of photographs (*Η Ομογένεια Αυστραλίας σε Εικόνες* [*The Greek "Omoyenia" Pictorial*]). While such material may promote in-group solidarity in the Greek-Australian community, it cannot be said to contribute to the retention of literacy in Greek.

[11]Time is given in minutes. At the time of the survey, programs on 3EA were 45 minutes long; they have now been extended to one hour with the introduction of a second frequency on the FM band.

[12]Includes all dialects of Arabic. 3ZZZ lists Arabic programs by *nationality* or *dialect* (e.g. Egyptian, Palestinian).

[13]Includes programs in Cantonese and Mandarin, the only dialects regularly broadcast.

the three multilingual stations which can be heard throughout the Melbourne metropolitan area.[14]

Radio Ethnic Australia (call sign 3EA in Melbourne) was set up by the federal government on an experimental basis in June 1975. Three years later the government-funded Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), which also operates a multilingual television channel (see 2.3.3. below), assumed control of the station (Ozolins, 1993: 123–6). Airtime on 3EA is allotted according to the relative strength of community languages in Melbourne and the perceived need of each community for information services in the mother tongue; reductions in total airtime for a given language only occur when new languages are introduced into the schedule (SBS, 1992: 20). Programs are produced and presented by professional broadcasters.

3ZZZ and 3CR are independent community access stations. They receive much less government subsidy, relying on a variety of sources for their upkeep. Both stations operate listener sponsor schemes and hold a fund-raising "radiothon" once a year. 3CR is less dependent on membership levels, since it receives some support from the trade union movement. All programs are produced by volunteers.

3ZZZ, Melbourne's only full time "ethnic" community access station, was set up in June 1989 and currently broadcasts in fifty-four languages. In crude terms, groups with more listener sponsors (more grassroots community involvement) have more bargaining power when airtime is at stake. Another factor contributing to relative language representation is that unlike 3EA, pluricentric languages such as Arabic are represented by distinct national programs (e.g. Egyptian, Lebanese, Palestinian). Greek-speakers were instrumental in founding and developing the station and have always had a numerically strong and active membership, which is reflected in the number of hours they currently control. On the other hand, communities which show little interest in gaining airtime are under represented. According to the co-ordinator of 3ZZZ's Vietnamese program, a lack of trained broadcasters willing to volunteer almost led to the disappearance of the language

[14]Community languages can be heard on a further seventeen local "ethnic broadcasting stations" throughout Victoria (Australian Ethnic Radio Training Project, 1993); these are not included because programs can only be received within the immediate vicinity of each station.

from the 3ZZZ schedule. Previous programs had become so politically polarised that they lost popularity. The restriction of Italian on 3ZZZ to three hours per week may be due to the fact that Italian speakers have access to programs in their own language on the AM station 3AK.

3CR has a much wider brief, but includes programs in twenty languages, predominantly from the Mediterranean and Middle East. Interested organisations can become affiliate members of the station and apply for airtime. Broadcasting in North European and Eastern Asian languages has always been minimal due to a lack of interest on the part of relevant groups. Greek can be heard for at least one hour daily except Saturday, making it by far the most frequently broadcast community language on the station.

The overall picture which emerges from an examination of airtime allocation is one of heavy volunteer involvement by speakers of Greek, who have made a significant contribution to community radio since its inception. Keen participation in mother tongue radio is particularly important in the light of Fishman's claim that efforts to reverse language shift "must initially be primarily based on the self-reliance of pro-RLSers [those actively working to reverse language shift] and on the community of Xish users [where X is the mother tongue] and advocates whom pro-RLSers seek to mobilise and to activate" (Fishman, 1991: 111).

However much broadcasters may believe their programs contribute to language maintenance efforts (Renz, 1987), there is no direct correlation between present broadcasting hours and language survival rates as reported by Clyne (1991: 36–111) and others. Radio is clearly valued differently by different cultural groups in Melbourne. Speakers of Dutch, who have consistently been reported as displaying one of the highest and speediest rates of language shift to English in Australia (Pauwels, 1980; Clyne, 1982: 27–8), are represented by small but active groups on 3ZZZ and other community stations in and around Melbourne. Dutch programs are almost always hosted by elderly first generation migrants and are of the "nostalgia" light entertainment type, with a high percentage of airtime given over to music and dedications. On the other hand, Greek and Latin-American programs (particularly on 3CR, which has a reputation for radical politics) dedicate more time to discussion of homeland and community politics. Young Greek- and

Spanish-speaking listeners are thus exposed to a wider range of vocabulary and syntax in their mother tongue than their Dutch counterparts. Fishman argues that this resource does not significantly contribute to language maintenance because of the limited appeal of programs to the Australian-born (Fishman, 1991: 271).

2.3.3. *Television*

Table 4 reports broadcast hours for the five chosen languages on the multilingual television channel operated by the Special Broadcasting Service (henceforth SBS TV), which began broadcasting in October 1980. Approximately fifty percent of total output is in English, the remainder being shared between thirty-three other languages in 1991–2 (SBS, 1992: 84–5)

Table 4: Number of hours broadcast on SBS TV in top five community languages in Victoria (Source: SBS 1993)

	Hours per annum	% total program time	% non-English program time	Rank
Arabic	56.17	1.46	2.76	3
Chinese	55.29	1.44	2.72	4
Greek	**155.99**	**4.07**	**7.66**	**2**
Italian	304.73	7.94	14.97	1
Vietnamese	10.68	0.28	0.52	5

Broadcast hours on SBS TV are nominally allotted on the familiar proportional representation basis, whereby larger communities have more airtime. The *actual* number of programs broadcast in any language depends largely on the availability of material from the country or countries concerned. Consideration is given to technical superiority (image quality) and acceptability to the multicultural audience. When questioned about their failure to stick to language quotas, program buyers cite problems in dealing with overseas broadcast networks; Greek is a case in point (O'Regan and Kolar-Panov, 1993: 152). Languages with a high worldwide film and TV output offer buyers a wider range and tend to be allotted more airtime.

Section (d) of the SBS charter specifically states one of the

service's eight chief aims as being to "contribute to the retention and continuing development of language and other cultural skills" (SBS, 1992: 6). However admirable this may be, the contribution of SBS TV to language maintenance must be regarded as minimal given the number of languages competing for airtime. The current situation is in no way comparable to the one described by Beardsmore (1984) in Brussels, where viewers have access to a range of monolingual channels in different languages. Only one hundred and fifty-six hours of Greek, or three hours per week, were broadcast on SBS TV in 1992–3 (this figure includes program repeats). Of these, a very small percentage would have been aimed at young children, the group usually targeted by language maintenance supporters. Community language monolingual channels offering the usual mixture of programs would be far more effective, but it is highly unlikely such a service will ever be established. Satellite services from the homeland, along the lines of the ambitious worldwide diaspora TV project recently announced by the Greek government (*Νέος Κόσμος* [*Neos Kosmos*] 25.10.93: 1) are a more likely future alternative. The best the existing channel can hope to achieve is to promote the prestige of community languages, but as Fishman points out: "the impact of this attitudinal improvement is lost insofar as reversing language shift is concerned, unless that impact is explicitly and quickly fed back to the establishment [...] in which these languages can be intergenerationally transmitted as mother tongues" (Fishman, 1991: 270).

3. Greek media usage in Melbourne

3.1. *Introduction*

Our survey of community language media has revealed that readers of Greek living in Melbourne have access to more publications in their own language[15] than any other group except for readers of Chinese.

[15]The following Greek titles were regularly circulating at the time of the interview survey: *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας*[*The Greek Herald*] (daily newspaper); *Νέος Κόσμος* [*Neos Kosmos*] and *Ελληνικός Κόσμος* [*Greek Kosmos*] (bi-weekly newspapers); *Νέα Ελλάδα* [*Greek Times*], *Νέα Πατρίδα* [*New Country*] (weekly newspapers); *Αθλητική Ηχώ* [*Athletic Echo*] (weekly sports newspaper); *Ελληνίς* [*Ellinis*] (weekly women's magazine); *Νέος Πυρσός* [*Greek Torch*] (fortnightly newspaper, publication ceased during research period); *Τσαχπίνα* [*Tsahpina*] (monthly satirical newspaper);

Three major radio stations broadcast a total of almost thirty hours of Greek per week. The same language can also be heard on a further nine community stations throughout Victoria (Australian Ethnic Radio Training Project, 1993) and on four narrowcast stations available to subscribers in Melbourne and other state capitals. The latter transmit programs produced in Australia and the home country round the clock. In addition, SBS television offers approximately three hours of programs in the Greek language every week. What follows is an examination of how these resources are used by a small sample of Melbourne's Greek-speaking community.

3.2. *Methodology*

A total of thirty-six informants were selected on the basis of age, sex and generation. All of them live or work full time in the inner Melbourne city of Brunswick, which was one of the first areas to be settled by Greek migrants (Angelidis and Efstratiadis, 1989: 10–12). At the time of the 1991 census, 4398 people or 11.7% of the Brunswick population regularly spoke Greek at home (ABS, 1993b). A prominent member of the Melbourne Greek-Australian community introduced the researcher to regular customers in a Greek coffee house and to members of two social clubs situated in Brunswick; further informants were then located using the "snowball" technique. Data was collected over a three-month period from August to October 1993. Although the study was primarily interested in media use by the second generation, it was felt that first generation informants should be included for comparative purposes. The final sample thus comprised nine men and nine women who migrated to Australia from Greece and Cyprus at age sixteen or over (first generation, henceforth GI) and nine men and women of Greek parentage born or raised from childhood in Australia (second generation, henceforth GII.[16] Socioeconomic status and educational level varied: all of GI attended at least some primary schooling, but none of them had been to university. The majority of them ran catering or other small businesses (7) or were retired (5). Twelve of GII were currently

Δηλαδή [Diladi] (monthly magazine).

[16] *Both* parents of the second generation informants were born in either Greece or Cyprus. This definition of the second generation thus differs from the one used by the Bureau of Immigration Research and other similar organisations (see 2.1. above).

attending university or had graduated and were working in a variety of professions. The profile of this sample does not adequately reflect the composition of the Melbourne Greek community at large, nor is it intended to do so — the aim is to provide a series of case studies of intergenerational media usage and language attitudes. The participants gave a structured interview based on a questionnaire comprising sixty-four closed and open-ended questions divided into five sections: personal information (Qs 1–15), knowledge of English and Greek (Qs 16–23), sources of information and entertainment (Qs 24–48), Greek community press (Qs 49–53) and attitudinal questions on languages in Australia (Qs 54–64). Interviews were conducted in English or Greek according to informant preference and ranged from thirty minutes to one and a half hours. Answers were noted down by the researcher during the course of the interview, the whole procedure being recorded on cassette. Some of the interviews were carried out immediately after introduction to the informant, in a quiet corner of the coffee house, workplace or social club while others took place by arrangement in the informant's home.

3.3 *Selected research findings*

3.3.1. *Bilingual skills*

Before questions on media and language use were put, informants were asked to estimate their knowledge of English and Greek in the four major skills (understanding, speaking, reading and writing) on a five-point scale ranging from "very high" to "very low". Reported competence is given below in tabular form.

Table 5: Self assessment of linguistic ability in English (proficiency by generation by medium)

Level	V.High		High		Medium		Low		V. Low	
Generation	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**
Understand	–	15	4	3	12	–	2	–	–	–
Speak	–	14	6	4	10	–	2	–	–	–
Read	–	14	4	4	6	–	4	–	4	–
Write	–	10	1	7	6	–	6	1	5	–

Fishman has suggested that a minor check on the validity of self-assessment is the presence or absence of "monotonic decline", whereby reported competence should be higher for speaking than for understanding, reading or writing (Fishman, 1991: 44). This competence hierarchy is not necessarily true according to two GI informants, who argued that they could usually express what they wanted (if simply) in English, but had much more difficulty understanding. Nevertheless reported proficiency for GI is much higher for oral skills than for literacy ones. The high incidence of "medium" fluency in understanding and speaking English among GI may suggest that this was seen as a non-committal answer, which did not force the informant to report skills positively or negatively; the same applies to literacy level of GII in Greek (see below). Not one GI informant reported very high fluency in any English skill, with at least eight claiming low or very low reading and writing ability. It is consequently unlikely that these eight have more than very limited access to print media in English. The only GII informant to claim less than high ability in any skill was an unemployed man who reported difficulty in writing both languages.

Table 6: Self assessment of linguistic ability in Greek (proficiency by generation by medium)

Level	V.High		High		Medium		Low		V. Low	
Generation	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**
Understand	16	7	2	10	–	1	–	–	–	–
Speak	16	5	2	11	–	1	–	1	–	–
Read	11	6	7	5	–	5	–	1	–	1
Write	8	3	9	5	1	6	–	2	–	2

Reported Greek skills for GI resemble those of GII for English, with only one informant reporting less than high competency in any medium (writing). Table 6 shows that GII informants believe themselves to be more competent in Greek than their parents' generation are in English. Their reported superior command of literacy skills in the second language is not surprising if one considers that all but one of

them had attended formal Greek classes in Australia (twelve to VCE[17] level or above), whereas seven GI informants had never attended formal English classes and only three had done so for more than a few months. Only two informants claimed less than high competence in oral skills. Over half of GII (11) reported high or very high reading ability. Despite the arbitrary nature of the competence categories ("high" fluency means different things to different people) it is reasonable to assume that these informants are in a position to read at least simple newspaper articles in Greek.

The research aim was to examine the extent to which reported skills were called upon in everyday media use. Of central interest was the degree to which GII drew upon the knowledge of Greek acquired early on in the parental home and the "ethnic" part-time or full-time bilingual school.

3.3.2. *News sources*

Informants were asked to name the chief source of information about events in four arenas: Australia, worldwide, the "home country" (Greece or Cyprus) and the Greek community in Australia. This question was designed to determine intergenerational similarities and differences in the use of print versus electronic media. This was felt necessary, because in certain cases choice of medium *predetermines* language rather than vice-versa. To cite one example, people who prefer to use television as a source of news cannot learn about events in Australia in Greek, whilst newspaper readers can do so in either English or Greek.

[17]Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) examinations are taken in the final year of secondary school. Greek is not included in the "core" curriculum of any secondary school, but does count as a tertiary entrance subject. In 1992 Greek was the most popular language in Victoria in terms of final year enrolments (Tamis, 1993: 49–52).

Table 7: How information is sourced (medium by generation by area of interest)

	Television		Radio		News-papers		Relatives + friends		Not sourced	
Generation	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**
Australia	4	8	4	5	8	5	1	–	1	–
International	9	11	4	1	4	6	1	–	–	–
Homeland	–	–	7	–	9	7	2	8	–	3
Community	–	–	3	3	13	4	2	10	–	1

The most striking observation in relation to television is that no participant relies on it for information about events in the homeland or in the Greek-Australian community. Provision for homeland items is almost entirely restricted to SBS TV, which at the time of the survey consisted of a weekly half-hour news and information bulletin prepared by the Greek national broadcasting organisation ERT shown on Sunday morning.[18] A repeat slot for the program at the same time the following day was recently allocated. Items concerning Greece or the Greek community in Australia are occasionally included in the SBS evening news in English. Only stories of perceived national or international importance (such as the Greek presidency of the European Union or the recent tension between Melbourne's Greek and Macedonian communities) ever reach other channels.

The major intergenerational discrepancy in viewing habits relates to events in Australia: eight GII informants use television as their main source of such information, as opposed to half that number of their GI counterparts (4). One should bear in mind that the weekly TV news broadcast in Greek rarely refers to events in Australia. At least half of both groups regard television as their main source of international news items, which were largely introduced to Australian television with the arrival of SBS TV (Ashbolt, 1985 in O'Regan and Kolar-Panov, 1993: 157). The popularity of SBS news combined with the limited space

[18]SBS TV now also rebroadcasts Greek news from the Athenian commercial channel ANT 1 on weekday mornings at 6.30 a.m.

devoted to international events in Greek-Australian newspapers may help to explain the relatively high percentage of GI informants who source this news category from TV rather than from any other medium.

The same number of GI participants relied on radio as their chief source of news about Australia and internationally as relied on television (4). Unlike television, radio offers the possibility of satisfying this requirement in Greek — the two daily bulletins on the SBS station 3EA include Australian and international news. Greek programs on community stations also devote time to these issues, though lack of news gathering resources means that they are rarely presented in the form of a formal bulletin. Further investigation revealed that although almost equal numbers of GI (4) and GII (5) use the radio for such news, GI are far more likely to do so by listening to Greek programs than GII. Radio is also the main source of news about Greece and Cyprus for seven GI informants, whereas no GII informant regarded it as the most important medium. News about the Melbourne Greek community, which is a regular feature of Greek programs, was only sourced by three informants of each generation from radio.

Newspapers occupy a unique position in the imbalance between Greek- and English-language media in Australia. Whereas Greek radio and television programs are mere drops in an anglophone ocean, taking up a minute percentage of total airtime, the daily output of the community press does not lag far behind that of the mainstream. At present, at least two Greek-language titles are on sale in Melbourne every day except Sunday. Those who prefer English have only double this number at their disposal (*Herald-Sun*, *Age*, *Australian*, *Australian Financial Review*). More GI informants (8) gain news about Australia from newspapers than from any other medium, yet only half this number rely on them for international news. This may be due to the under-reporting of international news in the Greek-language press. As would be expected, newspapers are the most important source of homeland news for half of GI (9), this being one of the main functions of the "immigrant" press (Arvanitis, 1984: 45). Given that articles about Greece and Cyprus appear infrequently in mainstream print media, one must conclude that the seven GII informants who learn about events there do so largely from the community press. Events in the Melbourne and wider Australian Greek community are sourced from

the press by thirteen GI informants, but only four of their GII counterparts, the majority of whom (10) learn about such matters *by word of mouth* (from friends and relatives) rather than by reading newspapers or listening to radio. This finding, together with the fact that a significant number of GII informants (8) also cited relatives and friends as the chief source of news about the homeland, suggests that some GII participants rely heavily on incidental conversations about "Greek" news rather than actively seeking it from newspapers or the radio. Three GII informants stated that news about Greece was irrelevant to life in Australia and that they did not seek it out at all, one of whom was also entirely indifferent to events in the Melbourne Greek community. Only one GI informant took the same attitude towards Australian news.

This introductory examination of media use reveals limited intergenerational differences in use of electronic versus print media. Above all, GII does not appear unduly dependent on television as a source of news, at the expense of newspapers. The editor of the Italian-language newspaper *Il Globo* recently blamed GII obsession with electronic media more than anything else for low GII readership of both minority and mainstream newspapers. Yet considering all four news domains together, newspapers were cited as the most important source of information 56 times (34 GI, 22 GII), followed by television 32 times (13 GI, 19 GII), and radio 27 times (18 GI, 9 GII). The greatest intergenerational difference relates to friends and relatives, whom GII cited a total of eighteen times as a source of news about the homeland and the Greek community — GI prefers to learn about these matters from the radio and newspapers. With these figures in mind, we can now look at use of individual media in the two languages.

3.3.3. *Individual media and language use*

3.3.3.1. *Newspapers*

Television may be said to be the least linguistically challenging of all media. Apart from the information conveyed by the picture, SBS community language material is usually subtitled in English for the general Australian audience. Fishman even suggested this as contributing to the popularity of mother tongue television among the second generation (1991: 271). At the other end of the scale,

newspapers demand at least some degree of literacy in the language in which they are written.

It is thus surprising to find that more GII subjects read a Greek-language newspaper of some kind at least once a week (8) than regularly listen to Greek radio (7) or watch relevant programs on SBS (7). One explanation for this is the high level of "pass on" readership in GII — when questioned closer, only two respondents claimed to buy these newspapers themselves, the other six reading at least some part of copies bought by first generation members of their household.

Table 8: Newspaper readership[19]
(papers read per week by generation and language)

	0		1		2		3		4		5		6		7+	
Generation	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**
English-Aus	10	2	1	1	–	4	2	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	5	9
Greek-Aus	2	10	5	3	3	2	1	3	1	–	3	–	–	–	3	–
Greek/Cypriot	15	13	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	1

In Tables 5 and 6 we saw that GII rated its reading skills in Greek better than those of GI in English, which was explained in terms of the amount of formal education respondents of each generation received in their second language. This difference is not borne out by the newspaper reading habits of the two generations. While only four GI respondents rated their knowledge of written English as "high", five of them read at least one English-language newspaper every day and a further two read one three times per week. On the other hand, eleven GIIs claimed "very high" or "high" reading competence in Greek, only two claiming "low" or "very low" ability, yet ten of them do not regularly read even one Australian-Greek newspaper. A cross tabulation of second generation educational level in Greek by amount of Greek-Australian papers read reveals that four previous candidates for Greek VCE and one person who studied the language at university level do

[19]Magazine readership was found to be negligible in both languages and is not included in the table. A title by title breakdown was not deemed necessary for the purposes of the present paper.

not read any such paper regularly. This is indicative of a dormant skill which will atrophy without use.

Athenian and Cypriot newspapers are obtainable in Melbourne and were thus included in the survey. Readership was low, but displayed little intergenerational difference — if anything GII included keener readers. All five of the latter had completed at least VCE, with the two most frequent readers both having studied Greek at university. Three of them bought the papers themselves, rather than borrowing copies bought by first generation readers.

The data included in the table refer to *Greek* content of Greek-Australian newspapers. Of all the newspapers in circulation during the research period, only two regularly included English content. The number of English pages in *Νέος Πυρσός [Greek Torch]* varied greatly from edition to edition — this newspaper was not read by any GII informants and went out of circulation in August 1993. At the time the interviews were conducted, *Νέος Κόσμος [Neos Kosmos]* included an English supplement entitled *New Generation* in its Monday edition. This ran to a total of four tabloid pages,[20] whereas the Greek content was twenty broadsheet pages. All ten GII informants who read the Greek content of *Νέος Κόσμος* also read the supplement on a regular basis. The other eight claimed never to do so; two of these had never heard of *New Generation* and were intrigued to learn about it. This finding contradicts the last hypothesis put forward in 1.1., that GII readership of Greek-language papers would be restricted to English sections.

Informants were asked to express their opinion about the inclusion of English pages in Greek-Australian newspapers. Sixteen GII informants were in favour of this idea and two were against. Those in favour cited the value of English pages in keeping some sense of "Greekness" alive in those of the second and later generations whose Greek was limited. Those against English argued that "Greek papers should remain Greek" and that English supplements would work against the maintenance of reading skills in Greek among the young.

[20] *New Generation* has since doubled in size to eight tabloid pages. It is edited by the first ever full-time English-language journalist to be employed by a Greek newspaper in Australia.

More surprisingly, three GII informants were against English even though they did read *New Generation*; their objections to English content were similar to those expressed by GI.

3.3.3.2. *Books*

Table 9: books read per month

	0		1		2–4		5–8		9+	
Gener.	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**
English	17	7	1	6	–	5	–	–	–	–
Greek	9	14	1	1	6	3	1	–	1	–

Books are a further source of material which may assist in the maintenance of literacy skills in the community language. Public library collections in many languages have greatly increased over the past decade (Clyne, 1991: 152). The Brunswick public library holds 2889 Greek books[21] — membership is open to any permanent resident of metropolitan Melbourne and in 1991–2 there were 2183 members who used Greek in the home (City of Brunswick Public Library, 1992: 14–15). There are two Greek speakers on the library staff (personal communication, Brunswick community language librarian).

Membership of at least one library was much lower among GI (6) than GII (11), and most of the books read by GII in English were associated with university or other studies; leisure reading was minimal. The only people who claimed to read more than five books per month in either language were two GI pensioners who said that they enjoyed reading Greek religious books now that they had the time to do so. Seventeen GI read no English books and fourteen GII no Greek books on a regular basis. All four GII informants who read at least than one Greek book per month had studied the language to university level; one works in the only exclusively Greek bookshop in Melbourne, which is situated in Brunswick. The library is a more important source of Greek for GI than GII, who tend to borrow from friends or buy.

[21] In addition, sizeable collections of Greek books are held by the universities attended by GII informants.

Both generations are much more avid readers of newspapers than of books. Few of the houses visited as part of the interview procedure seemed to contain sizeable private libraries (cf. comments by S. Moraitis in Whitehead, 1976: 114). Bearing in mind the reading habits of the GI informants, it is likely that parents rely heavily on Greek "ethnic" schools to teach and encourage use of literacy skills among their children.

3.3.3.3. *Radio*

Table 10 reports listening patterns to English- and Greek-language radio programs. Of those still in full-time employment, GI informants were more likely to work in the kind of environment where the radio played for at least some time every day (shop, takeaway etc.), invariably tuned to an English-language station. This meant that they listened to more radio than the second generation overall.

Table 10: Radio programs listened to (hours per week) by language and generation

	0 hours		1–5 hours		6–10 hours		11-15 hours		16+ hours	
Gener.	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**	**I**	**II**
English	4	1	4	7	1	5	4	2	5	3
Greek	5	11	6	5	4	2	–	–	3	–

From a language maintenance perspective, the most important finding is that 11 GII informants did not listen to any Greek programs at all. The five GII participants who listened to between one and five hours per week mostly did so in the car on the way to work. At the time of the survey two Greek-language radio programs were broadcast during drive time on weekday mornings (3EA 7.15–8.00 a.m. and 3ZZZ 8.00–9.00 a.m.). One can only speculate as to what effect a schedule change would have on GII listening habits — the only GII informants who specifically mentioned listening to an evening Greek program after work were volunteers on 3CR and 3ZZZ who regularly tuned into their colleagues when not at the stations themselves. Yet again the conclusion must be that there is a great difference between the perceived or theoretical value of community language radio programs for language maintenance and the extent to which this resource is

accessed. As Fishman *et al.* point out: "Functional and overt linguistic diversity depends on more than language consciousness, attitude and conviction, all of the latter being prerequisites of non-English mother tongue claiming in varying degrees. Above all, it depends on language *use*" (1982: 7).

3.3.3.4. *Television*

We have already discussed the limited provision of Greek programs on SBS. The only program regularly screened at the time the research was carried out was a weekly news bulletin, shown on Sunday afternoon. All participants were asked whether they made a point of watching Greek material on SBS. Viewing percentages are far lower than those reported by Tamis (1985: 46). All but two of the households involved could receive the channel and there was no significant intergenerational difference in viewing — eleven informants from each group stated they did not watch any Greek at all. Three GI informants and two GII said they regularly watched the Greek news. Only one GI and two GII could name films or series seen recently. Several informants of both generations said that Greek material was shown too late and a number argued that films were too "arty" or "unsuitable". The overall impression gained was one of a high degree of dissatisfaction among informants regarding the quality and scheduling of Greek on SBS TV. Almost all informants (17 GI and 14 GII) said they would like to be able to receive an exclusively Greek channel in the future, with the few objectors arguing that programs would probably be low quality, or irrelevant to a Greek-Australian audience unless produced here. These findings confirm that though the *potential* value of television for language maintenance may be high, the present service is of little *actual* value to most of those questioned.

3.3.3.5. *Video*

Research revealed that there are at least four video clubs offering Greek-language material for hire in Brunswick, all of which also stock mainstream English-language films. A limited number of Greek tapes can also be borrowed from public libraries in Brunswick and nearby Coburg. Greek-language stock consists of old classic films, music videos and copies of more recent television serials produced in Greece. All but one of the households involved in the survey owned a video

recorder, but usage levels were surprisingly low. Several informants of both generations made negative comments about the image quality and range of Greek material available for hire; these factors may be regarded as inhibiting the use of videotape as a source of mother tongue entertainment.

Table 11: video use (tapes viewed per month by generation and language)

	N/A		0		1–5		6–10		11 +	
Gener.	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
English	1	1	15	6	1	6	1	1	–	4
Greek	1	1	8	10	6	3	–	3	3	1

The two GI informants who watched English material claimed that it was invariably hired by their children, while the six of the eight GII informants who watched Greek tapes did so primarily because their parents enjoyed hiring them. One cannot know how many of these six will continue to rent Greek video films after they have left the parental home. Taken together with the "pass on" readership phenomenon observed in 3.3.3.1. above, we can see that the fact that a relatively high proportion of second generation Greek Australians continue to live with their parents once financially independent (Bureau of Immigration Research, 1994: 12) plays an important part in the maintenance of Greek by the second generation.

4. Conclusion

Comparison of media provision at inter-group level reveals no overt connection between available resources and language maintenance rates. Community language newspapers and magazines in Australia are produced by commercial enterprises — their only form of government support comes in the form of advertising revenue. They can be regarded as the most reliable guide to the level of interest shown by each community in having mother tongue media. Airtime on the radio and television stations operated by the Special Broadcasting Service is allotted on a proportional representation basis and thus throws no light

on community concern or language maintenance efforts. An examination of participation rates in community radio shows that the relative value attached to this medium, rather than to language maintenance, is the most important factor in determining program provision.

The preliminary interview survey results differ greatly from previous studies (in particular Tamis, 1986) which claim that mother tongue radio and television programs are much more popular with the second generation than newspapers. Although the overwhelming majority of GII respondents expressed interest in a monolingual Greek channel, only a fraction of that number regularly watches the limited amount of Greek programs on SBS TV. It may be that the novelty of own-language television has worn off, or it may be that in seeking to cater for the tastes of the general Australian public, SBS has alienated its "ethnic" audiences. Unless and until new channels begin broadcasting, there is no way of knowing whether television can substantially contribute to language maintenance. With so many languages jostling for space on one frequency, the impact on individual groups is at present minimal.

Both at individual and group level language maintenance is ultimately a matter of choice — those who want to use the skills learned in the home and at the ethnic school or even university will continue to do so, while others will not. While media *provision* at group level may not be related to language maintenance levels, media *use* at individual level may be regarded as an index of maintenance. Twelve of the eighteen second generation participants in the interview survey studied Greek to VCE or beyond, yet of these five do not regularly read any Greek newspaper, six do not listen to any Greek radio and eight do not watch Greek programs on SBS. This situation is hardly likely to change unless the quality of the Greek media in Australia comes to surpass that of the mainstream — something highly unlikely, given the resources available to the parties involved.

Community media would increase in popularity if they were seen to be providing news *indispensable* (or at least extremely important) to the Australian-born which was *not available in English*. This second scenario is equally improbable, especially when one considers the growth in popularity of English sections in Greek-Australian

newspapers. While such sections may promote community awareness and a sense of ethnic identity among the young, they do not help maintain the mother tongue *per se*.

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Ελληνίς [*Ellinis*], weekly Greek women's magazine

Η Ομογένεια Αυστραλίας σε Εικόνες [*The Greek "Omoyenia" Pictorial*], monthly Greek newspaper, January 1988

Νέα Ελλάδα [*Greek Times*], weekly Greek newspaper

Νέα Πατρίδα [*New Country*], weekly Greek newspaper

Νέος Κόσμος [*Neos Kosmos*], bi-weekly Greek newspaper

Νέος Πυρσός [*The Greek Torch*], fortnightly Greek and English newspaper

New Generation, English supplement included in Monday editions of *Νέος Κόσμος*

Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας [*The Greek Herald*], daily Greek newspaper

Τσαχπίνα [*Tsahpina*], monthly satirical Greek newspaper

"ΤΟΤΕ ΚΑΤΙ ΑΦΑΝΤΑΣΤΟΝ ΣΥΝΕΒΗ" Ή Η ΣΥΜΠΤΩΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΣΤΟ ΕΡΓΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΕΑ ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΚΟΥ

> Επί του αναπεπταμένου λιμενοβραχίονος στεκόταν ένας άνδρας. Καμιά φωνή δεν διετάρασσε την πρωινήν γαλήνην, πλην των κραυγών ολίγων γλάρων, που περιίπταντο υπεράνω. Ο άνδρας αυτός —άνδρας με όλην την σημασίαν της λέξεως— έφερε μακρόν ποδήρη επενδύτην, πίλον σκληρόν ημίψηλον, και εις το χέρι του κρατούσε αλεξιβρόχιον ανοικτό, παρά την έκδηλον καλοκαιρίαν. Επρόκειτο περί ανδρός ευειδούς, υψηλού και ρωμαλέου, ο οποίος, οτέ μεν έμοιαζε με άγγλον ευπατρίδην, οτέ δε με πελοποννήσιον εκ Καλαμών, ή εκ Πύργου της Ηλείας. Θα έλεγε κανείς, ότι αυτός ο άνθρωπος, περίμενε εκεί έναν αιώνα.
> [...] Αίφνης ηκούσθη μια γοερά κραυγή.
> ("Ο Επενδύτης". Εμπειρίκος, 1988: 61–4)

Τούτο είναι ένα παράδειγμα με το οποίο αρχίζουμε, αλλά θα μπορούσαμε να αρχίσουμε με ένα οποιοδήποτε άλλο, διαβάζοντας σχεδόν στην τύχη κάποιο πεζό ή ποίημα του Εμπειρίκου: δυο λέξεις, τρεις φράσεις και αμέσως το αναγνωρίζουμε ότι είναι ο ποιητής Εμπειρίκος. Κάτι ασυνήθιστο συμβαίνει που συχνά διακόπτεται από κάτι συμπτωματικό, ακαριαίο και απροσδόκητο.

Μια γραφή που εντυπωσιάζει χωρίς άλλο και υποβάλλει με τη ρητορική μεγαλοσχημοσύνη της και συχνά τον προμελετημένο αντιρεαλισμό της. Γιατί, όταν μιλάμε για Εμπειρίκο, ο νους μας πάει αμέσως στον υπερρεαλισμό ή κατά το γαλλιστί σουρεαλισμό και όμως πολλές φορές διαφεύγει της προσοχής μας ότι μαζί με την γαλλική πρόθεση "sur" και την αντίστοιχη ελληνική "υπέρ" η πρόθεση "αντί" παίζει με τη σειρά της ένα καθοριστικό ρόλο. Ρόλο που "υποκριτικά" πολλές φορές υποδύθηκε καθ' όλη τη διάρκεια των σκηνικών αλλαγών του ευρωπαϊκού μοντερνισμού. Τούτο βέβαια αποκτά ιδιαίτερη σημασία, όταν, εκτός των άλλων, το "αντί" εδώ προαναγγέλλει και τη γόνιμη αντιπαράθεση ανάμεσα στον ελληνικό και γαλλικό υπερρεαλισμό και την προμελετημένα εμπρόθετη ρεαλιστική τους

ERRATUM

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In the process of editing the text of D.H. Close, "Schism in Greek society under Axis occupation: an interpretation", the word "anti-Venizelist" was inadvertently extracted from several places; it needs to be re-inserted in:

p. 2, line 5; p. 3, para. 3, lines 9 and 18; p. 7, para. 3, lines 4 and 11; p. 19, para. 3, line 2.