TALE OF TWO MULTILINGUAL CITIES IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTINENT

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This article constitutes a first analysis of language data from the 2006 Australian census. Some comparisons are made with previous censuses. The article focuses particularly on differences in the distribution of community languages throughout the Sydney and Melbourne metropolitan areas.

Australia is becoming an increasingly multilingual nation, with the 2006 census recording 16.8 per cent of the population speaking a language other than English (LOTE) in their homes, compared with 14.8 per cent in 1991 and 16.2 per cent in 2001. In Australia's largest two cities the proportion is even greater, with 31.4 per cent of Sydneysiders and 27.9 per cent of Melbournians speaking a LOTE at home. The proportion is rising somewhat faster in Sydney (up 2.2 per cent from 2001) than in Melbourne (a rise of one per cent over the same period). As in previous censuses since 1986 these statistics underestimate the actual use of LOTEs, excluding as they do people who do not have anyone to speak to at home and those who speak a LOTE regularly but not in their own home.

It is not clear how many languages are actually used because of the way in which the question on languages is processed by the census, with a number of umbrella categories in place such as 'Finnish and Related Languages, not elsewhere classified', 'Other Southeast Asian languages' or, in the Indigenous context, 'Northern River Fringe languages' and 'Kimberley Area Languages'. It would appear however that there are between 350 and 400 languages currently spoken in Australia, including 150 to 155 indigenous ones. The 2006 census has processed individually far more indigenous languages than in 2001, when only 64 were recorded. The most widely used are Arrente (2834

home users), Pidjintjatjara (2657) and Walpiri (2507).

The most widely used individual community languages in Australia are still Italian and Greek, brought to Australia in the wake of World War II and before the resumption[1] of large-scale migration from Asia in the 1970s. Due among other things to the stronger specialisation of manufacturing in Victoria during this period, Melbourne attracted more immigrants than Sydney and both languages (but particularly Greek) continue to be more strongly represented in Melbourne. The next most widely spoken languages nationally in 2006 were Cantonese, Arabic, and Mandarin, all of which are spoken at home by more than 200,000 people, and Vietnamese, which has 195,000 home users (see Table 1). Just below the 100,000 mark is Spanish, followed by Tagalog/Filipino,[2] German, and Hindi. Of this group, only German could be characterised as a post-war language, which have as a group been declining in strength since 1991. Over the same period of time massive increases have been seen in the use of Mandarin (305 per cent), Hindi (208 per cent), Korean, Vietnamese, Filipino, Arabic, and Indonesian. Sydney has been the focus of much of this newer migration and is home to the highest national proportions of speakers of languages such as Mandarin, Korean, Filipino and Arabic (see below).

Many of the languages with large

increases are ones considered of economic importance to Australia and prioritised in schools, although the languages of some large community groups (Vietnamese and Filipino, for example) are still underrepresented in the school systems.[3] Currently available census data do not enable us to assess how many of the increases result from international students. The ongoing trend since 1991 would suggest that by 2011 Mandarin and Arabic will both have more speakers than Italian or Greek and that Hindi, Filipino and Spanish will all pass the 100,000 speaker mark.

MULTILINGUALISM IN AUSTRALIA'S CAPITAL CITIES

As has been foreshadowed above, and as has been noted in the two previous censuses,[4] each capital city is developing its own distinctive sociolinguistic profile (see Table 2). In Sydney, the top languages by far are Arabic and Cantonese. In Melbourne and Adelaide they are still Italian and Greek. Italian predominates in Perth, followed by three Asian languages—Mandarin, Cantonese and Vietnamese. The latter three are the most widely used in Brisbane in the order Mandarin, Vietnamese and Cantonese.

Adelaide and Melbourne share their top five languages, but in a slightly different order, and four of them are also among the top five in Sydney which stands out for the

importance of Arabic. The continuing strength of Arabic in Sydney despite the rapid rise of Mandarin can be attributed both to the much higher language maintenance rates among second generation Arabic speakers (this will be addressed in a further article)[5] and the pluricentric nature of Arabic, which is spoken in many countries of the Middle East as well as Africa (although most speakers of African languages are concentrated in Melbourne—see below). Cantonese is still ahead of Mandarin in the two largest mainland capitals but not in Adelaide, Canberra, Perth or Brisbane. Since the 2001 census, Mandarin has overtaken Arabic in Melbourne.

Arabic is heavily concentrated in

Table 1: Top 20 languages spoken at home in Australia in 2006 (Indigenous languages given as a total)

Top 20 languages in 2006	Speakers in 1991	Speakers in 2006	per cent change since 1991
1 Italian	418,801	316,893	-24.3
2 Greek	285,702	252,222	-11.7
3 Cantonese	162,899	244,554	50.1
4 Arabic	162,855	243,662	49.6
5 Mandarin	54,537	220,596	304.5
6 Vietnamese	110,185	194,858	76.8
7 Spanish	90,477	97,998	8.3
8 Tagalog/Filipino	59,109	92,330	56.2
9 German	113,335	75,634	-33.3
10 Hindi	22,727	70,013	208.1
11 Macedonian	64,428	67,831	5.3
12 Croatian	63,081	63,615	0.8
13 Austn Indigenous	45,196	55,698	23.2
13 Korean	19,756	54,619	176.5
15 Turkish	41,966	53,858	28.3
16 Polish	66,933	53,390	-20.2
17 Serbian	24,336	52,534	115.9
18 French	45,496	43,219	-5.0
19 Indonesian	29,803	42,038	41.1
20 Persian	n.a.	37,155	

Table 2: Top ten languages other than English (LOTEs) spoken at home in Australian capital cities, 2006

	Sydney	Melbourne	Adelaide	Canberra	Perth	Darwin	Brisbane	Hobart
1	Arabic	Italian	Italian	Mandarin	Italian	Greek	Mandarin	Greek
2	Cantonese	Greek	Greek	Italian	Mandarin	Tag./Filipino	Vietnamese	Italian
3	Mandarin	Vietnamese	Vietnamese	Vietnamese	Cantonese	Austn Indig.	Cantonese	Mandarin
4	Greek	Cantonese	Mandarin	Cantonese	Vietnamese	Indonesian	Italian	German
5	Vietnamese	Mandarin	Cantonese	Greek	Arabic	Vietnamese	Samoan	Polish
6	Italian	Arabic	Polish	Croatian	Indonesian	Cantonese	Greek	Cantonese
7	Spanish	Macedonian	German	Spanish	German	Italian	Spanish	Spanish
8	Tag./Filipino	Turkish	Arabic	German	Croatian	Portuguese	Tag./Filipino	Dutch
9	Hindi	Spanish	Serbian	Arabic	Polish	Mandarin	Hindi	Arabic
10	Korean	Tag./Filipino	Tag./Filipino	Hindi	Macedonian	German	German	French

Sydney (66 per cent of the total Arabic-speaking population in Australia) as are Korean (65.8 per cent of total Korean-speaking population), Assyrian (68.1 per cent), and Hindi and Urdu (52.82 per cent and 52.17 per cent respectively). Melbourne has strong concentrations of Sinhala (from Sri Lanka) (57.13 per cent), Turkish (45.3 per cent), and Maltese (49.18 per cent). Among smaller emerging communities, Horn of Africa languages are also concentrated in Melbourne—Somali (63.2 per cent), Oromo (83.1 per cent), Amharic (53.48 per cent) and Tigrinya (53.1 per cent)—as is Karen from Myanmar-Burma (96.8 per cent). So while Melbourne and Sydney are largely differentiated by the post-war European/newer Asian and Middle-Eastern divide, this differentiation is by no means absolute.

MULTILINGUALISM AT LOCAL LEVEL WITHIN SYDNEY AND MELBOURNE

In order to compare the relative spread of multilingualism within capital cities, we are employing a differentiation system of local government areas (LGAs) devised for this purpose:[6]

Type A: these are LGAs where there is only one language other than English (with more than 1000 speakers) used in the home

Type B: these are LGAs which have an ethno-linguistically mixed population but with one dominant language other than English—the number of home users of this language exceeds that of the total for the next two languages in rank order

Type C: these are LGAs with an ethnolinguistically mixed population and no dominant language other than English, that is none whose number of home users exceeds that of the next two languages

Type D: these are LGAs with a relatively small number of speakers of languages other than English (less than 15 per cent of the total population of the LGA), and mainly one or two community languages with more than 1000 speakers

Type E: these are LGAs with no significant numbers of community language speakers (fewer than 1000 in Sydney and Melbourne and fewer than 500 in Adelaide).

This allows us to compare cities in terms of LOTE presence over the whole metropolitan area as well as the relative linguistic diversity of individual LGAs within cities. The distribution of LGAs in Melbourne and Sydney according to those types in 2006 is shown in Table 3.

The most striking contrast between Sydney and Melbourne remains the much higher proportion (27 per cent) of Sydney LGAs (12 of them, mainly to the north and east) with no presence of LOTEs with over one thousand speakers. There has been no change in the Sydney Type E municipalities (either in number or in representation) since 1996. The number of Type E municipalities in Melbourne, however, decreased from three to two between 1996 and 2001 and remains at two (seven per cent) in 2006. While Sydney's less linguistically diverse LGAs have tended to have fewer than 1000 speakers of any LOTEs (Type E), Melbourne has typically had more Type D municipalities (ones with a limited number of LOTEs). The number of Type D LGAs in Melbourne has dropped from seven to four between 2001 and 2006. In the case of Melton, which has been reclassified as Type C (adding five languages), this is due to increasing linguistic diversity and, in the case of Yarra Ranges, reclassified as Type A, both Dutch and German (largely languages from the post-war era whose speakers settled atypically on the outer urban fringe) have dropped below 1000 speakers.

As can be seen from Tables 3 and 4, substantial changes in LGA type distribution have occurred between 1996 and 2001. The more significant change took

Table 3: LGA type[7] by city, 2006

City	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Type E
			L G A t y p e		
Sydney 44 LGAs	Leichhardt (Italian) Waverley (Russian)	Bankstown (Arabic+9) Baulkham Hills (Cantonese+10) Fairfield (Viet+16) Holroyd (Arabic+11) Ku-ring-gai (Cantonese+2) Parramatta (Arabic+12) Canada Bay* (Italian+5)	Ashfield (3) Auburn (9) Blacktown (20) Botany (3) Burwood (6) Campbelltown (5) Canterbury (12) Hornsby (8) Hurstville (6) Kogarah (6) Liverpool (16) Marrickville (7) North Sydney (3) Penrith (8) Randwick (8) Rockdale (8) Ryde (6) South Sydney (5) Strathfield (6) Sutherland (6) Sydney (11) Warringah (3) Willoughby (4)		Blue Mountains Camden Gosford Hawkesbury Hunter's Hill Lane Cove Manly Mosman Pittwater Wollondilly Woollahra Wyong
	2 (5%)	7 (16%)	23 (52%)		12 (27%)
Melbourne 32 LGAs	Yarra Ranges (Italian)	Banyule (Italian+2) Brimbank (Vietn.+13) Greater Dandenong (Vietnam.+15) Kingston (Greek+6) Maribyrnong (Vietnam.+5) Moonee Valley (Italian+5) Moreland (Italian+7) Port Phillip (Greek+2) Stonnington (Greek+3) Wyndham (Italian+5)	Boroondara (5) Casey (20) Darebin (8) Glen Eira (6) Hobsons Bay (6) Hume (11) Knox (6) Manningham (5) Melbourne (4) Melton (6) Monash (12) Whitehorse (5) Whittlesea (7) Yarra (5)	Bayside (Greek/Italian) Maroondah (Italian) Mornington Peninsula (Italian) Nillumbik (Italian)	Cardinia Frankston
	1 (3%)	10 (32%)	14 (45%)	4 (12.9%)	2 (7%)

Notes: The proportion of LGA types is indicated in Table 4.
       * amalgamation of former Concord and Drummoyne.

place in Sydney, which saw a marked increase in the Type C category, largely as a result of the diversification of Type A municipalities. Melbourne continues to have a significantly higher proportion of Type B LGAs (where there is a diverse population, but one dominant LOTE) than does Sydney. This may reflect the longstanding presence of languages from the post-war era. The dominant languages in Type B municipalities of each city are also somewhat different: in Sydney, Arabic (three LGAs where Arabic is dominant) and Cantonese (two LGAs where Cantonese is dominant), followed by Vietnamese (one LGA) and Italian (one LGA); in Melbourne, Italian (four LGAs), Greek (three LGAs) and Vietnamese (three LGAs).

Although the period between the 2001 and 2006 censuses has seen a less dramatic change in both LGA type and numbers of languages with over 1000 speakers, there has been some movement in both cities. In Sydney, the municipalities that saw the greatest changes were contiguous and in the outer north-west—Baulkham Hills (from Type B Cantonese plus five other languages with more than 1000 speakers to Cantonese plus ten other languages), Blacktown (from Type B, Tagalog plus 15

other languages to Type C, with 20 different languages) and Hornsby (from Type B, Cantonese plus five others to Type C with eight different language). In the case of Blacktown, the reclassification has been due largely to the growth of Hindi, and in the case of Hornsby to that of both Mandarin and Korean. The outer west LGAs of Auburn and Fairfield have the largest percentage of LOTE speakers in Australia (77.9 and 72.5 per cent respectively). So the story is one of diversification, although relatively contained in geographical terms.

Melbourne's multilingual growth in the outer west, in both Wyndham and Melton, has been ongoing since 1996 and increasing, though the most multilingual contiguous area is still in the south-east (Monash, Greater Dandenong, Casey). Casey has continued to diversify between 2001 and 2006 (changing from Type C, with 15 different languages to Type C with 20 different languages), though only 28 per cent of its population speaks a LOTE at home (the Melbourne average), and the diversification has occurred recently at a slower rate than between 1996 and 2001. Between 1996 and 2001 Casey changed from a Type C with six different languages to a Type C with 15. Monash also became

Table 4: LGA type by city, 1996 to 2006, numbers and percentages[8]

| Census | Type A | | Type B | | Type C | | Type D | | Type E | |
	Melb	Syd	Melb	Syd	Melb	Syd	Melb	Syd	Melb	Syd
1996	1	10	9	6	13	17	5	0	3	11
	(3%)	(23%)	(29%)	(14%)	(42%)	(39%)	(16%)	(0%)	(10%)	(25%)
2001	0	2	8	8	15	22	7	1	2	11
	(0%)	(5%)	(25%)	(18%)	(47%)	(50%)	(22%)	(2%)	(6%)	(25%)
2006	1	2	10	7	14	23	4	0	2	12
	(3%)	(5%)	(32%)	(16%)	(45%)	(52%)	(13%)	(0%)	(7%)	(27%)

more linguistically diverse between 2001 and 2006 (changing from Type C, with nine different language to a Type C with 12), as did Melton (changing from a Type D, mainly Maltese, to a Type C with six different languages) and Wyndham (from a Type B, Italian, plus two other languages to a Type B, Italian plus five other languages). Port Philip (inner, a Type C with three different languages in 2001) has been reclassified as a Type B, Greek, plus two other languages, and Yarra Ranges (see above) has been reclassified as Type A, with the numbers of German and Dutch speakers dropping below the 1000 mark.

Although Sydney retains a greater proportion of essentially monolingual LGAs than Melbourne, the demography of both cities is characterised by diversification (15 instances of languages being introduced to municipalities in Sydney and 17 in Melbourne) rather than by loss (eight instances of languages dropping below the 1000 mark in Sydney LGAs and seven in Melbourne). The loss has also not been restricted to European languages, nor the increase to non-European ones. For example, Arabic has dropped below the 1000 mark in two Sydney municipalities and Cantonese in one, while Spanish has gained ground in two.

In Melbourne, Italian and Greek have both gained ground in two LGAs, with Italian being reintroduced to Melbourne, its original heartland, through what, based on anecdotal evidence, appears to be second-generation remigration back to the inner city. Both cities are becoming less European in their linguistic profile, although this is more marked in Sydney. The age profile of the language communities in both cities (to be discussed in a forthcoming article) underlines the changes that have been underway since 1991 and point to an acceleration of this change as established populations age and new ones are introduced.

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the linguistic patterns previously noted for the 2001 national census[9] continue into the 2006 census: there is a continuing shift away from a largely European community language demography towards an increasing use of Middle Eastern and Asian languages in the home. This is particularly noticeable in Sydney, where there was always a smaller base of post-war European languages. While Melbourne still has significant communities of Italian and Greek speakers, Sydney stands out for the widespread use of Arabic. Particularly significant in the period 1991 to 2006 is the increase in the numbers of home speakers of Mandarin, Hindi, and Korean nationally, with substantial growth also recorded for Arabic, Indonesian, Turkish and Tagalog/Filipino. On current trends it is likely that by 2011 Mandarin and Arabic will have overtaken Italian and Greek, and that Hindi, Filipino and Spanish will all pass the 100,000-speaker mark.

Australian capital cities are also increasingly developing their own distinctive sociolinguistic profiles, both in terms of languages spoken and the distribution of those languages. The division into monolingual English-speaking and multilingual areas is still more marked in Sydney than in Melbourne where multilingualism is more evenly distributed. There are also fewer municipalities in Sydney that are dominated by one community language, perhaps reflecting the more recent nature of large-scale LOTE-speaking immigration. The linguistic demography of both cities is characterised by diversification rather than contraction, although numbers of speakers of post-war languages continue to decline.

References

1. The gold rushes of the nineteenth century attracted significant numbers of Chinese.
2. Filipino is the national language developed out of the regional language, Tagalog.
3. M. Clyne, S. Fernandez and F. Grey, 'Languages taken at school and languages spoken in the community—a comparative perspective', *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, vol. 27, 2004, pp. 1–17.
4. M. Clyne and S. Kipp, 'Australia's Changing Language Demography', *People and Place*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2002, pp. 29–35
5. See also M. Clyne and S. Kipp, *Pluricentric Languages in an Immigrant Context: Arabic, Chinese and Spanish*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 1999.
6. M. Clyne, *Multilingual Australia*, River Seine, Melbourne, 1982; M. Clyne, *Australia's Language Potential*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2005; M. Clyne and S. Kipp, 'Language concentration in metropolitan areas', *People and Place*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1998, pp. 50–60
7. See text explanation of the types.
8. The percentages are of total LGAs within each city.
9. M. Clyne and S. Kipp, 'Australia's Changing Language Demography', *People and Place*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2002, pp. 29–35