

# **THE MAINTENANCE OF PORTUGUESE AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE IN WINNIPEG**

**BY**

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for the Degree of**

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**Department of Curriculum: Humanities and Social Sciences  
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**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University  
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## ABSTRACT

*The Maintenance of Portuguese as a Heritage Language in Winnipeg* is a study of the maintenance of the Portuguese language among members of the first and second generations in the Portuguese community in Winnipeg. In order to understand the context of this language maintenance, important details of the Portuguese immigration to Canada and of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg are presented.

The study examines the extent to which the Portuguese language has been used by first and second generation members and determines the differences in language proficiency present in both generations. The respondents, members of 66 Luso-Canadian households in Winnipeg, were randomly selected from the Winnipeg Telephone Directory.

The findings indicate that the Portuguese language is still widely used among members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg, especially by members of the first generation, and mainly in the domains of family, friendship, church, and several businesses and services. Although approximately one third of second generation members use Portuguese frequently, especially with their parents and grandparents, English is their language of preference in all other domains. In terms of language proficiency, both generations have high levels of comprehension skills. However, there exists a wide gap between first and second generations in speaking, reading, and writing skills. In spite of the data indicating a gradual loss in language use in all its strands (comprehension, oral, reading, and writing), there has been a conscious and continuous effort by the Portuguese institutions to develop cultural activities, as well as language programs, in order to promote and maintain the Portuguese linguistic and cultural values in Winnipeg.

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# **CHAPTER I**

## **INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY**

### **RATIONALE**

The phenomenon of migration from a home country to a different linguistic and cultural environment pressures the newly arrived immigrant to face the dilemma of acculturating into the new society while simultaneously responding to the responsibility of maintaining and transmitting his or her language and cultural values. Recognizing that both the language and culture are the strongest links that unite a geographically dispersed people connecting them to the country of origin, Correia de Jesus (1990), Secretary of State for Portuguese Emigrant Communities, stated one of his government's top priority to support the maintenance of homeland values among the four million Portuguese emigrants in the diaspora. This policy reinforces Portugal's official language policy which has the objective of maintaining and developing the Portuguese language in other countries and guaranteeing its survival in the former African colonies (Silva & Gunnewiek, 1992).

According to research conducted in the United States (Fishman, 1966; Williams, 1976; Veltman, 1980 and 1983), Portuguese-American immigrants and their descendents are similar to other ethnic groups in the gradual loss of their minority language. Honig (1983) reports that two of the above studies found that a three-stage process of assimilation into the American mainstream was generally experienced by the Portuguese immigrants in California, this

being Portuguese monolingualism in the first generation, Portuguese and English bilingualism in the second, and English monolingualism in the third generation. These studies examined the situation in the United States, with a much older immigrant community, present there for over 150 years (Honig, 1983). Extensive research on this topic has not been conducted in Canada where the Portuguese community is relatively young (44 years old, since the first large-scale migration) and where the third generation is not yet evident. It is a reality, however, that since the beginning of its establishment in 1953, attempts to preserve the Portuguese language and culture have been made in families, among friends, in cultural organizations, in church, and through language instruction in supplementary and public schools, as well as in some Canadian universities, such as York University and the University of Toronto.

The present study will examine the origins of Portuguese, both in Canada and in Winnipeg, through secondary historical resources. It will then review literature on language maintenance in general, and the maintenance of the Portuguese language in the North-American diaspora. The aspect of language shift, "*Portinglês*", will be reviewed through secondary linguistic resources and through informal observations of the researcher. Furthermore, the study will review literature on the impact of the Canadian Policy of Multiculturalism on heritage language instruction. The main part of the study will be an analysis of data gathered through a survey of the quantity and quality of the Portuguese language in the Winnipeg community. An attempt to identify some of the factors that foster and support the Portuguese language maintenance among the members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg will conclude the study.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

There are several reasons for this study. First, at the Heritage Language Research Conference held in Ottawa in May 1984, which brought together 25 academics from all over Canada, it was concluded that research in the area of heritage language maintenance and promotion had been neglected and, therefore, should be promoted (Cummins, 1984a). Second, several studies have dealt with the historical and socio-cultural aspect of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg (Peters, 1972; Anderson & Higgs, 1976; Marques & Medeiros, 1978; Sousa, 1980; Lopes, 1986; Fernandes, 1989; and Bairos, 1995), but no research has been conducted on the maintenance of its ethnic language. Third, very little research has been done on the maintenance of the Portuguese language in Canada, since the arrival of the first immigrants in 1953.

Thus, this study would benefit the educators involved in teaching students of Portuguese descent, as well as researchers involved in the area of ethnicity, multiculturalism, and heritage languages. It will also provide the Portuguese community of Winnipeg with research on its own language maintenance. Findings of this study in Winnipeg could be compared to findings in other ethnic communities elsewhere in North America.

## **PURPOSE STATEMENT**

The main purpose of this study is two-fold: first, to examine the extent to which the Portuguese language is used by the first and second generation Luso-Canadians residing in Winnipeg; and second, to determine the differences in language proficiency of both generations. Third generation members were excluded from this study because they are still too few and too young to effectively participate.

## **PROCEDURE**

In order to contextualize the status of the Portuguese language existent in the community in Winnipeg, this study will provide a pre-emigration political, educational, and socio-economic background of the community members. It will also provide an historical overview of the immigration phenomenon to Canada, the establishments of the first Portuguese communities, and the gradual acculturation into the main stream, including the acquisition of the dominant language.

The participants in the study were 66 Luso-Canadian households in Winnipeg, which were randomly selected from the Winnipeg Telephone Directory. Each family member, older than ten years of age, was requested to fill out a written questionnaire in order to gather information on language use and proficiency in the domains of family, friends, church, cultural organizations, business and service, and the mass media. The responses were analyzed in each of these categories, and the results are presented in such a way as to maintain anonymity.

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

- **First generation:** Immigrants who were born and educated in Portugal.
- **Second generation:** Children of the first generation of Luso-Canadians who were born and educated in Canada or who came to Canada before the age of ten.
- **Bilingualism:** "The ability to speak two languages with a high level of proficiency in both" (Danesi, 1986, p. 2).
- **Heritage language:** "The language brought by an immigrant group to the host country" (Danesi et al., 1993, p.i).
- **Language of study:** "Any language approved by the minister [of Education] as a subject of study in the schools, including English and French when taught as second languages" (Manitoba Education, 1988, p. 5).
- **Luso-Canadian:** Portuguese-Canadian. *Luso* is a prefix derived from the Latin word *Lusitania*, the Roman province that is presently Portugal (Honig, 1983).
- **Mother Tongue:** "The language a person first learned in his childhood and which he still understands" (De Vries, 1977, p. 82).
- **"Portinglês"** (Portuguese+English): A Canadian version of Portuguese which adapts many English words and patterns into standard Portuguese.

## **LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

This study is limited to the Portuguese population in Winnipeg. A further limitation is its inability to include all members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg in the selection process as the respondents were selected only from those listed in the Winnipeg Telephone Directory. The study examines only the population from the first and second generations due to the young age and the insufficient numbers of third generation Luso-Canadians in Winnipeg. Furthermore, the questionnaire requested a self-evaluation of the respondents' fluency and language maintenance level.

Due to the involvement of subjects from Winnipeg only, the results cannot be generalized to other Luso-Canadian communities in Manitoba or elsewhere. However, the results of this study will provide a good indication of language maintenance across the two generations studied.

# **CHAPTER II**

## **PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA**

### **BACKGROUND IN PORTUGAL**

#### **Introduction**

In order to gain an understanding of Portuguese language maintenance in the community of Winnipeg, it is important to examine the historical and socio-economic backgrounds that had an impact on the Portuguese immigration phenomenon to Canada. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese economy experienced prolonged periods of instability due to several civil wars, the independence of Brazil in 1822, and, in the beginning of the twentieth century, the involvement in World War I. In 1928, Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar, then a professor of Economics at the University of Coimbra, accepted the position of Finance Minister. Both, as Finance Minister and then, in 1932, as Prime Minister, Salazar controlled expenses and applied financial surpluses to an overall development plan for the country which focused on building hospitals, schools, markets, and stadiums, improving roads, expanding ports and airports, increasing the telephone and the electrification systems, and restoring national monuments (Espinosa & Guerra, no date ).



## **Political Life**

During his time as Prime Minister (1932-1968), Salazar's strong characteristics of introversive and conservative values dominated the nation's life. As a consequence, Portugal became neutral to international affairs during World War II, and to the technological and cultural developments of the early and middle twentieth century (Hill, 1988). Those in favor of Salazar argue that, during his time, Portugal prospered, achieved economic stability, and regained the prestige of the past (Nach, 1976).

Salazar's regime was based on the pro-Catholic and imperialist constitution drafted by Salazar himself, and put into effect in 1933 (Hill, 1988). He increased the army, formed the Portuguese Legion consisting of fanatic supporters, the Portuguese Youth Movement which was similar to the Hitler Youth, and organized an International and State Defense Police known as 'PIDE' to protect his dictatorship and maintain order (Ministry of Mass Communication, 1976). The PIDE was composed of approximately 100,000 men and thousands of volunteers, who functioned as secret agents and hunted for information from the people throughout Portugal (Fernandes, 1989). They would anonymously observe, listen, and record any reaction against the regime gathered on streets, restaurants, cafés, parks, and even churches. As a consequence, many writers, artists, teachers, priests, and other people who openly reacted against the regime were imprisoned or exiled and their works forbidden. Table 2.1 shows the high number of political prisoners between the years of 1932 and 1945.

**Table 2.1**

***Political Prisoners between 1932-1945***

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Prisoners</u>
1932-1933	58
1934-1935	127
1936-1937	5883
1938-1939	2410
1940-1941	1288
1942-1943	1457
1944-1945	1225

Source: Tavares, A., & Caldeira, A. (1987, p. 224).

Salazar's government forbade the existence of political parties and the right to strike, restricted the freedom of meeting, and enforced official censorship on journalism, literature, and art (Ministry of Mass Communication, 1976). The experience of a medical student, summarized in the following quotation, further exemplifies the suppression of rights applied by the PIDE:

On December 17, 1973, four months before the revolution, I attended a general meeting of perhaps 150 people or more at the medical school. There were some secret-police informers among us and they had alerted the police, who surrounded the building. Of course, such a meeting was totally unauthorized. No meetings were authorized at that time.... We were only about a meter away from the police when they drew their guns. The Police were perfectly capable of firing. I looked into their eyes. They were filled with hatred.... We were taken in paddy wagons to the headquarters of the Lisbon civil government. While we were waiting to be questioned, we ate the rest of the papers and agreed on what we were going to say: that we were just having a party. Next we were led to the cells, which were the size of small living rooms. They put fifty in each, the men and women separate (Lauré & Lauré, 1977, p. 80).

Contrary political ideas, criticism about the weaknesses of government and the war in the colonies, and even objections about the hardships of life were totally prohibited (Fernandes, 1989). The people had no voice! Throughout the entire Salazar period, civil rights and liberties were limited, and Portugal remained the most socially and economically backward country

in Western Europe with the lowest per capita income (La Fay & Wentzel, 1965).

The first challenge to the stability of Salazar's regime arose in 1958, during the elections for presidency. The opposition presented General Humberto Delgado who, supported by the majority of the people, won many constituencies, but was only given one fourth of the votes. Immediately after, constitutional changes were made replacing the presidential election by popular vote with an Electoral College controlled by Salazar (Costa et al., 1980). Humberto Delgado was eventually assassinated in Badajoz, Spain, in 1965 (Cerqueira, 1976). Dissatisfaction against Salazar's government was accentuated by his war policy in Africa. This war, maintained to sustain Salazar's vision of Portugal's imperial past, lasted 13 years (1961-1974), killed and wounded thousands of young men (Tavares & Caldeira, 1987), spent forty percent of Portugal's annual budget, and forced the Portuguese population to live on a subsistence level where children were poorly educated, fed, and housed (Lauré & Lauré, 1977). La Fay & Wentzel (1965) commented that, "At home, farms and industries decayed. The government was forced to buy food and other necessities abroad" (p. 456). As Salazar accepted foreign assistance in the sixties, the Portuguese standard of living increased, but the continuous expenses incurred by the military efforts in the colonies took away resources that would otherwise enhance progress in communication, in education, and in the development of an economic infrastructure (Higgs, 1982). Consequently, Portugal's economical and industrial stagnation led to an explosion in emigration (Hill, 1988).

## **Economy**

Until approximately 1960, Portuguese economy did not develop to any great extent (Tavares & Caldeira, 1987). Even in the following decade, it occupied only 27 percent of the labour force which left the country to import the majority of the products it consumed such as food items, raw materials, and equipment goods. The industrial sector, prior to the revolution of 1974, lacked large investment projects which would facilitate economic advancement and job creation. Instead, large financial groups predominated and controlled a significant portion of the national product. Agriculture remained as the main activity of the people, producing mainly cereals, potatoes, olives, and grapes. In the northern part of the mainland and in the Islands of the Azores and Madeira, the land was subdivided into small portions and then rented or worked by small owners, thus not allowing for much mechanization. Wolf (1972) illustrates this situation in the Azores: "Every inch of soil must be used.... Life is a constant struggle for survival. Francisco's fields produce just enough for his family's needs. There is never anything left over to be sold" (p. 25). Wolf also adds that an individual who worked in the fields for a living, in 1972, would only be paid 50 'escudos' a day (then equivalent to 13 cents in Canadian currency). In the southern part of the country, especially in the area of fertile plains of Alentejo, 'latifundia' (large fields) predominated where extensive farming of wheat was mechanized. After the 1974 revolution, the agrarian reform dismantled the large 'latifundia' and increased the irrigated area which allowed for the introduction of new crops (Ministry of Mass Communication, 1976).

In the islands, the economy was predominantly based on fishing and dairy products in the Azores, and on tropical fruits, wine, and handicrafts in Madeira (Higgs, 1982). The economic disruptions caused by the independence of the former colonies and the return from Africa of half a million refugees or 'retornados', as well as an economic recession in the newly nationalized industries, meant that emigration was still seen as the road to a better future (Graves & Barbey, 1980).

## **Education**

Salazar's policy on education inhibited open access to the various levels of schooling needed to facilitate the economic and cultural development of the people. Compulsory education at this time consisted of only three years of public school and then increased to four in 1960 (Anderson & Higgs, 1976). After this level there was an extremely high drop-out rate with only a selected few pursuing secondary education. For instance, in 1960, among 170,000 children who completed grade four, less than 15 percent registered for secondary education (Ministry of Mass Communication, 1976). Approximately only one quarter of these completed secondary education and only three and a half percent graduated from college (Lauré & Lauré, 1977). Several factors contributed to this reality. Since most secondary schools were located in the urban centres, the majority of the population living in rural Portugal were left with limited access to the schools due to poor transportation and to the high accommodation fees charged students in boarding houses. High tuition fees were also a deterrent to a large sector of the population regardless if they were rural or urban residents. Rosalina, an eighteen year old daughter of an

Alentejo farmer, recalled that "the school was very far away and ... too expensive.... At that time, it cost us about 300\$00 every 3 months, just for school fees. And then you have to pay for your books and pencils and things. So if your family can't afford it, you just don't go to school" (Lauré & Lauré, 1977, p. 94). Another important reason was the fact that children were needed to assist their families in the agricultural work (Nach, 1976). As a consequence, Portugal had the lowest literacy rate among the countries in Western Europe (La Fay & Wentzstel, 1965).

In the late 1960's, due to a gradual improvement in living conditions in the industrialized areas, such as Lisbon, Oporto, and Setúbal, and to the support to families provided by emigrant relatives, there was a noticeable increase in the student population. This positive increase, however, created a shortage of qualified teaching staff, teaching materials, and schools. As a consequence of external pressure and assistance, the government increased compulsory education from four to six years of school and updated its pedagogy by discarding the one basal reader used throughout the entire country and allowing a variety of teaching materials that reflected regional differences (Ministry of Mass Communication, 1976; Honig, 1983).

## **Social Life**

Based on the fact that the Portuguese people lived in a country with few basic human rights, limited freedom and opportunities, high unemployment and illiteracy rates, and a very low standard of living, it is no surprise that they were skeptical about their future. Thousands lived in small towns without running water and electricity, but aspired to improve their

situation in order to provide a better future for their children (Lauré & Lauré, 1977). These living conditions led large numbers to look beyond the Portuguese frontiers in search of a better life which, in turn, gave origin to an immigration phenomenon like never before experienced in Portuguese history. Table 2.2 shows the high numbers of emigrants who left Portugal legally between 1895 and 1974. In addition, there were many who left the country clandestinely. According to Alpalhão and Rosa (1980), 592,200 out of 1,610,831 Portuguese emigrants left Portugal illegally between 1960 and 1978. While Brazil had been the country of hope for the Portuguese emigrants since the 17th century, and Africa since the end of the 19th century, other countries of South America, North America, and Europe, became the places of emigration for the Portuguese in the 20th century. Between 1960 and 1972, approximately 1,500,000 workers emigrated mostly to France, West Germany, and other European countries. Around 60 percent were men, the majority of whom were under the age of 45, who came mainly from the rural areas of Northern Portugal and employed themselves in the lowest paying jobs in the receiving countries (Ministry of Mass Communication, 1976; Lauré & Lauré, 1977). The women played a prominent role in the immigration phenomenon by supporting their husbands and encouraging their aspirations (Higgs, 1982).

**Table 2.2**

***Portuguese Legal Emigration by Decades, 1895-1974***

1895-1904	251 104
1905-1914	483 501
1915-1924	308 083
1925-1934	218 798
1935-1944	92 688
1945-1954	239 961
1955-1964	354 205
1965-1974	746 243
<b>Total</b>	<b>2 694 583</b>

Source: Alpalhão, J., & Rosa, V. (1980, p. 26).

Emigrants played an important role as a source of income and as contributors to the economic development of Portugal. As they emigrated, the rate of unemployment back home decreased and more job opportunities became available for the rest of the population. However, their greatest contribution was accomplished by sending their savings to Portugal in order to improve their families' standard of living, and consequently, contributed to the growth of several businesses, especially the construction industry (Serrão, 1976).

## **Conclusion**

The historical and socio-economic backgrounds of the Portuguese prior to emigration explain the continuous waves of immigrants to many countries, including Canada. Most writers (Rodrigues, 1987; Lauré & Lauré, 1976; Ministry of Mass Communication, 1976), believe that the majority of the immigrants left for economic reasons, in order to provide a better future for



their families. This was, for example, the reason that influenced Elísio da Silva, a first generation immigrant of Winnipeg, to leave the Azores in 1970.

I was 46 years old. Back home I was a carpenter, and I earned the equivalent of two dollars a day. This money was spent weekly on food and on other important items for my family. I noticed that those who had immigrated to Canada had a better life. They had more money and used to go, once in a while, to Portugal for holidays (Sousa, 1980, p. 14).

It must be noted that Salazar's government was not the sole cause of high emigration from Portugal. In the previous century, in 1889, Guerra Junqueiro, a Portuguese writer, observing the continuous flow of emigrants leaving the country also "lamented the fate of the immigrants of his time whom he saw as the living symbols of a poor homeland slowly dispersing throughout the world" (Serrão, 1982, p. 27). In conjunction with the economic aspect, overpopulation in certain regions, high unemployment rates, low salaries, high cost of living, a deprived economy in comparison to other industrialized European countries (Alpalhão & Rosa, 1980), the ongoing war in the former colonies of Africa, the refugees or 'retornados' upon the independence of those colonies, and the eruption of the Volcano of *Capelinhos* in the late fifties, were all contributing factors to emigration. In his book, *The Portuguese in Canada*, David Higgs (1982) supports this analysis of the Portuguese migration phenomenon when he writes that:

Portuguese migration was not a result of any particular government's policy or economic hardship during a specific period, but an intrinsic part of the Portuguese past, linked at first with peopling an Empire in Brazil and parts of Africa... and in a second stage with sending workers to economies which offered greater rewards than those to be earned at home (p. 3).

However, if on the one hand Dr. Salazar improved the decaying economy since his appointment as the Finance Minister in 1938, he, on the other hand, kept Portugal enclosed and deprived of the technological

advancements of the 20th century. His fascist regime, which limited the basic civil rights of the people, the generous budget assigned to the African war, the economic and industrial stagnation of the country, the high rate of unemployment, and, consequently, the low standard of living left the Portuguese illiterate and poorly fed and housed. The unhappiness with the general affairs of the country and the hope for a much more promising future for themselves and their children created a desire and a necessity to find in foreign lands a more prosperous and dignified lifestyle.

## **SETTLEMENT IN CANADA**

### **Early Arrivals**

"God gave the Portuguese a small country for a cradle, but the whole world for a grave" (La Fay & Wentzel, 1965, p. 462). This well known quotation of the Portuguese Jesuit and writer of the seventeenth century, Father António Vieira, reflects the open and inquisitive spirit of the Portuguese for exploration and adventure. Since the fifteenth century, with the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 and with the peopling of the islands of Madeira and the Azores one or two decades after, emigration has been a constant activity in the history of the Portuguese people (Sousa et al., 1981). Studies (Alpalhão & Rosa, 1980; Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira, 1984) also indicate that as early as the fifteenth century, Portuguese arrived in the Atlantic coast of Canada. According to these authors, several historians believe that João Vaz Corte-Real participated in an expedition that reached Greenland and Newfoundland before 1482. Towards the end of the century, between 1495-

1500, two other Azorean navigators, Pedro de Barcelos and João Fernandes, a *lavrador* (rural agricultural worker), reached Cape Farewell, Greenland. This area was given the name of *Tiera del Lavrador* and only years later, when geographers discovered Greenland's original Norse name, changed its name to the present peninsula of Labrador (Peres, 1974; Morison, 1986). The Cantino, an anonymous Portuguese map of 1502, presents legends confirming that Fernandes reached Cape Farewell. The Wollfenbuttel Map of 1527, referring to Greenland also states that, "Because he who gave the *aviso* was a *lavrador* of the Azores, they gave it that name" (Morison, 1986, p. 78). In 1500, Gaspar Corte-Real discovered the whole land of Labrador, Canada, sailing up to Hudson Bay Strait (Drummond, 1981). The legend attached to the Cantino refers to the land newly discovered by Corte-Real as 'Terra de El-Rei de Portugal' (Albuquerque, 1987). Peres (1974), a Portuguese historian, believes that this was not a discovery because Newfoundland had already been visited by ships from Normandy and the John Cabot expeditions of 1479 and 1498. The Corte-Real brothers, he adds, merely explored it in more detail and disseminated the information.

The high number of Portuguese names (See Table 2.3) found along the Atlantic coast and used in maps drawn by the Italians, the Spanish, and the French during the first part of the sixteenth century support the argument of early Portuguese exploration (Anderson & Higgs, 1976; Alpalhão & Rosa, 1983; Morison, 1986). The early Portuguese navigators usually returned to Portugal, but other people who accompanied them, such as soldiers, missionaries, and settlers remained in the new land, thus, forming the first waves of Portuguese emigrants (Alpalhão & Rosa, 1983).

Table 2.3

***Names of Portuguese Origin Along the Atlantic Coast***

Labrador (rural worker)	Bay of Fundy
Mira	Portugal Cove
Portuguese Shoal	Cape Razo
Baccalieu (cod)	Porto Novo (New Port)
R. Fremoso (beautiful)	Rio de Sam Joham (St. John's River)
C. de Espera (Cape of Hope)	C. de Boa Ventura (the modern Cape Bonavista)
Cape Fogo (fire)	I. de la Fortuna (Belle Isle)
Cape Freels (Frey Luis- Portuguese priest)	Conception Bay (Conceição)

Sources: Anderson, G., & Higgs, D. (1976); Alpalhão, J., & Rosa, V. (1980, p. 59); Morison, S. (1986).

In 1668, Marie de l'Incarnation, an eye witness of the arrival of one ship in Quebec, wrote to her son informing him that it brought "Portuguese, Germans, Hollanders, and others of I know not what nations" (Bavington, 1976, p. 101). Alpalhão & Rosa (1980) also identify in Quebec several settlers of Portuguese descent during this time period. For instance, Pedro da Silva, 'the first official mailman in Canada', was born in Lisbon and married in Quebec in 1677. In 1938, a plaque was placed in Montreal's post office with the following inscription: "Beginning in 1693, letters were carried by messenger between Quebec and Montreal. The first known courier was Pierre da Silva, called the Portuguese" (p. 66).

In 1835, the 'Companhia de Pescarias Lisbonense' was established in Lisbon and wanted, among other goals, to explore the fishing of cod in the Grand Banks (Espinosa, 1972). Later, in the first half of the twentieth century, this industry got into a phase of prosperity, and by 1935 approximately 6,000 men of Portuguese background were already living in Canada in a seasonal fashion (Anderson & Higgs, 1976).

## **Immigration to Canada Since the 1950's**

Although the Portuguese had known about Canada for several centuries, it was only in the 1950's that large-scale official immigration took place. According to Marques and Marujo (1993), the first reference to a Portuguese immigration was through an internal document, issued in July of 1923 to the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization, asking the Commissioner to send one of his officers to Lisbon from Antwerp, "... for the purpose of advising and assisting in this movement" (See Appendix A). However, permission for Portuguese immigration was refused as attested by a second memorandum from the Department of Immigration and Colonization, dated August 10, 1923, which refers to the troublesome "labour situation in Western Canada and the undesirability of Portuguese as immigrants" (Marques & Marujo, 1993, p. 1). Two years later, the Portuguese Consul in Toronto questioned the Deputy Minister of Immigration in Ottawa on the difficulties impeding Portuguese immigration to Canada to which he replied that Canada was essentially a country based on agriculture and that previous experience had demonstrated that the Portuguese had problems in adapting to farming conditions in Canada (Marques & Marujo, 1993). When in 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King changed the Immigration policy, opening Canadian doors to Immigration, there were numerous letters and telephone calls from all over Portugal addressed to the Acting Canadian Consul General in Lisbon, from the different regions of Portugal. However, at this time, it was Salazar's government that became the obstacle by issuing a Decree-Law which put a stop to immigration claiming that:

Considering the necessity of regulating Portuguese emigration, having in mind the protection of emigrants,... the importance of increasing the white

population in overseas territories;... Portuguese emigration is to be suspended, except when carried out under agreement or by contract governing conditions of entry and settling in the country of destination... (Marques & Marujo, 1993, p. 5).

At the end of 1951, the Canadian Consul in Portugal persuaded the Portuguese emigration authorities to be more flexible and consider special cases which resulted in the legal immigration of 35 men in the years of 1951 and 1952 (Marques & Marujo, 1993).

However, 1953 was the official opening of Portuguese immigration to Canada, based on mutual agreement by the two governments. In May and June of that year, the first organized group of immigrants, a total of 179 men, arrived by boat in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and settled mainly in Ontario and Quebec (Marques & Medeiros, 1978; Rodrigues, 1987). In the following year, a total of 950 men arrived in Canada (Marques & Marujo, 1993), and this pattern became steady for almost three decades (See Table 2.4).

**Table 2.4*****Portuguese Emigration to Canada and Manitoba, 1946-1991***

<b>Year</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Manitoba</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Manitoba</b>
<b>1946-1952</b>	<b>680</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>1972</b>	<b>8, 338</b>	<b>509</b>
<b>1953</b>	<b>555</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1973</b>	<b>13, 483</b>	<b>623</b>
<b>1954</b>	<b>1, 324</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1974</b>	<b>16, 333</b>	<b>637</b>
<b>1955</b>	<b>1, 427</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>8, 547</b>	<b>318</b>
<b>1956</b>	<b>1, 971</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1976</b>	<b>6, 194</b>	<b>219</b>
<b>1957</b>	<b>4, 748</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>1977</b>	<b>4, 737</b>	<b>214</b>
<b>1958</b>	<b>2, 177</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1978</b>	<b>1, 898</b>	<b>167</b>
<b>1959</b>	<b>4, 354</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>1979</b>	<b>3, 723</b>	<b>217</b>
<b>1960</b>	<b>5, 258</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>1980</b>	<b>4, 228</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>1961</b>	<b>2, 976</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>3, 290</b>	<b>135</b>
<b>1962</b>	<b>3, 398</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>1982</b>	<b>2, 244</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>1963</b>	<b>4, 689</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>1983</b>	<b>1, 350</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>1964</b>	<b>6, 090</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>1984</b>	<b>1, 342</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>1965</b>	<b>7, 069</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>1, 342</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>1966</b>	<b>7, 930</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>1986</b>	<b>2, 435</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>1967</b>	<b>9, 500</b>	<b>381</b>	<b>1987</b>	<b>7, 300</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>1968</b>	<b>7, 738</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>6, 467</b>	<b>219</b>
<b>1969</b>	<b>7, 182</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>1989</b>	<b>8, 189</b>	<b>343</b>
<b>1970</b>	<b>7, 902</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>7, 917</b>	<b>—</b>
<b>1971</b>	<b>9, 157</b>	<b>657</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>5, 948</b>	<b>—</b>

Source: Bairos, A. (1995, p. 78).

These men, after being submitted to a medical examination with their families, were selected by immigration officers according to their strength, their ages (21-30 years old), their family size, and their education of a minimum of a grade four standing (Marques & Medeiros, 1978). Upon arrival at the ports of Halifax or Quebec City, they were colour coded, according to destination, in order to be identified by the immigration officers. An orange label on the lapel of the coat meant Quebec, a red one Toronto, a pink one Edmonton, a beige one Ottawa, and a blue one Vancouver (Anderson & Higgs, 1976). The immigrants gathered in buildings provided by the Immigration representatives to wait for their future employers. Then, they were selected for employment on the basis of their strong appearance and

were identified by having their employers pointing and saying, "I want that one!" (Marques & Medeiros, 1978).

### **The First Jobs**

The first Portuguese immigrants were assigned work by the Department of Labour to the farmlands of Canada and on the railroads. Those who were contracted to the farms were isolated for several months without being able to communicate with one another due to distance, nor with the farm owners due to lack of the English language (Higgs, 1982). They worked for long hours and earned \$15.00 for a six-day week. When their contract terminated, and during the winter months while laid-off, they travelled long distances looking for other and better paying jobs, such as in the construction industry. Carlos Pereira, an immigrant from Mississauga, commented that:

At the beginning it was difficult because the agricultural methods were different to ours in Portugal... We did not speak the language and this aggravated the job even more. One day, the boss gave me a pulverizer and I thought it was to spray the flowers. When he saw me doing that, he put both hands on his head and I understood him saying, 'My wife is going to kill both of us.'... \$75.00 per month were not enough to maintain my family and pay my debt of 15.000\$00 (then approximately \$300.00) in Portugal (Marques & Medeiros, 1978, pp. 53-54).

Although the railroad work was arduous, the Portuguese preferred it because they worked in gangs with compatriots and received a higher salary. In 1954 the Welsh Co. was already paying a salary of \$0.90 an hour, a much higher salary than paid to those who worked in the farms earning \$2.00 a day. The difference in salary was probably the main reason why a high number of Portuguese workers remained in the railroads for longer time periods. The



wood industry, dam construction, and mines also attracted many workers (Marques & Medeiros, 1978).

These pioneers who experienced extreme isolation and hardships could not communicate in either English or French, had no previous experience with the advanced farming machinery and techniques, and were exposed to climatic conditions very different from those they were used to (Higgs, 1982). Jon Hamilton (1970) quotes Scott Young, a writer for *The Globe and Mail*, when alluding to the hard work performed by the railway workers in 1957:

I sat on a rock in the sun a few days ago in the empty country between Chapleau and White River and watched a sight that has been part of the country ever since we really began to grow... an immigrant gang, a few weeks off the boat, labouring in our wilderness.... And on the rock ballast and gravel and steel of the line for 200 yards machines clattered and stuttered and foremen stood watching the rising and falling backs of 150 Portuguese, gritty and strong and sweaty, with eloquent eyes and dark skins and no English performing the harsh duties of the steel gang.... They hauled spikes out of ties with mighty clawbars, they moved rails with mighty crowbars.... They raked everything flat between the ties to cut to a minimum the rocks and spikes thrown out by the fierce revolving blades of the automatic adzer smoothing the tie for new tie-plates and rails... this way they move two miles a day.... They are paid 85 cents an hour for a 10-hour working day, which starts at 5:30...(p. 66).

### **The Urban Movement**

During the 1960's there was an increase shift to the urban centres. The Portuguese immigrants looked to cities like Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, Vancouver, Calgary, and Winnipeg for employment. The Maritimes, the Canadian location historically well known by the Portuguese fishermen, only received a small portion of immigrants (Higgs, 1982). This movement from the rural areas to the urban centres was partly due to the unfamiliarity with the

advanced farming machinery and the hardships faced by the first Portuguese immigrants. Hamilton (1970) presents a quotation by Alexandra Adelaide, a 28 year old community worker in Toronto, as she refers to a pioneer immigrant who was contracted to go to a farm: "When they found Canadian farm machinery and techniques too sophisticated for their skills, they rushed to the cities after factory, cleaning, and construction work which were compatible to their low level of education" (p.74).

Sponsorship and family reunification were also important factors that made the urban centres attractive and were the real key to the establishment of Portuguese communities in the major Canadian cities. In 1969, for example, around 40 percent of the 161,000 immigrants were sponsored by family members (Hamilton, 1970). Several of the new arrivals in the continuous immigration flow were skilled technicians and white collar workers with some English or French background. Many of these led the way to the opening of travel agencies, driving schools, real estate agencies, grocery stores, and other type of businesses to serve the needs of the new communities.

Once in the city, one of the major preoccupations was to be able to save enough money to buy a house which provided a sense of accomplishment, confidence, and security. The payment of the mortgages was a family affair. Men worked as much overtime as possible or took another part-time job; wives were employed for the first time outside of their homes; and children were often encouraged to quit school in order to help with the family income. During this time of stress and challenge, the privacy and comfort of their families was in many instances sacrificed in order to pay their debts promptly (Anderson & Higgs, 1976). Many who were first to purchase homes rented suites to the ones who came later, and a pattern became

somewhat established where the newcomers joined a relative, then lived as tenants, followed by the purchase of their own home and finally renting part of it to other more recent newcomers (Hamilton, 1970). During the first three decades, the Portuguese immigrants had a tendency to buy houses in the older and poorer parts of the cities. This was due to the fact that not only were the houses less expensive but also because those who immigrated first settled in those areas (Anderson & Higgs, 1976). As they became the new owners, they sought the assistance of relatives and close friends and undertook improvements. In order to resemble the houses back home, brighter colors were applied, bricks were often used, and gardens were cultivated (Hamilton, 1970; Anderson & Higgs, 1976).

There are several reasons why the Portuguese communities across Canada developed in certain areas more than others. Often these communities were established by the pioneers, as they prepared to support the newcomers with housing and employment. Anderson & Higgs (1976) identify nine factors that have contributed to these settlements: the acceptance of a first job through a contract, better economic opportunities, the nearby city, job opportunities, social pressure, relation of job to occupation in Portugal, the climate, and the proximity to the home country. Quebec, for instance, the province with the second largest number of Portuguese, after Ontario, was chosen due to its farming opportunities and cultural and geographical similarities, which facilitated the adaptation. These were rural workers, approximately 69 percent from the Azores. They were initially attracted by these similarities, but gradually moved to the nearby cities looking for better working conditions and higher salaries (Alpalhão & Rosa, 1980 & 1983).

## **CHAPTER III**

### **THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY IN WINNIPEG**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The next step in understanding Portuguese language maintenance in Winnipeg leads us to examine the Portuguese community that has been established in this city. According to the demographic information presented by Alpalhão & Rosa (1980), there were six Portuguese immigrants already living in Manitoba as early as 1951, but it was only in 1957 that the Portuguese community in this province began to flourish. Bairos (1995) establishes a relationship between the gradual urbanization of those who came to Winnipeg from the northern areas, the railroads, and the farmlands, while collecting unemployment benefits during the winter months, with the settlement in Winnipeg of the first Portuguese immigrant group. These men, having left their spouses and children in Portugal, grouped themselves in rented rooms or apartments in the area around Edmonton and Carlton Streets. They often gathered at the legislative grounds in order to share ideas and support each other in their problems and hardships, or simply to play soccer, the Portuguese favourite sport (Lopes, 1986).

The decade of the 1960's saw a new trend of Portuguese immigration to Canada. While work was the passport of the early settlers, these newcomers were, in the majority, sponsored by relatives. Before sending for their families, however, the early settlers generally purchased a house,

usually in the older and less expensive areas of the city. Elísio da Silva (Sousa, 1980) recalls his first years in Winnipeg:

I was living with my son's family in a rented room, who, in turn, was living in a house owned by his wife's sister's family. In a three-room house there were three families living and this implied many sacrifices and hardships. It was an uncomfortable situation because in Portugal I had my own house, the caring of my wife and the love of my small children whom I missed dearly. But...I was determined to succeed. I worked overtime as much as I could, six days a week, and in two years I bought a house, after borrowing the rest of the money from a friend. In Portugal I had worked hard since I was fifteen and had never been able to accumulate anything. The future did not look promising and the government did not seem to change (p.17).

The purchase of a house was then, and is still today for the Portuguese immigrant, a symbol of security, pride, and financial success. This trend continued during the subsequent years and, similar to trends in other major Canadian cities (Anderson & Higgs, 1976), the Portuguese in Winnipeg, upon purchasing a house, usually painted it or made some renovations, as seen on Ross, Elgin, Bannatyne, McDermot, and William Avenues.

## **ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY AND BUSINESSES**

For almost three decades the area of concentration of the Portuguese community was encompassed by Logan and Ellice Avenues, and by Ellen and Arlington Streets (Anderson & Higgs, 1976). This area saw the gradual appearance of several business establishments to serve the community, which, in turn, had an impact on the settling of newcomers in the West End of Winnipeg. In 1971, for example, there were already four grocery stores, three restaurants, one bakery, a real estate agency, a barber shop, two construction

companies, and one billiard hall to serve the different needs of this growing community (Lopes, 1986). Bairos (1995) describes the development of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg:

Sections of some streets in the core area, such as Ross, Pacific, Alexander and Sargent Avenues bear signs of the Portuguese presence in the city. Colourful tiles, with images of *Santo Cristo*, the Lady of Fátima, the Holy Family, Saint Anthony or other saints, can be seen by the front door of some houses. Signs, with names such as Lisbon [Bakery], *Ilha Verde* and *Conforto do Bebê*, advertise businesses which cater mainly to a Portuguese speaking clientele (p.11).

Over the last decade, as the socio-economic status of the Portuguese improved, many families have dispersed to all areas of Winnipeg with a special preference for the northern part of the city, namely The Maples, Garden City, and the North End. Although very few new Portuguese immigrants are presently settling in Winnipeg, the community continues to develop. The community Portuguese newspaper, *O Mundial* (1997, November), advertises as members of the Portuguese Business Association four law offices, three travel agencies, three real estate agencies, four insurance agencies, eight hair dressers, four billiard clubs, one pharmacy, two bakeries, three restaurants, one jewellery store, three janitorial services, eight construction companies, two stores for children's clothing and footwear, one furniture store, two grocery stores, one gift shop, one night club, one dental office, one driving school, three flower shops, and three photo studios.

## **COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE MAINTENANCE**

Even though the Portuguese come from different regional backgrounds, once here, they unite to keep alive their language and culture. They draw together on occasions of special celebrations and feasts sponsored by the Church and by the existing cultural organizations. The Church is undoubtedly the strongest organization to unite the Portuguese people. Together with the Portuguese Association of Manitoba Inc., the Casa do Minho Portuguese Centre Inc., and the Azorean Cultural Centre, it is actively involved in promoting and maintaining the Portuguese language and culture. The Roman Catholic community has the opportunity to participate in masses celebrated in the ethnic language every day of the week. Besides the religious services provided, the Immaculate Conception Parish also organizes social gatherings occasionally, such as New Year's Eve, Holy Trinity Day, and Mother's Day, which attract hundreds of Luso-Canadians who come to meet their friends and compatriots and socialize in a familiar environment. By using the Portuguese language during the religious services, in catechism classes, and in the meetings and other activities with its members, the Church has shown an interest in meeting the social and spiritual needs of its religious community, and in keeping alive its traditions and values.

The Portuguese Association, founded on March 3, 1966, by a group of 15 people (Bairos, 1985-86) has maintained itself as the major institution in Winnipeg to preserve and develop the Portuguese cultural values. According to the *By-Laws of the Portuguese Association of Manitoba Inc.* (1990), its main objectives are to "promote and maintain the Portuguese language, culture, customs and traditions, encourage the integration of its members in the

Canadian society and help them, whenever possible and justified" (p.1). These objectives are achieved through an organizational structure in which the cultural sector is the one that contributes the most to the promotion and maintenance of the Portuguese cultural values through its library, school, folk dancing groups, theatre, and Folklorama. The Library, for example, holds a good collection of books, music, community documents, pictures, and films, which have been recorded throughout the years and depict various traditional religious and secular celebrations (Gryz, 1985).

The supplementary school, officially recognized by the Minister of Education in Portugal, has been in existence since 1970 (Da Roza, 1980) and offers a six-year program of Portuguese language, culture, and social studies. The 100 students enrolled in this language program attend classes from 5:30-7:30 P.M., Monday through Thursday, at Hugh John Macdonald School. Over the years, there has been a steady decrease in the student population attending Portuguese classes. Some of the probable reasons for the decline in enrollment are the steady shifting of the Portuguese to other areas of the city, the lower number of newcomers from Portugal, and the lack of interest of the second generation who is becoming extensively more integrated into the dominant society and does not see the immediate need to learn or retain the parents' mother tongue. However, while some give up, others see the need and the responsibility to keep alive and to promote their ethnic linguistic values. For example, in the current school year (1997-1998), two new Portuguese language programs were implemented by the Portuguese Association: a Saturday morning multi-level program for those children who did not have the opportunity to attend classes during the week; and one other, for adults who are interested in improving their linguistic skills (Carreiro, 1997, informal interview).<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese Association was also instrumental in



establishing the Portuguese Language Program in the public school system, in the school year of 1982-1983. In that year, the program was taught in six Winnipeg School Division No. 1 schools (Manitoba Department of Education, 1983). However, after 15 years, the public program, which at one time was taught in five elementary, two junior high, and two senior high schools, is being presently offered in only one senior high school.

The Casa do Minho Portuguese Centre is another major organization promoting the culture and traditions of the Portuguese residing in Winnipeg. Founded in May of 1974, under the name of Casa do Minho Portuguese Folk Dancers, this organization was, during its first decade of existence, essentially a folk group created to promote the music, dance, and cultural traditions of Minho, the most northern province of mainland Portugal. From the outset, however, this institution organized traditional celebrations such as New Year's Eve, the Easter Dinner, *S. Martinho* Feast, and a picnic for its members (Fernandes, 1979). Presently, the Casa do Minho Portuguese Centre has approximately 180 family members, four folk dancing groups, ages 3 to 50+, and hosts the annual Festival of Folklorama. In order to accomplish its main objective, "to promote, cultivate, and develop the folklore, music, and customs, and other aspects of the Portuguese culture" (*By-Laws of the Casa do Minho Portuguese Centre*, 1994, p. 1), this Centre brings together entire families, every weekend, which come to watch their children practice folk dancing, to play traditional Portuguese games, or simply to chat, while enjoying a coffee or a '*galão*'.

The Azorean Cultural Centre was founded in 1992 and has, as its main objective, to bring the Community together, "particularly the Azorean Community, around the Centre, around the cultural heritage which it represents, that is, the language, the culture, the traditions, the religious

even..." (*Martins, 1994, p. 3*). In the first two years of existence, this Centre has actively promoted the Azorean cultural values and ways of thinking. It organized conferences dealing with Azorean immigration issues, brought 'cantores ao desafio' (popular poets and singers) and several well-known artists, organized socials which involved regional music, folk dancing, and fashion shows, and exhibited regional artifacts depicting customs and traditions of the Azores (*Martins, 1994*).

The Portuguese Business and Professional Association, founded in 1990, has, for the past five years, granted scholarship awards to grade twelve graduates in order to motivate them to pursue their studies at the post secondary level. Some of the criteria for acceptance are their Portuguese background, a basic knowledge of the Portuguese language and culture, and their voluntary involvement in the cultural activities of the community (*O Mundial, 1995, May*).

Other organizations in Winnipeg, such as The Portuguese Teachers Association, the *Banda Lira de Fátima*, the Portuguese Non-profit Housing Corporation, and several sports clubs, in their special ways, also maintain and promote the Portuguese language through their cultural activities. Although these social and professional organizations represent different regions of Portugal or different sectors of the community, the Portuguese community of Winnipeg remains united and dynamic. This unity is exemplified by the recent collaborative efforts of the several community organizations in the construction of the seniors' complex, *Lar Santa Isabel*, and the fund raising campaign for the neurology department of the Hospital of Ponta Delgada, in the Azores.

## **THE PORTUGUESE POPULATION OF WINNIPEG**

According to Statistics Canada (1991), there are 9,525 immigrants of Portuguese background in Manitoba. Bairos (1995) estimates that approximately 300 of them are settled in Thompson, few are working in Northern Manitoba, and the majority are living in Winnipeg. In the Portuguese Community in Winnipeg, however, it is widely believed that the Portuguese population is between 15,000 and 20,000, even though there are no supporting sources nor documented data to justify this inflated figure. One conclusion to justify this discrepancy between the official and non-official figures is to take into consideration those children of Portuguese parents who were born in Canada and those immigrants who have already become Canadian citizens and who may have chosen not to report their ethnic background.

### **EDUCATION**

Until the late 1970's, not many parents motivated their children to finish their high school education (Fernandes, 1989). Believing that just learning the dominant language would automatically lead them to a good job, some parents even encouraged their sons and daughters to quit school and find a job, upon completing grade nine. The following quotation presented by Ward (1985) about Júlio de Jesus, a fourth-year engineering student from the University of Toronto, is also illustrative of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg:

My mother doesn't understand what I'm doing at all. She'd rather I went into construction. I was very lucky that my father met people who impressed him with the value of education. His encouragement meant all the difference (p. A 17).

In the recent years, the number of students completing grade twelve and pursuing their studies at the university or college levels is impressive. Teachers, physicians, dentists, lawyers, psychologists, nurses, engineers, accountants, and several other occupations keep graduating from Manitoban universities and colleges. The number of school drop-outs has been gradually decreasing over the years, as reported by Fernandes (1989).

## **THE CULTURAL DILEMMA OF TWO GENERATIONS**

Upon their arrival in Canada, Portuguese immigrants faced many challenges such as the language barrier, the rigorous winters, the advanced machinery, and, to those who came from the rural areas, the urban way of life. Their families also underwent major adjustments and faced even greater challenges when confronted with the difficult task of raising their children in the middle of the values, roles, and expectations of two different and, at times, opposing cultural worlds. In her study, *The Children of Two Cultural Worlds: A Case Study of the Portuguese in Winnipeg*, Fernandes (1989) states that the traditional role of each member of the family was affected, in one way or another, when coming into contact with the dominant society. The authoritarian figure of the father as the head of the family was threatened; the mother became more assertive and independent; and the children gradually received more responsibility, acquired more freedom, and stopped willingly obeying their parents. Nunes (1986) also claims that the previously self-

sufficient father experienced loneliness, insecurity, and a blow to his self-esteem as soon as he arrived in Canada. Traditionally responsible for guiding his family through the challenges of life, he soon realized that in the new milieu he had to depend on his children to translate for him when looking for a job, going shopping, going to the doctor, or even contacting their schools. Furthermore, in order to achieve his dream of economic improvement, the father worked for many hours, which consequently kept him away from his children and gradually alienated himself from them. This lack of availability was often blamed for the low academic success of many Portuguese children and for their disciplinary problems at school. Soon his children were not hesitant to confront him, and his 'submissive' wife was no longer afraid of voicing her concerns regarding his conduct. Realizing the collapse of his once unquestioned authority, the traditional Portuguese father often blamed the dominant culture for having contaminated his family. He eventually realized, however, that he was the one to be blamed. He had left his country and was now unwilling to be an integral part of the host society, and thus, became gradually detached from the continuous social change.

However, the Portuguese wife and mother was probably the one who suffered the most upon arriving in Canada. At the same time that she had to cope with all the problems of adaptation, she added to her domestic work the difficult responsibility of serving as an intermediary figure between father and children, and sought a full or part-time job in order to help the financial situation of her family. Gloria Monteiro (Nunes, 1986) illustrates this situation:

I start work at 8 o'clock. I get home by 5:30, just a bit before my husband. We're both exhausted by then. But he starts to watch television; I start to get dinner and try to help the kids where I can with their work. After, there are always piles of washing and ironing. When we go to bed, he wants to make love. By then I don't want to even move any more (p. 19).

It was through this experience, however, that she gained more self-confidence, freedom and financial independence which, in turn, put her into conflict with her husband's traditional views. In her double role of housewife and worker, the immigrant mother, like her husband, was not totally available to her young children who were left unattended at home and poorly supervised during school years (Nunes, 1986).

The major challenge found by immigrant children is the challenge of self-identity (Hamilton, 1970; Nunes, 1986; Bulger, 1987; Fernandes, 1989). Although at home, they live according to the traditional norms and values of their parents, they play, study, work, and socialize in a more permissive, modern, and free society in which they have to be more assertive, independent, and responsible in order to succeed. "Many children have been forced to live double lives because everything valued by the home was feared, misunderstood, ridiculed, and undermined" (Fernandes, 1989, p. 96). Realizing that the Portuguese way of life is, in many instances, a disadvantage to acceptance into the host society, children often feel confused and insecure about their cultural identity and gradually reject whatever makes them Portuguese. The language is suppressed, their names are anglicized, and they hide their real identity as much as possible. To them, to be Portuguese is equivalent to being narrow-minded and old-fashioned. These perceptions are partly due to the fact that many of their parents in Winnipeg came from the rural areas of Portugal and only had four years of schooling. This justifies why parents often feel incompetent when dealing with their children's problems. Feelings of frustration and disassociation are shown openly at home in altercations with their parents:

My parents were going to spend New Year's Eve at a hall where a lot of their friends were going to be. I'd already planned to go somewhere else with some friends of mine. When I told my mother, she 'took a bird'. I told her I didn't want to go to no Portuguese party and sit there all night listening to no garbage Portuguese music. She just started crying and telling me how I was abandoning the family or something.... That was the first New Year's that I didn't spend with my parents (Nunes, 1986, pp. 32-33).

Nunes (1986) identifies four different attitudes faced by immigrant children when in contact with the dominant society. A small number avoids the influence of the new society, a second group experiences a high degree of osmosis, the majority remains in an indecisive approach, spending their lives living in conflicting values, and the fourth group becomes 'bi-cultural'. The bi-cultural person uses the positive aspects of both cultures in order to live successfully and in harmony with both societies. Although Fernandes (1989) suggests that these four attitudes have been present, to a certain extent, in the Portuguese community in Winnipeg, she believes that the majority have been reasonably successful at achieving a balance between both cultures. They "played the role of acrobats in trying to balance both cultures. In doing so, many would [mask] their ancestry in order to become Canadian at school and would then revert back to being Portuguese at home" (p.124). She concludes that many of those who rejected and traded their parents' way of life for complete assimilation did not feel completely "actualized" and are now gradually returning, accepting, and preserving the Portuguese language and culture. This ongoing change in attitude has been noticeable since the late 1970's, partly due to the implementation of the Policy of Multiculturalism in the schools attended by the Portuguese children, namely the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, the faster acculturation of the newcomers, as well as their better understanding of the lifestyles of the Canadian society. Higher education and the ability to communicate in English, paired with a self-examination of their traditional and outdated lifestyles have generated in the

parents a more complete integration and adjustment to the dominant society. They have become more lenient in dealing with their children and more sensitive, understanding, and supportive to their problems.

## **CONCLUSION**

Thus, the Portuguese community in Winnipeg, since the arrival of its first members in the early 1950's, has gone through successive stages of cultural adaptation. Men immigrated first to work in the farms, railroads, and mines, but were soon joined by their wives and children. The need to keep alive their culture and traditions gave origin to the gradual establishment of Portuguese cultural organizations and to the building of a Portuguese church, all of which have, up to the present, provided their contribution to the promotion and maintenance of those traditions. Due to the fact that economic reasons were the main factor for immigrating, many parents did not encourage their children to achieve a high education, but found them a job as soon as they could. There were, naturally, serious problems of adaptation to the host society, which at times created friction between first and second generations. At the present time, however, the first generation, as it gains more awareness of the dominant culture, is becoming more accepting of its dominant values and lifestyle, while the second generation is becoming more willing to make a conscious effort in recovering and maintaining the cultural values of their parents.



# CHAPTER IV

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to review literature related to language maintenance and shift and to the development of heritage language instruction in Manitoba since the proclamation of the Policy of Multiculturalism in 1971. The literature search includes selected studies from an ERIC search of second language journals and publications up to 1997, a BRIDGE search of the University of Manitoba libraries, references suggested by other researchers of heritage languages and language maintenance, and extensive reading and observations made by the researcher. This review includes four parts: Language maintenance and shift, Portuguese language maintenance, "Portinglês" in Winnipeg, and the Canadian policy of multiculturalism.

### LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

In his book, *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966), Joshua Fishman comments that:

Those who come to a new land do not begin their lives there as *tabulae rasae*. In a nation of immigrants, millions face problems they never faced before.... Among the problems of life in a new country... is the absence of the old, the familiar, the traditional. For all these reasons, the songs and the stories, the customs and the celebrations, the religious beliefs and the literary

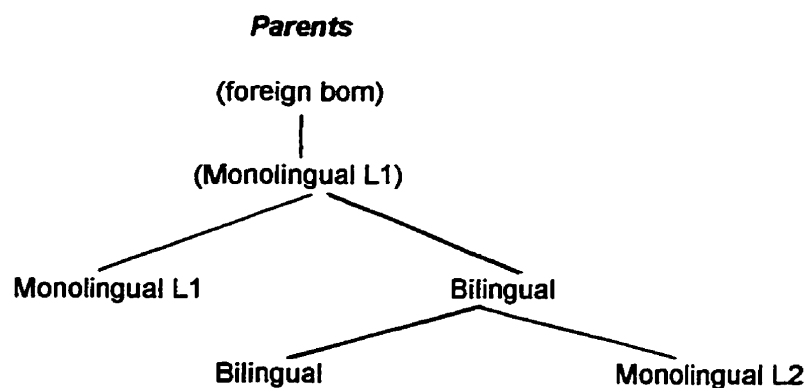
treasures, the foods, the values and the memories of the old country were not and could not be scrapped. There is no way of adjusting to the new but through the old (p. 26).

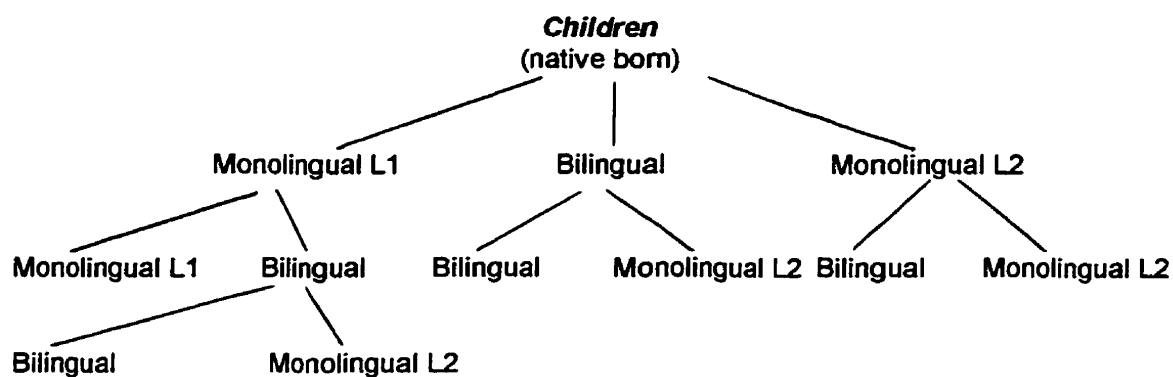
It is in this context that several researchers on the sociology of language (Fishman, 1966; Veltman, 1983; Henzl, 1982; Mackay, 1992; Malinowski, 1983) have analyzed the linguistic and cultural maintenance of those who, voluntarily or involuntarily, enter into contact with a dominant language. To Grosjean (1982), the occurrence of language maintenance and shift is not unique to our days, but it is an inevitable result of the contact between two languages. In the Ancient World, for example, the Egyptians shifted to the Arabic, later the Romans spread Latin throughout their Empire, thus giving origin to the Romance languages, such as Italian, French, Spanish, Rumanian, and Portuguese, and during the Age of Exploration, roughly between 1500-1800, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the British, and the French taught or imposed their languages during their colonial times on 'discovered' worlds (Grosjean, 1982; Suter, 1989). In more recent times, Fishman (1989) also refers to the 'Anglicized Irishmen', the 'Danicized Norwegians', the 'Germanized Czechs', and the 'Hungarianized Slovaks'. However, this phenomenon seems to take a new perspective in immigration countries, where minority groups are easily influenced by the dominant language and tend to promptly start a gradual shift into it.

Fishman (1989) suggests three types of 'resolutions' that can take place whenever two linguistics communities interact and remain in contact for longer than three generations. The 'intrusive' and 'indigenous' languages are lost in the first and second resolutions, respectively, and in the third resolution both the intrusive and the indigenous languages are maintained. He adds that the first resolution is the most typical among United States immigrants.

A chart presented by Grosjean (1982) illustrates the language process that usually occurs in an immigrant family. At the outset, first generation immigrants usually speak one language, their heritage language. Some, although in contact with a majority language, are able to keep their monolingualism intact, while others learn a second language and become bilinguals. Grosjean believes that the majority remain bilingual, but some shift gradually into an English monolingualism, especially if they are looking for a fast assimilation or intend to reject their ethnic background. The language development of the second generation is somewhat different: while some individuals could be monolingual in their minority language, others could be bilingual, or even choose exclusively the dominant language. Those who are monolingual in their ethnic language usually keep that status until they enter the school system. Those who are bilingual, either remain bilingual, depending on the institutions available to them, or gradually shift into a dominant monolingualism. Furthermore, those who are monolingual in the dominant language, can remain so, or can gradually acquire the minority language through formal instruction or through a conscious interaction with those who speak it.

### **Language Maintenance and Shift in an Immigrant Family**





Source: Grosjean, F. (1982, p. 103).

Studies conducted in North America show that several ethnic groups, such as the Navajo, the Chinese, the Spanish, the Korean, the Portuguese, the Italian, and the Greek, in the United States (Grosjean, 1982; Veltman, 1983; Waggoner, 1982; and Correa-Zoli, 1982), the Vietnamese, the Chinese, the Portuguese, the Greek, and the Italian, in Canada (De Vries, 1977; Pendakur, 1990), and the Italian community of Chipilo, in Mexico (Mackay, 1992), are characterized by high language maintenance rates; others, such as the German, the Japanese, the Italian, the Polish, the Yiddish, the Scandinavian, the French, and the Russian, in the United States (Waggoner, 1982; Veltman, 1983; Grosjean, 1982), the German, the Dutch, the Ukrainian, the Swedish, and the Norwegian, in Canada (Pendakur, 1990; De Vries, 1977; Prokop, 1990), are rapidly losing their mother tongue and shifting into English; still others, such as the Judeo-Spanish (Malinowski, 1983) and the Pennsylvania German (Huffines, 1980), in the United States, the Chilcotin, an Athabaskan community, in Canada (Pye, 1992), and the Rama, in Nicaragua, Central America (Craig, 1992), are at risk of losing their languages forever. Pendakur (1990) classifies the many factors that contribute to the maintenance of a language, or to its loss in favor of another, into three groups: demographic, spacial, and social and other factors. Demographic factors,

such as the size of the minority group (Fishman, 1966; Molesky, 1988; Prokop, 1990; Huffines, 1980), marriage within the ethnic group (Migus, 1975; Gorter, 1987; Waggoner, 1988; Prokop, 1990), migration (Gorter, 1987; Williamson & Eerde, 1980), the time of immigration (Lieberson, 1980; Glazer, 1978; Waggoner, 1988; Prokop, 1990), the length of residence in a specific place (Waggoner, 1988; Correa-Zoli, 1982), the immigrating age (Waggoner, 1988; Prokop, 1990; Williamson & Eerde, 1980), and the gender of the speakers (Prokop, 1990; Williamson & Eerde, 1980) have an impact on the maintenance of the linguistic and cultural values of a group. Studying the Friulan in Italy, the Rhaetoroman in Switzerland, and the Gaelic in Scotland, for instance, Williamson and Eerde (1980) reached the conclusion that men are more committed to the minority language than women and use it more with friends, neighbors, at the cafe, or at meetings. They also argue that the role of the mothers leads them to speak the dominant language with their children, thus decreasing their use of the minority language.

The geographic concentration of the ethnic group (Fishman, 1966; Grosjean, 1982), its isolation from the dominant society (Molesky, 1988; Mackay, 1992), the patterns of settlement (Glazer, 1978), and the urban background (Williamson & Eerde, 1980) are part of the spacial factors found by Pendakur (1990) to be keys to a language survival or shift. The economic motivation (Fishman, 1966; Molesky, 1988; Waggoner, 1982; Pye, 1992), the occupation (Prokop, 1990), the social class background (Molesky, 1988; Williamson & Eerde, 1980), the ideological mobilization (Molesky, 1988; Glazer, 1978; Williamson & Eerde, 1980), the strong ethnic identity (Mackay, 1992), the cultural attachment and or the cultural isolation of the group (Fishman, 1966; De Vries, 1977), the religion (Glazer, 1978; Craig, 1992; Molesky, 1988), political decisions (Pye, 1992; Glazer, 1978; Molesky, 1988),

the level of education (Correa-Zoli, 1982; Prokop, 1990), educational policies (Glazer, 1978), the social prestige of a group (Pye, 1992; Mackay, 1992; Beebe & Beebe, 1982), peer pressure (Prokop, 1990), and the individual tendencies to accept or resist borrowing from English (Correa-Zoli, 1982) form a large group of social and other factors that also have an impact on the maintenance of a language.

The above factors play significant roles on the maintenance of a language, but the domains of family, friends, school, church, work place, ethnic organizations, business and service, and mass media are the settings where language is informally and formally preserved. The importance of these traditional and formal domains in linguistic and cultural maintenance has been emphasized by several researchers on the sociology of language (Fishman, 1966; Timm, 1980; Renz, 1987).

## **PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE**

Research conducted in the United States and Canada on the maintenance of the Portuguese language (Fishman, 1966 & 1985; De Vries, 1977; Veltman, 1983; Renz, 1987) indicates that the Portuguese are doing moderately well in the maintenance of their heritage language. Fishman (1966), for example, when comparing the 1960 estimates for second generation Luso-Americans with the data provided by the 1940 census on the same generation, concluded that the Portuguese suffered moderate language losses within that period of time. Nineteen years later, in 1985, he ranked Portuguese in tenth place out of 28 language groups, in a scale of survival potential, as of 1980.

Based on a 1976 survey of income and education, Veltman (1983) reports that the Chinese, Portuguese, and Vietnamese ethnic groups have the lowest degree of English monolingualism when compared to the high percentages (more than 85%) of the German, Russian, Yiddish, and Scandinavian language groups. He also concludes that when both parents are born in Portugal, their children appear to be the most retentive, followed by the Spanish and Greek. His data reveal that 59.9 percent of the 14 year old Luso-Americans and over, born in the United States, are English monolingual. Honig (1983), based on a table presented by Veltman in 1980, emphasizes the high percentage of American-born Luso-Americans who maintain Portuguese language, and attributes its use and promotion to the domains of family, church, social gatherings, social organizations, mass media, and work. Honig also recognizes the important role of the more formal settings of the schools and universities in the preservation of the Portuguese language.

In an effort to assess the role of the mass media as a domain in the maintenance of the Portuguese language and culture, Renz (1987) conducted a study in northern California and concluded that this domain, surprisingly, ranked second, after the family, in its efforts towards linguistic and cultural maintenance. He found that some of the contributing factors that explain the importance of the radio and television on the maintenance of the Portuguese cultural values are the lack of concentration of the Portuguese immigrants in a specific area, the perceived importance of the mass media by the community in terms of enhancing its pride, and the periodic presentation of role models by the mass media.

In Canada, De Vries (1977) developed a 'set of indices' to analyze language maintenance and shift among persons of several ethnic groups,

including the Portuguese. Based on data of the 1971 Census, he presents a table showing the Portuguese ethnic group with the highest index of language maintenance out of 14 groups, that is, 77 percent of all persons of Portuguese background reported speaking Portuguese most frequently at home. A second study in Canada was conducted by Feuerverger (1991), based on a questionnaire administered to 148 students of Italian, Portuguese, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Hebrew, Ukrainian, and Yiddish backgrounds, who were enrolled in heritage language programs at the University of Toronto. She concluded that Portuguese were the second, after the Italian, in terms of identifying with their homeland and their heritage language. However, in terms of positive perception of ethnic identity, they were in seventh place. She quoted a Portuguese student explaining that, "Young people can't identify with the culture of their parents because that is an immigrant culture.... They need a bridge" (p. 668).

Thus, the publication of Fishman's book, *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966) opened the way to extensive research on the topic of language maintenance and language shift, not only in the United States, but also in other countries such as Canada, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Australia. Although both formal and informal societal domains play a predominant role in the preservation of cultural and linguistic values of a minority group, there are many other variables that also contribute, directly or indirectly, to that maintenance or shift. There are several studies on the maintenance of Portuguese as a minority language in the United States, mainly based on census data, but there are very few in Canada. Nevertheless, in both countries it seems that the Portuguese, although shifting slowly into the official languages, have a relatively high maintenance rate and continue to make a



conscious effort to preserve their language and cultural heritage and pass them on to their children.

## **"PORTINGLÊS" IN WINNIPEG**

*"Portinglês"* is the term used to name the phenomenon of language shift from Portuguese to English. In order to examine this phenomenon, the researcher used secondary linguistic sources and personal observations.

The lack of knowledge of the dominant language forces newly arrived immigrants to use their mother tongue as a temporary means of communication. Over time, however, as the newcomers strive to adapt to a new way of life, their mother tongue undergoes a change in characteristics due to the creation of new words and the adaptation of borrowed words from the dominant language to refer to the objects, concepts, and ideas for which words are not available or highly used in their native language (Danesi, 1986).

Studies on the maintenance of several heritage languages in Canada and in the United States, e.g., Portuguese (Honig, 1983), Italian (Danesi, 1986), German (Prokop, 1990), and Chinese (Xiao, 1992) reveal that this linguistic phenomenon normally occurs when there is contact between different linguistic groups. Referring to the Portuguese diaspora, for instance, Honig claims that a new linguistic version was created as a result of the contact of the Portuguese and the Anglophones. In his work, *"Emigrês, o Último dos Dialectos Portugueses"*, Eduardo Mayone Dias (1994), professor at the University of California, in Los Angeles, refers to this new form of communication involving the Portuguese and English languages as *"Portinglês"*. He categorizes the predominant vocabulary found in *"Portinglês"*

as follows: concrete elements almost unfamiliar or unknown such as 'televeja' for television; unfamiliar concrete elements but with different attributes in the immigrant experience such as 'clauseta' for closet; previously unused actions such as 'fazer uma aplicação' for to make an application; abstract elements or elements easier to express in the dominant language such as 'evaluar' for to evaluate; and erudite vocabulary in the dominant language where Portuguese translation is unfamiliar or does not come naturally such as 'é suposto' for it is supposed to.

Informal observations of subjects of this study and of other members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg support several of Dias' categories. For example, the first Portuguese television station in the Azores was only established in the early 1970's. Consequently, since the majority of the members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg came from the Azores and immigrated during the 1960's and 1970's, they were not familiar with television entertainment. Thus, in the new environment, the term 'televeja' or T.V. for *televisão* was easily adopted and became commonly used by both first and second generations. Examples of other unfamiliar words to express needs in the new environment are 'friza' for freezer and 'beisimento' for basement. After the 1997 Winnipeg spring flood, the following statement by one of the victims was recorded: "Entrou muita água no meu **beisimento** mas a **inchurança** vai pagar tudo" [We had lots of water in the **basement**, but **insurance** will pay for everything].

Dias' category of previously unused actions was also observed in the Winnipeg study. These observations further suggested that the majority of those expressions were related to the work field. Common work related expressions such as 'fazer uma apliqueixa' for to make an application, 'fazer pice work' for to do piece work, 'levar faiar' for to get fired, and 'fazer o ritaia'

for to retire became new vocabulary to express aspects of the new type of immigrant work. In the rural Portuguese setting, where the majority of immigrants came from, there was no formal application process to seek jobs, therefore, the word 'apliqueixa' or the literal translation 'fazer uma aplicação' became commonly used. The following are similar examples which were created to describe the immigrants' new situations: "Temos feito **overtime** toda a semana" [We have worked overtime all week], and "O filho do Manuel acabou a escola e já é **manageiro** no Safeway" [Manuel's son graduated and he's already a manager at Safeway].

Portuguese words that sound like English 'swear words' such as 'faca' for knife and 'canto' for corner are systematically avoided, and the English translation automatically substitutes their use in a Portuguese conversation. This becomes such an engraved habit that immigrants even continue using this vocabulary when they return to Portugal on holidays.

An example of "Portinglês" beyond vocabulary is the indiscriminate use of the singular personal pronoun 'tu'. The Portuguese language differentiates between informal and formal address by the use of the singular and plural personal pronouns, 'tu' and 'vós', respectively. Due to the influence of the only English personal pronoun 'you', the second generation tends to use indiscriminately the singular personal pronoun 'tu' in all their interactions. As in the case of the Slavic and other languages (Henzl, 1982), this informal pronoun is inappropriate in many situations and hurts the sensitivity of the older people who, at times, blame such a treatment on their lack of manners.

Danesi's analysis of 'loanwords' (1986) states that most of these are nouns which relate to common objects or concepts that become a part of the immigrant's new world. Dias (1994) found that 78 percent are nouns, 19 percent are verbs, two percent are function words, and one percent are

adjectives. Verbs are modified by applying the Portuguese infinitive ending 'ar' to the English root word as in 'parcar' (to park), 'draivar' (to drive), 'jampar' (to jump), and 'faitar' (to fight).

Further analysis by Dias reveals that the adopted vocabulary is 32 percent work related, 16 percent daily life, 12 percent household, 11 percent food, 11 percent social relations, eight percent transportation, six percent institutions, three percent education, and one percent health. Thus, the vocabulary related to the professional activity of the immigrant is the highest. Work is often the major reason for immigration and, therefore, there is enough motivation to learn vocabulary that describes the new methods used and the novelty of the work.

Most modifications in the oral language are, according to Honig (1983), the result of several factors, including: the development of new vocabulary to refer to the immigrant's new type of environments such as 'farmeiro' for farmer, 'boldins' for buildings; the use of English equivalent terms with Portuguese phonology such as 'açucrim' for ice cream, 'bossa' for boss; 'ceifoeiro' for safeway; and the use of some literal translations such as 'escola alta' for high school, 'tiquete' for ticket, 'principal' meaning 'director escolar' for principal, 'parentes' for parents. In addition to these, Dias (1994) presents other processes for the gradual formation of the "Portinglês": the creation of unique expressions such as 'fazer o homework'; the spontaneous borrowing of English terms during a Portuguese conversation such as 'okay, sure, bye, you're kidding'; the reference to the abbreviated names of places and institutions as in U. of M., Y.M.C.A., P.E.I., B.C.; the use of vocabulary referring to aspects of the urban life seldom used or hardly known before immigration such as 'highway, ditch, store, downtown, shopping mall'; and the change of accentuation as in 'nostalgia, Cleopatra, Fatima'. Furthermore,

Dias also alludes to some morphological alterations in the "Portinglês". These include new formed words that adopt a different gender or number from the original Portuguese word as in 'as bisnas' for business (os negócios), 'as Crismas' for Christmas (o Natal), and the formation of new words through the suffixes in 'eiro' or 'eira' such as 'farmaeiro' for farmer, and 'manageiro' for manager.

Pronunciation variations are also evident in "Portinglês". Once borrowed words become commonly accepted by the members of the ethnic community, the pronunciation is gradually altered to match the sound patterns of the native language and are then incorporated into daily use. The borrowing process is strongly influenced by the speaker's formal education (Danesi, 1986), age, size of the ethnic population, and length of residence in the country of immigration (Correa-Zoli, 1982; Dias, 1994).

Occasional Portuguese visitors to Canada, such as priests, conference presenters, singers, and government representatives have commented to the writer on the fact that it was a "culturally shocking" experience for them when they listened to conversations among Portuguese immigrants established in Winnipeg for several years. The formation and use of new words, adaptation of others, continuous interference of vocabulary, and "incorrect" sentence structure create a sense of linguistic confusion and indicate the struggle for survival in an unfamiliar environment. In addition to a list of examples of lexical items used by the Portuguese in Winnipeg, as observed by the researcher (See Appendix B), the following sentences further illustrate the heavy dosage of English influence present in the daily conversations of many members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg:

Minha irmã não sabe *dirigir* e por isso tem de apanhar a *base* na *Alice* quando precisa de ir ao *store* [My sister doesn't know how to drive and has to catch the bus on Ellice Avenue when she needs to go to the store].

Fomos ao *farm* nas Crismas mas havia muito *snow* na *highway* [We went to the farm during Christmas, but there was a lot of snow on the highway].

Fomos à caça e perdemo-nos no *bucho*. Por sorte, tínhamos levado um aquecimento de *propeine* [We went hunting and got lost in the bush. Fortunately, we had taken a propane heater].

This linguistic interference impacts on the immigrants in two major ways. On the one hand, the newly adopted vocabulary facilitates their communication and adaptation in the new environment. On the other, the continuous use of this vocabulary generates a new repertoire of words to communicate and eventually leads to a loss of the conventional Portuguese vocabulary and language.

Thus, "Portinglês" in Winnipeg describes to a certain extent the language shift that is gradually occurring from Portuguese to English. It describes the challenge faced by many newcomers upon arrival, and their continuous struggle to adjust to the new environment and integrate into the mainstream society. By using their ethnic language as a basis of communication, the Portuguese in Winnipeg borrow, adapt, and create new vocabulary in order to express themselves and to survive in an unfamiliar environment. Many linguists might argue that this approach is detrimental and will lead into deterioration and eventual loss of the mother tongue's linguistic skills; others, however, might see the creation of new vocabulary to express old realities in an unfamiliar environment as an initiative to be praised, as immigrants are able to combine and use both languages to interact successfully amidst the host society.

## **THE CANADIAN POLICY OF MULTICULTURALISM AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE**

The policy of multiculturalism 'within a bilingual framework', announced in October of 1971 by former Prime Minister Trudeau, was presented as one response to the needs of ethnic groups who expressed the desire to maintain, promote, and share their cultural heritage with other Canadians (Danesi, 1986). Alberta opened the way to the teaching of minority languages in the elementary schools and, shortly after, the Ukrainian-English bilingual program in Edmonton was the first heritage language program implemented in Canada (Cummins, 1984b ; Rand, 1986). Since then, heritage language programs have been implemented in the public school system of several provinces, including Manitoba.

The study of languages has been offered in Manitoba schools, at the junior and senior high levels, since the 1950's. Due to a renewed interest in language learning during the 1970's, the decade in which the Icelandic (1975), the Hebrew (1976), and the Ukrainian (1979) language programs were implemented, language instruction was also introduced at the elementary level. In the years of 1980 and 1981, there were two amendments to the Public School Act passed in Manitoba: The first one dealt with the establishment of bilingual programs, stating that, "When authorized by the school board, a language other than English or French may be used in any school in the school division or district... as a language of instruction for not more than 50 percent of the regular school hours for pilot courses as determined by the minister" (*Manitoba Department of Education*, 1983, p. 4). The English-Ukrainian bilingual program was the first one to be introduced as a pilot project, followed by the English-German program, in the school year of

1981-82, and the English-Hebrew bilingual, one year later. In these programs, the ethnic language was used as the language of instruction up to 50 percent of the school day. The second, concerned the teaching of heritage languages as a subject during school hours. Italian, German, Spanish (1981), Pilipino (Tagalog), and Portuguese (1982) were added to the list of languages being taught in the public schools of Manitoba during the early part of the 1980's (*Manitoba Department of Education*, 1983).

Throughout the 1980's, other initiatives by both the federal and the provincial governments promoted the policy of multiculturalism. For example, in May 1987, the provincial Minister of Culture, Heritage, and Recreation appointed the Manitoba Task Force on Multiculturalism. One of the recommendations of this organization was that it be mandatory for school divisions to offer heritage language programs, provided that a minimum of 25 students showed an interest (*Task Force on Multiculturalism in Manitoba*, 1988). On July 21, 1988, Parliament passed the Canadian Multiculturalism Act into law, which, among other things, recognized the existence of ethnic minorities and their right to maintain and promote the use of their languages (*Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada*, 1990). Two years later, in May of 1990, the Government of Manitoba announced its Multicultural Policy, which had as one of its objectives, the development of a sense of personal and cultural identity in students by providing opportunities to study cultural and linguistic heritage (*Manitoba Education and Training*, 1992).

A Portuguese language program was introduced in Winnipeg School Division No.1 during the school year of 1982-83 in six schools, four elementary and two junior high. There were approximately 400 students enrolled in the program which was taught by three teachers, one of whom was in charge of developing the curriculum. In the following year, the program was



extended to the high school setting at Daniel MacIntyre Collegiate (Manitoba Department of Education, 1983) and in 1984–85 to Technical-Vocational High School. Since its implementation in 1982, however, the Portuguese language program, like several others such as the Italian and the Filipino, has lost its status of language of study in all public schools, but one. Bairos, the former chairman of the Portuguese Curriculum Committee, explains this occurrence in terms of the gradual disintegration of the Portuguese community in a certain area of Winnipeg, and to the apathy and lack of commitment of some parents and principals of schools where the program was being taught (Bairos, 1997, informal interview).<sup>2</sup>

There are many benefits that have been used to justify heritage language maintenance in our multicultural nation. First of all, bilingualism is likely to have a positive effect on children's intellectual and academic development, as supported by Cummins' and Mulcahy's study on the Edmonton Ukrainian bilingual program (Cummins, 1983a & 1983b). They concluded that children of minority ethnic groups, who acquired English as a second language, performed just as well in academic subjects as their English-speaking classmates and that by the end of grade five they performed better in reading comprehension skills. Studies also show that the studying of a heritage language provides students with linguistic skills which are transferable to the learning of the dominant language (Danesi, 1986). Furthermore, public instruction of heritage languages contributes to the positive self-image of those who speak the language studied in the home, which facilitates learning in general (Migus, 1975; Cummins, 1981; Rand, 1985). Finally, the study of a heritage language provides the children of the younger generation with an opportunity to learn or improve their communication skills in their parents' and grandparents' language. In many

cases, these parents and grandparents, due to their advanced age, their low level of education, and their segregation from the host society, never learned to communicate in English. If they do not encourage their children to learn, use, and maintain the ethnic language, a linguistic loss will occur as the older generation vanishes and the younger one becomes more and more assimilated into the main stream

# **CHAPTER V**

## **PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN WINNIPEG: A SURVEY**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter reports the results obtained through a language survey which was administered to 66 households in Winnipeg in an attempt to measure the degree of language maintenance present in the Portuguese community in Winnipeg. The survey data were gathered and analyzed according to the seven sections identified in the questionnaire: 1) information on the respondents' background (age, gender, place of birth, and level of education), 2) their Portuguese language use, 3) their self-rating of Portuguese language proficiency, 4) their language preference in the domains of family, friends, church, social and cultural organizations, business and services, and mass media, 5) their participation in language programs, 6) their participation in cultural and religious activities, and 7) their opinions and attitudes on language maintenance.

## **The Subjects**

Sixty-six Portuguese households were randomly selected from the Winnipeg Telephone Directory (See UM Faculty of Education Ethics Approval Form in Appendix C). Each household was contacted by phone. A brief explanation of the research project was given, and all members of the household over ten years of age were requested to participate by completing a language use survey.

## **The Instrument**

The instrument developed for this survey research was a written questionnaire. The questionnaire, written both in English (Appendix D) and Portuguese (Appendix E), contains 37 questions covering seven different sections. The first section gathers general information on the respondents' background. The second is concerned with the general use of the Portuguese language. The third deals with self-rating of the knowledge of the mother tongue in the areas of understanding, reading, writing, and speaking. The fourth section examines language preference and frequency of use in the domains of home, friends, church, cultural organizations, business transactions and social needs, as well as in the mass media. The fifth section seeks information on the respondents' involvement in the Portuguese language programs. The sixth inquires into the different levels of participation in cultural events. The seventh section concludes with opinions and attitudes on language maintenance.

## **Collecting the Data**

Surveys were sent to 66 Luso-Canadian households of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg. Fifty-nine households responded, completing 129 questionnaires from both generations. This represents an 89 percent return rate of the households. Eighty-two respondents (39 males, 43 females) were identified as belonging to the first generation and 47 (22 males, 25 females) belonging to the second generation. The high return rate was attributed to the several personal contacts between the researcher and the respondents, the availability of the researcher to clarify issues, the flexibility of response deadlines, and the persistence of supplying second copies of the questionnaire in instances where the respondents claimed to have misplaced the original copy.

## **FINDINGS**

### **Respondents' Background**

Of the first generation respondents, 29 were born before 1940, 48 between 1941-1960, and five between 1961-1980. Twenty-five of them were born in mainland Portugal, 53 in the Azores, and four in the Portuguese speaking country of Brazil. Although the Brazilian respondents are not considered Luso-Canadians, they were included in the study because they are members of the Winnipeg Portuguese linguistic community. As for length of stay in Winnipeg, one emigrated during the 1950's, 28 in the 1960's, 45 in the 1970's, and eight in the 1980's.

In the second generation, one was born between 1941-1960, 35 between 1961-1980, and the remaining 11 between 1981-1987 (See Table 5.1). The majority (36) of second generation respondents were single and six out of the 11 who were married had children under ten years of age. By definition, second generation respondents were mostly Canadian-born (36), with the exception of six who were born in the Azores, two in Brazil, and three in mainland Portugal who immigrated as children.

**Table 5.1**

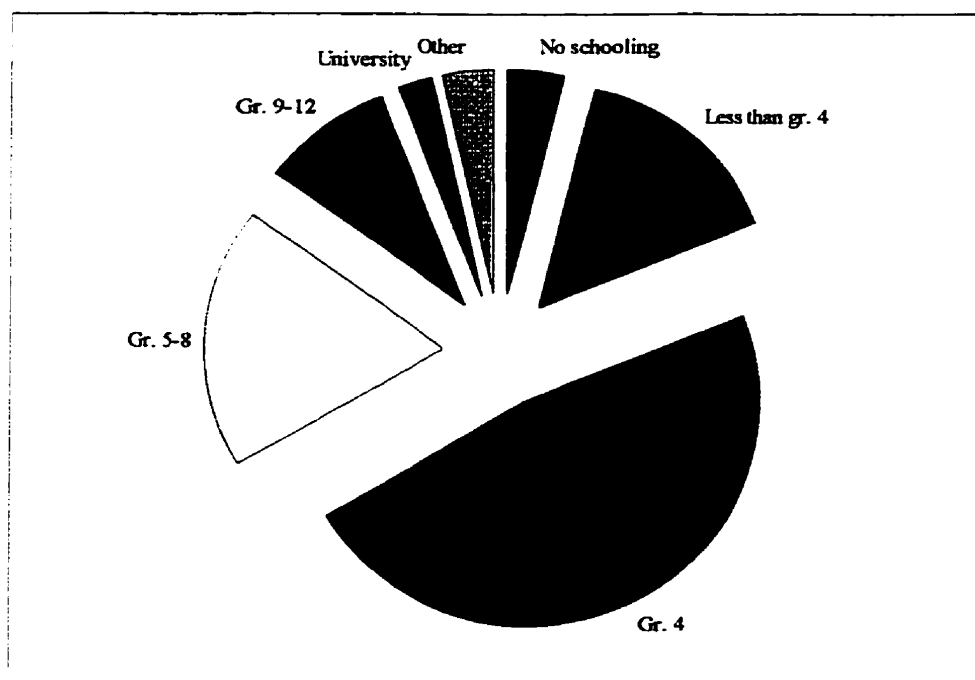
*Respondents by Generation, Age Group, and Gender*

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Age</b>				<b>Total</b>	<b>Gender</b>		
	10-16	17-36	37-56	57+		Male	Female	Total
<b>First</b>	0	5	48	29	<b>82</b>	39	43	<b>82</b>
<b>Second</b>	11	35	1	0	<b>47</b>	22	25	<b>47</b>
<b>Total</b>	11	40	49	29	<b>129</b>	61	68	<b>129</b>

The education level of the first generation respondents prior to emigration was relatively low. Among the 80 first generation responses to this question, three did not attend school, 12 had less than grade 4, 38 completed grade 4, 15 completed grades 5-8, seven completed grades 9-12, two (from Brazil) had university degrees, and the remaining three had registered in Industrial and Commercial courses (See Table 5.2). As mentioned in Chapter 2, grade 4 was the minimum educational requirement needed under Salazar's regime.

**Table 5.2**

***First Generation Level of Education***

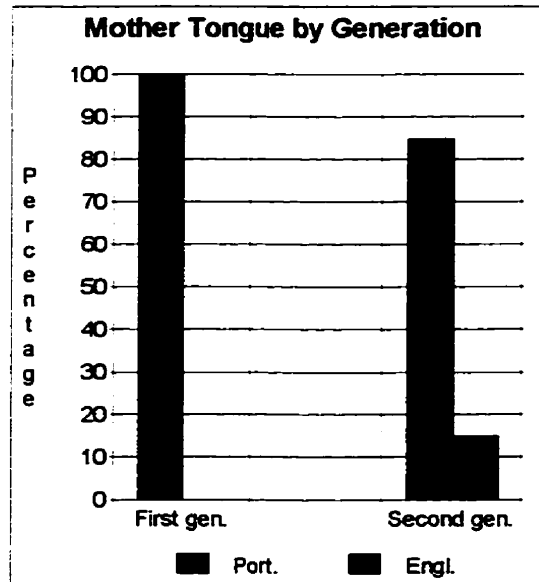


**Portuguese Language Use**

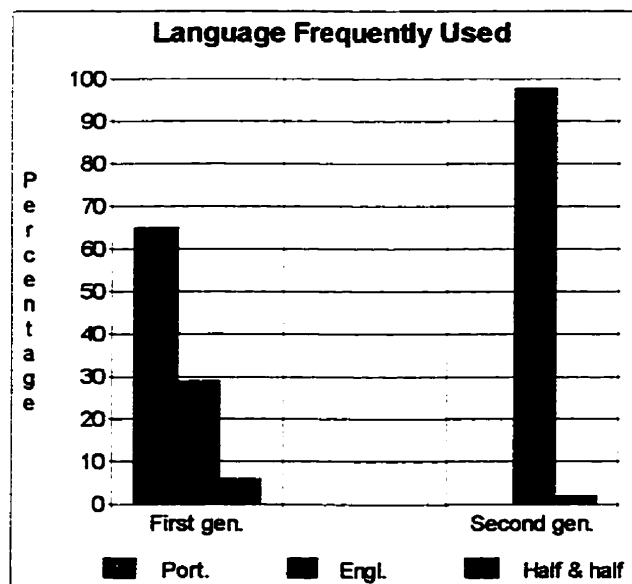
All first generation respondents claimed Portuguese as their mother tongue, and 83 percent (39 out of 47) of second generation individuals also stated that they grew up speaking Portuguese (See Table 5.3). However, when asked which language is currently most frequently used, only 65 percent of first generation immigrants reported Portuguese, and six percent reported a mixture of both Portuguese and English. A drastic difference is revealed in the results of the second generation, where 98 percent speak English as their usual language and two percent use both Portuguese and English (See Table 5.4). These results suggest a major shift toward English occurring in both generations. Twenty-nine percent of first generation are currently using

English as their home language. As for the second generation, only 17 percent reported English or French as their mother tongue, yet 98 percent currently use English as their main language.

**Table 5.3**



**Table 5.4**





In reference to the frequency of oral use of Portuguese, 91 percent first generation respondents declared that they speak their mother tongue 'frequently' at home, and the remaining nine percent, 'occasionally.' This oral use of Portuguese is much higher than the oral use of Portuguese of second generation respondents, of whom 34 percent speak Portuguese 'frequently' and 51 percent, 'occasionally' (See Table 5.5).

Reading in Portuguese is used less frequently than oral use by both generations: 80 percent of the first generation read Portuguese 'frequently' or 'occasionally,' compared to only 34 percent of the second generation (See Table 5.5). The reading practiced by both generations includes selections from religious books, church bulletins, magazines, ethnic newspapers, letters from family and friends, and shopping lists. Books are less commonly read: 64 percent of first generation respondents reported that they read Portuguese books 'very often' or 'occasionally', 82 percent of whom feel comfortable with the language level used. In the second generation, books are only read 'occasionally' by 13 percent of respondents, and only 39 percent of whom feel 'always' or 'usually comfortable' with the language presented.

Writing in the mother tongue is the least used language skill of both generations. Seventy-one percent of first generation respondents write in Portuguese 'frequently' or 'occasionally,' compared to only 27 percent of the second generation (See Table 5.5). Of the first generation respondents who can write, 78 percent feel 'always' or 'usually comfortable' in writing letters to family and friends, as opposed to only 20 percent of the second generation members.

**Table 5.5*****Frequency of Use of Portuguese by Generation***

		<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
<b>First Gen.</b>	<b>Speak</b>	91.46%	8.54	0	0	
	<b>Read</b>	34.15	46.34	15.85	3.66	82
	<b>Write</b>	26.83	43.9	25.61	3.7	
<b>Second Gen.</b>	<b>Speak</b>	34.04	51.06	12.77	2.13	
	<b>Read</b>	6.38	27.66	38.3	27.66	47
	<b>Write</b>	1.22	25.53	23.4	48.94	

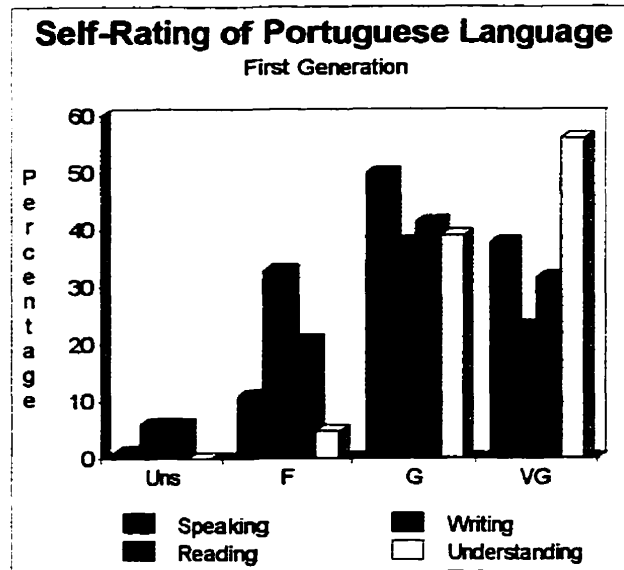
In summary, 29 percent of first generation respondents and 98 percent of the second reported English as the language most commonly used. Nevertheless, Portuguese is still widely spoken, especially among members of the first generation, followed by reading, and then by writing.

**Self-Rating of Portuguese Language Knowledge**

While 88 percent first generation respondents considered themselves as having 'very good' or 'good' oral skills, 57 percent second generation population declared having similar skills. Ninety-six percent of first generation respondents feel 'always' or 'usually comfortable' when engaged in an everyday conversation with a native Portuguese speaker, a much higher percentage than the 52 percent second generation respondents who only feel 'usually comfortable' when addressing someone in Portuguese (Compare Table 5.6 with Table 5.7).

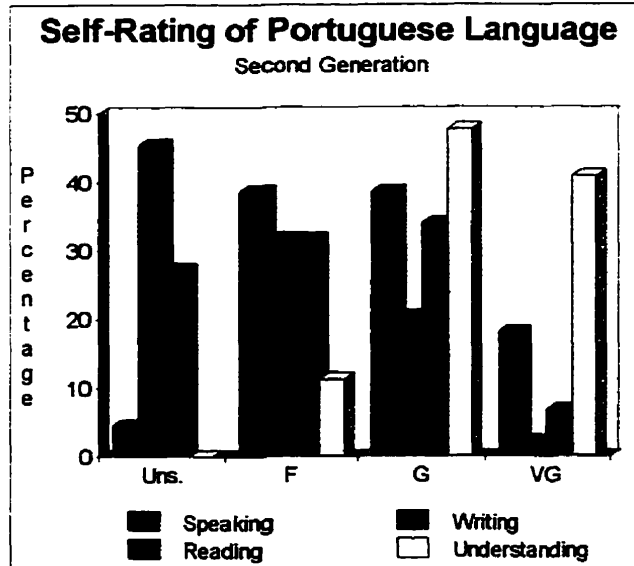
**Table 5.6**

***Knowledge of Portuguese: First Generation***



**Table 5.7**

***Knowledge of Portuguese: Second Generation***



Reading skills are also lower in the second generation. A meager seven percent reported 'very good' reading skills, compared to 32 percent of the first generation. However, the percentages in the two generations of those considering themselves 'good' readers are much closer: 41 percent in the first generation and 34 percent in the second (Compare Tables 5.6 and 5.7). Six percent of first generation respondents reported that they could not read Portuguese due to their lack of formal schooling, a much lower percentage than the 28 percent of second generation

Written skills were rated the lowest of the four linguistic areas: 23 percent of first generation reported having 'very good' written skills, as compared to two percent of the second generation; 38 percent of the older generation thought their written skills were 'good,' while only 20 percent of the second generation considered themselves as having 'good' skills. Six percent of first generation respondents indicated 'unsatisfactory' writing skills, a much lower percentage than the 46 percent of second generation respondents (Compare Tables 5.6 and 5.7).

As one might expect, the comprehension skills (understanding oral language) are the highest in both generations. Fifty-six percent first generation respondents stated that they have 'very good' comprehension skills, compared to 41 percent second generation individuals; 39 percent first generation members responded that they have 'good' skills, compared to 48 percent of their second generation counterparts (Compare Tables 5.6 and 5.7).

Therefore, both generations have higher ability to understand than to speak, and both have higher reading than writing skills. However, as Veltman (1983) comments, "The ability to understand a minority language is in itself of relatively little consequence for the future if the language is not in fact

frequently used" (p. 107). Therefore, individuals who understand Portuguese, but do not speak it, make little or no contribution to the maintenance of that language.

### **Language Preference**

**Family Domain.** In order to identify which language is used most at home, the questionnaire elicited several responses related to the language used between the respondents and their family members (grandparents, parents, siblings, spouse, children, and other relatives). The 17 percent first generation respondents whose grandparents were still alive declared that they speak Portuguese to them. All first generation respondents also reported that the interaction between them and their parents is in Portuguese, with a small minority (4%) speaking English to their fathers (See Table 5.8). Born and educated in Portugal, all first generation respondents reported Portuguese as their mother tongue. Thus, it is not surprising that, at least in the family domain, the minority language is maintained. To their parents and grandparents, either here or in Portugal, Portuguese is obviously the only or main means of communication. The use of English only to communicate by four percent of the fathers may be due to their early arrival in Canada, and to the fact that fathers spend more time working outside the home and have, therefore, frequent opportunities to integrate in the dominant society. This is an observation also made by Xiao (1992) when studying the maintenance of the Chinese language in Winnipeg. She found that:

Since the father has been in Canada longer and uses English outside the home more often than the mother, he is also usually more competent in English than the mother. The mother, on the other hand, as a result of

spending more time inside rather than outside home, is usually less competent in English than the other members of the family. Therefore, it is often the case that a child may be able to communicate with the father in English but may need to speak to the mother in Chinese (p.151).

In his study, *Language Shift in the United States* (1983), Veltman reasons that the language used by parents has the strongest impact on the language chosen by their children. Thus, if some first generation fathers decide to use English with their children, those, in turn, adopt the use of English with their fathers.

**Table 5.8**

***Language used with family members  
(First Generation)***

	<u>Portuguese</u>	<u>Half &amp; half *</u>	<u>English</u>
<b>Grandparents</b>	100%	0	0
<b>Mother</b>	100	0	0
<b>Father</b>	96.43	0	3.57
<b>Siblings</b>	84.93	4.11	10.96
<b>Spouse</b>	77.78	12.5	9.72
<b>Children</b>	54.79	31.51	13.7
<b>Relatives</b>	78.95	15.79	5.26

\* Half & half refers to a combination of Portuguese and English.

Eighty-five percent of the respondents who immigrated between 1960-1973 and belonging to the 41-60 age group communicate with their siblings mainly in Portuguese and 11 percent use English only. Between husbands and wives, 81 percent of the men use Portuguese when addressing their spouses; 78 percent of the women use the ethnic language with their husbands. All first generation respondents (3) who married a non-Portuguese spouse have adopted English as their home language. One of them stated that he tries to maintain the Portuguese language and culture at home, but has not been successful because his wife is Anglo-Canadian and his children

cannot speak Portuguese. In his study about the maintenance of the German language in Alberta, Prokop (1990) indicates the importance of endogamy in the survival of a minority language and traditions, citing research conducted by Stadler in Vancouver, where he found that:

None of the parents in the ethnically mixed marriages spoke German in the home, and children in these ethnically mixed marriages never spoke German at home, although they were learning it in the ethnic language school (p.82).

Fifty-five percent of the first generation respondents communicate in Portuguese with their children, but only 37 percent of the children respond to their parents using the minority language. A 1967 immigrant father, for instance, reported that he uses Portuguese with his three sons: the two older ones reply in Portuguese, but the youngest always replies in English. Another 1978 immigrant mother added that she has a daughter who understands Portuguese but does not speak it. Therefore, she feels the need to use English in order to communicate with her daughter who is reluctant to learn Portuguese. This example typifies children who either immigrate to Canada at an early age or who are Canadian-born. Although they may have learned Portuguese as their mother tongue, they gradually lose their linguistic skills when entering in contact with the dominant society, namely friends, television, radio, and school. This situation supports Glazer's (1978) observation that:

The children of immigrants, fluent in childhood, lose their knowledge as they grow up. This happens even to the immigrants themselves. It is a result of the fact that the most effective and important institutions to which they have access as Americans are conducted in English (p. 42).

Portuguese is also the language used by the majority of first generation respondents (79%) in their interaction with their relatives. Three respondents reported that they communicate in Portuguese with the older people (uncles,

aunts, older cousins), but speak English with the younger children. Another respondent expressed her opinion that among her relatives, small children speak both Portuguese and English, while the adolescents only speak English.

Analysis of the data confirmed this relationship between the use of Portuguese and the age of the speakers, a finding also made by Waggoner (1988) in her study about language minorities in the United States, and by Xiao (1992) about the Chinese community in Winnipeg. Tables 5.8 and 5.9 indicate that while Portuguese is used to communicate with the older people, namely grandparents and parents, it is used to a lesser extent to communicate with people of the same age, and even less with children. The fact that only 32 percent of the parents practice bilingualism with their children can be attributed to two main factors: first, they use both Portuguese and English as a form of communication with very young immigrants who suddenly find themselves caught between two cultural worlds; second, both languages are used as a form of communication with a generation that was born in Canada, grew up within a Portuguese environment, but no longer feels comfortable speaking Portuguese. The 14 percent of the respondents who use English monolingualism when relating to their children do so for several possible reasons: they immigrated at a young age and feel more comfortable expressing themselves in the dominant language; they recognize their children's limited abilities in Portuguese language skills; they themselves want to learn English; or even because they want to acculturate as quickly as possible as a reaction against their not so positive experiences back in Portugal.



**Table 5.9**

***Language Response of Family Members  
(First Generation)***

	<u>Portuguese</u>	<u>Half &amp; half</u>	<u>English</u>
<b>Grandparents</b>	100%	0	0
<b>Mother</b>	100	0	0
<b>Father</b>	96.3	0	3.7
<b>Siblings</b>	86.11	4.17	9.72
<b>Spouse</b>	80.82	8.22	10.96
<b>Children</b>	36.99	34.25	28.77
<b>Relatives</b>	76	18.67	5.33

The researcher had the opportunity to observe a conversation among several members of a family, namely a second generation seven year old boy, his mother, who immigrated when she was nine years of age, and his grandmother, who has been in Winnipeg since 1969. The mother asked the little boy, in English, about his school day and he replied in English. The grandmother, who always speaks to him in Portuguese, was not sure of what he had said and asked for an explanation. The boy turned to her and, in broken Portuguese, quickly summarized his day at school. The existence of extended families, formed by grandparents, children, and grandchildren, still common in Portuguese households, seems to play a major role in the maintenance of Portuguese language and culture. In fact, in both generations studied, the communication established between the respondents and their grandparents was almost totally confined to Portuguese. The latter immigrated at an older age and felt more than anybody else the need to hold on to their language and cultural traditions. They did not have any English background upon arrival and experienced little exposure to the dominant society as usually they did not join the work force. The importance of

grandparents in the nourishment of a minority language was also identified by other researchers, such as Correa-Zoli (1982), Honig (1983), and Xiao (1992).

The data gathered from the second generation, on the other hand, revealed a different picture (See Tables 5.10 and 5.11).

**Table 5.10**

***Language used with family members  
(Second Generation)***

	<u>Portuguese</u>	<u>Half &amp; half</u>	<u>English</u>
<b>Grandparents</b>	89.74%	7.69	2.56
<b>Mother</b>	28.89	44.44	26.67
<b>Father</b>	28.89	42.22	28.89
<b>Siblings</b>	2.17	10.87	86.96
<b>Spouse</b>	0	45.45	54.55
<b>Children</b>	0	16.67	83.33
<b>Relatives</b>	22.22	60	17.78

Grandparents are the only ones with whom most of the interaction is conducted in Portuguese. Approximately 90 percent of the second generation respondents use Portuguese with their grandparents (See Table 5.10). Approximately 95 percent of grandparents use Portuguese when communicating with their grandchildren (See Tables 5.11). The five percent difference is due to the fact that often grandparents speak Portuguese to their grandchildren, who reply in English. One first generation respondent reported that his parents speak Portuguese with his three, seven, and nine year old children, but the children always respond in English.

When interacting with their mother, only 29 percent of the second generation respondents use Portuguese monolingualism. The majority (44%) use English bilingualism, and the remaining 27 percent use English only. A larger percentage (60%) of mothers, however, use Portuguese with the respondents (See Table 5.11). A similar pattern occurs in the interaction with

their father, as 29 percent use Portuguese and the majority (42%) use English bilingualism. The percentage of fathers who use Portuguese when communicating with the respondents (53%) is, as in the first generation, slightly lower than mothers (See Table 5.11).

These data seem to indicate that the Portuguese language is rapidly losing ground in the Portuguese community in Winnipeg. Tables 5.10 and 5.11 show a noticeable gap between the amount of Portuguese spoken between grandparents and parents, and between parents, their siblings, and their children. While the amount of Portuguese language used with siblings is minimal (2%) and 87 percent communicate in English only, no single respondent reported using Portuguese monolingualism with his or her spouse nor children, and neither children nor spouse use exclusively the minority language when addressing the respondent. In fact, based on data of Table 5.11, all children of second generation respondents use English monolingualism as a means of communication with their parents, although only 83 percent of those speak solely English with their children. Bilingualism seems to be the main form of communication with other relatives, as reported by 60 percent of the respondents, followed by Portuguese (22%) and English (18%) (See Table 5.10). Two second generation respondents reported that they always use Portuguese with older relatives, but speak English with people of their age and younger.

**Table 5.11**

***Language Response of Family Members  
(Second Generation)***

	<u>Portuguese</u>	<u>Half &amp; half</u>	<u>English</u>
<b>Grandparents</b>	94.74%	5.26	0
<b>Mother</b>	60	33.33	6.67
<b>Father</b>	53.33	40	6.67
<b>Siblings</b>	0	8.7	91.3
<b>Spouse</b>	0	27.27	72.73
<b>Children</b>	0	0	100
<b>Relatives</b>	32.61	63.04	4.35

Table 5.12 shows a comparison of both generations when addressing the different members of the family. In this comparison, we find that Portuguese is used the most when respondents communicate with grandparents: while all first generation respondents use Portuguese with their grandparents, a decrease of only ten percent occurs in the second generation; while 100 percent and 96 percent of first generation respondents use Portuguese when talking to their mother and father, respectively, this percentage decreases to 29 percent in the younger generation. There is also a drastic change in the language used between siblings: approximately 85 percent of respondents use Portuguese to communicate with their siblings in the first generation, but 87 percent of the second generation use English monolingualism. Another major difference between generations was found in the amount of Portuguese language used by the respondents with their spouses and children. The 78 percent use of Portuguese monolingualism with spouses in the first generation and the 55 percent used with children, both drop to 0 percent in the second. The most common language used with them is English monolingualism (55% with spouse and 83% with children). The amount of Portuguese used with relatives also decreases from one generation to the next: close to 79 percent communicate in Portuguese in the first

generation compared to only 22 percent in the second. The latter uses mostly bilingualism in the conversation with their relatives.

**Table 5.12**

***Language used with family members  
(A generational comparison)***

	<b>Portuguese</b>		<b>Half &amp; half</b>		<b>English</b>	
	<b>F.G.</b>	<b>S.G.</b>	<b>F.G.</b>	<b>S.G.</b>	<b>F.S.</b>	<b>S.G.</b>
<b>Grandpar.</b>	100%	89.74	0	7.69	0	2.56
<b>Mother</b>	100	28.89	0	44.44	0	26.67
<b>Father</b>	96.43	28.89	0	42.22	3.57	28.89
<b>Siblings</b>	84.93	2.17	4.11	10.87	10.96	86.96
<b>Spouse</b>	77.78	0	12.5	45.45	9.72	54.55
<b>Children</b>	54.79	0	31.51	16.67	13.7	83.33
<b>Relatives</b>	78.95	22.22	15.79	60	5.26	17.78

Legend: F.G.= First generation  
S.G.= Second Generation

Thus, in the family domain the Portuguese language has been kept alive mainly by first generation members. Some of the younger first generation respondents, however, have been gradually replacing their mother tongue with bilingualism or English monolingualism, in order to better communicate with their spouses, children, and younger siblings and relatives. A considerable loss is already evident among second generation members, those who immigrated at an early age, or who were born and educated in Canada. In comparison to the first generation, they have decreased drastically their use of Portuguese in their communication with grandparents, parents, siblings, relatives, spouse and children (See Table 5.12). Although 83 percent of them reported Portuguese as their mother tongue, the majority have adopted English monolingualism in their homes, followed by a smaller percentage of bilingualism. While it is true that 90 percent of them still use Portuguese monolingualism with their grandparents, the majority speak

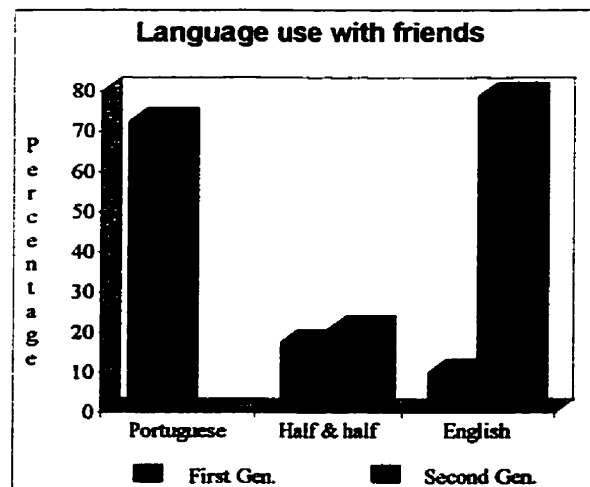
English and Portuguese with their parents and relatives; more than 50 percent use English monolingualism with their spouses; 83 percent communicate in English with their children; and English monolingualism is used in the mixed marriage situation.

**Friendship Domain.** In the friendship domain, the respondents were asked a set of questions regarding the ethnicity of their three closest friends, the language used when interacting with them, and, if they had children, which language did they use to communicate with their friends. Eighty-eight percent of first generation respondents reported their three closest friends to be Portuguese, 79 percent reported that they had more Portuguese than non-Portuguese friends, and 73 percent stated that they always use Portuguese when communicating with their friends (See Table 5.13). The 21 percent whose friends are of other ethnic backgrounds explained that their relationship is a result of having lived away from the Portuguese ethnic community, and because of the high number of English-speaking co-workers. The majority of first generation respondents (78%) also claimed that their children use English monolingualism with their Portuguese or non-Portuguese friends, 16 percent reported that their children use English and Portuguese, and six percent reported that their offsprings use only Portuguese.

For 57 percent of second generation respondents, their three closest friends are of non-Portuguese background, and the language of communication with all of them is, naturally, English. The remaining 43 percent whose three closest friends are of Portuguese descent are equally divided between the use of English monolingualism (50%) and bilingualism (50%). Although a high percentage of second generation respondents (38%)

claimed that they have more Portuguese friends, over half (55%) have more non-Portuguese friends. Nevertheless, the language of communication with them is mostly English (79%), and no Canadian-born ever uses Portuguese monolingualism to communicate with his or her friends (See Table 5.13). These results are supported by Xiao (1992) who also concluded that a very small percentage of second generation Chinese (5 out of 27) use some Chinese with their close Chinese friends, and that all the rest use only English. However, Xiao's conclusion that the friendship with a person of the same mother tongue influenced the use of the ethnic language among the Chinese in Winnipeg was not found in this study of the Portuguese community. Only two second generation respondents reported that they have children (third generation) who also choose English as the language of communication with their friends. Being more exposed to domains where the dominant language is commonly spoken (school, literature, friends, radio, and television), these children are an integral part of a more anglicized way of life.

**Table 5.13**



Although to a lesser extent than in the family domain, the Portuguese language is the one mostly spoken among individuals of the first generation in the friendship domain. Similar findings were also reported by Prokop (1990) when referring to the Germans in Alberta, and by Veltman (1983) in his research about the language used by Spanish-speaking children in the United States. Furthermore, the simple fact of having more Portuguese than non-Portuguese friends, and of speaking Portuguese monolingualism to most of them, indicates that first generation Portuguese immigrants feel the need to share and keep alive their heritage language and cultural values. It has been the researcher's observation that many of them, regardless of their time of arrival in Winnipeg, form small groups in order to go camping, fishing, hunting, or even to play a game of cards or domino at one of the Portuguese clubs or centres. There are also those families of friends who visit each other occasionally and are invited to participate in meaningful occasions, such as Christmas, birthdays, engagement parties, weddings, and funerals. The language pattern followed when friends meet is well established: those who immigrated at an older age communicate in Portuguese only; the ones who arrived during their 20's, 30's, and 40's in general use bilingualism; and second generation individuals speak English monolingualism among themselves and often with their parents. Many of these encounters often end with the lament that the harsh and long Winnipeg winters do not permit nor encourage long lasting friendships, resulting in sporadic encounters. This means that, although far from their homeland, the Portuguese community of Winnipeg, at least the foreign-born, are still very much attached to their cultural roots and feel the need and the responsibility to uphold the language and other traditional values brought during immigration.



It is not surprising that more than half of second generation respondents reported having chosen their three closest friends from other ethnic backgrounds and that an equal percentage have more non-Portuguese friends. Being more exposed to the dominant institutions, such as school, neighbourhood, mass media, and work, they interact with all kinds of people and, therefore, use the language that is more available to all. Moreover, if at home they speak in English and Portuguese to their first generation parents and English monolingualism to their siblings, it is only natural that they also use English with their friends.

**The Church Domain.** In this domain, two questions were asked of the first generation respondents and three of the second. The first two questions asked respondents to identify the church they attend and the language of preference when they pray. The last question, addressed to second generation individuals only, inquired into the language used during religious instruction. Eighty-one percent of first generation respondents reported that they attend a Portuguese church, and 19 percent an English church. The majority (97%) also reported that they use Portuguese during their prayers (See Table 5.14).

Of the second generation respondents, 84 percent attend a Portuguese church, and 16 percent an English one. More than half of them (54%) pray in Portuguese, 39 percent in English, and the rest, in both languages. There were only 24 respondents who answered the question related to the language used during Sunday school instruction. Of those, 58 percent reported using or having used English during their religious instruction, 38 percent use Portuguese, and the rest (4%) use both languages (See Table 5.14).

Survey data indicate that the majority of the respondents of both generations seek a Portuguese church for their religious needs. The difference between first and second generations, however, is in the amount of Portuguese used during prayer. While almost all first generation members use their ethnic language to pray, only 54 percent of the younger generation do so. Furthermore, most of the second generation individuals surveyed reported having chosen English during catechism classes (See Table 5.14). These data suggest that although Portuguese is the language mostly used by parents to teach their children their basic prayers, English language gains ground as a result of the more formal religious instruction in church and as children grow older.

**Table 5.14**

***Church Attended, Language of Prayer, and Language of Religious Instruction, by Generation***

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Church</b>			<b>Language of Prayer</b>			<b>Religious Instruction</b>		
	<b>Port.</b>	<b>Engl.</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Port.</b>	<b>Engl.</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Port.</b>	<b>Engl.</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>First</b>	80.82%	19.18	73	97.44	2.56	78	0	0	0
<b>Second</b>	84.09	15.91	44	54.35	39.13	46	39.13	60.87	23

The Immaculate Conception Parish, identified by 81 percent (59/73) first generation individuals and by 82 percent (36/44) second generation members as being the Church of their spiritual needs, is the only Catholic church in Winnipeg where the Portuguese language is spoken. Presently served by two Portuguese-speaking priests, this Parish provides daily and weekend masses in Portuguese, where hundreds of Luso-Canadians from all over Winnipeg pray and sing in their mother tongue. It is typical of the Portuguese, young and old, to gather outside the church, before or after mass,

in order to meet friends and chat with them about school, work, family issues, weather, soccer, and trips to the home country. The Church also issues a weekly bulletin in both Portuguese and English with liturgical highlights, and parish news and reports.

While the adults and those children who have already completed grade seven of religious instruction attend mass at the church, the youngsters go to their classrooms, where approximately 100 teachers and teacher-assistants guide them through formal instruction, until they are confirmed at approximately age 12. According to the catechism coordinator, there were 361 children enrolled in Portuguese classes and 289 in English in the last religious school year, 1996-1997 (Gomes, 1997, informal interview).<sup>3</sup> The language of instruction is chosen by the child or parents during registration. There are two main reasons why parents enroll their children in Portuguese classes: the first is to expose their children to the Portuguese language, with the hope that they will eventually pick up some linguistic skills. The fact that several children reported English as the language of choice during prayer, and Portuguese as the language used for their religious instruction confirms such a motivation. The second reason is to follow up on the prayers already taught in Portuguese, at home, by parents. This situation often creates a problem to the teachers, as most children only know in Portuguese the common prayers taught by their parents, and do not possess the necessary vocabulary to get involved in more advanced instruction. In some classes, teachers give children the choice of using both languages during the same lesson, depending on their familiarity with the vocabulary used or the language in which a specific prayer was taught by the parents (Mota, 1997, informal interview).<sup>4</sup> This is, in fact, the situation of one respondent, as reported in the questionnaire.

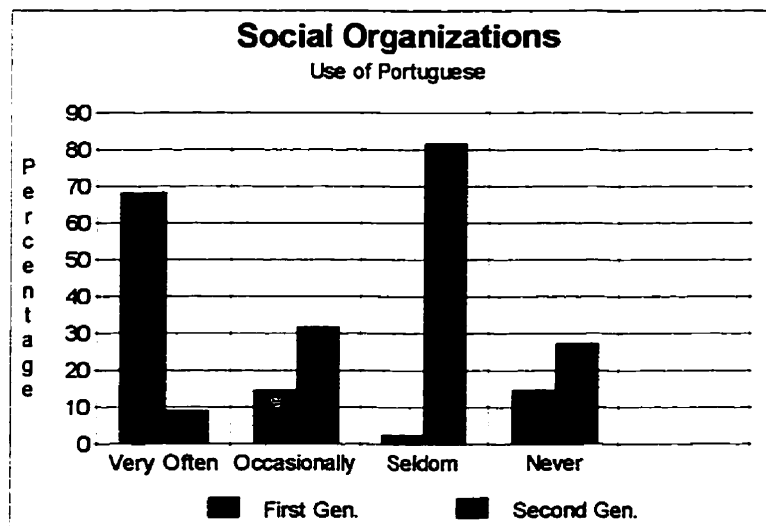
Besides its religious duties, such as masses and religious processions (Our Lady of Fatima and *Senhor Santo Cristo*), the church also encourages Portuguese linguistic and cultural values, as it promotes an environment where children, youth, and adults alike meet and socialize with their friends and co-patriots. Its fraternities and organizations, such as Knights of Columbus, Holy Trinity, Holy Spirit, St. Peter, and *Império das Crianças* (the Children's Group) organize religious and social festivities, where community members come to celebrate their faith and culture, in Portuguese. In these festivities, the presence of Portuguese folk music and dancing, the traditional cuisine, the *Banda Lira de Fátima* (a brass band), and the typical ornamentation create a favorable setting where the ethnic language and cultural values are nourished. The important role of cultural maintenance played by the Roman Catholic Church in the Portuguese community of Winnipeg supports Grosjean (1982) when he states that, "When a religion is closely linked to a particular national group and to its language, it is an extremely powerful force for language maintenance" (p. 109).

**Social Organizations Domain.** In order to examine the amount of ethnic language used in the Portuguese cultural organizations, namely the Portuguese Association of Manitoba, the Casa do Minho Portuguese Centre, and the Azorean Cultural Centre, two questions were asked of the respondents: the first asked whether or not the respondents are members of any of the Portuguese cultural organizations, and the second aimed to identify the language used during the cultural activities and meetings. Of first generation respondents, 45 percent (35/77) reported that they are members of one or more cultural organization. Because less than half of the respondents

are members of a cultural organization, only 41 of them answered the question related to the language of choice during cultural events or meetings, and of those, 28 (68%) reported having used Portuguese 'very often' in their cultural organization.

As for the second generation, only 12 out of 47 (26%) respondents reported membership in one or more Portuguese cultural organization, but among the 22 who answered the question related to the language used in the organization, only two (9%) use Portuguese 'very often' (See Table 5.15), a much smaller percentage than the one recorded for the first generation.

**Table 5.15**



The fact that nearly half of the respondents of both generations are not members of any Portuguese cultural organization is not indicative of their lack of participation in the cultural activities of the centres. Although only members can vote, be elected to the executive, and be officially invited to attend the regular meetings of the general assembly, many non-members not only participate in organizational events and celebrations, such as dinners, theatre,

Folklorama, Portugal Day, and community picnics, but also visit the cultural centres on a regular basis, and participate actively as folk dancers, musicians, and in other capacities. It has been the researcher's observation that many adults, youth, and children frequent the centres, mainly on weekends, to have a drink with their friends, to read the newspapers from Portugal, to play a card game, to watch the national news or a soccer game via satellite, to chat, or simply to watch the folk groups practice their traditional dances. The language used during these interactions is, as in the family, friendship, and church domains, mainly Portuguese for the first generation individuals, and mainly English for the youth and children. The importance of the establishment of ethnic organizations among immigrant communities has also been pointed out by Galang (1988) and by Molesky (1988), when referring to the adjustment and cultural preservation of minority groups in the United States.

As mentioned in Chapter 3 of this study, all three Portuguese cultural centres were established with the main objectives of helping the immigrants and their descendents adjust to the Canadian way of life, and of maintaining and promoting their linguistic and cultural traditions in Winnipeg. The Portuguese Association promotes a Portuguese language program, a community park where several cultural activities are held each summer, a Folklorama Pavilion, several folk dancing groups, dinners during special occasions, the celebrations of Portugal Day, and St. Anthony's Feast. The *Casa do Minho* promotes its rich folklore, Folklorama, Christmas traditions, New Year's Banquet, Easter festivities, and weekend lunches. The Azorean Cultural Centre has a regional folk group, organizes Carnival dances, and sponsors dinners and the visits of Portuguese singers to Winnipeg. They all

play a very dynamic role in the maintenance and promotion of the Portuguese linguistic and cultural traditions in Winnipeg.

**Business and Service Domain.** In the domain of business transactions and other services, both first and second generation respondents were asked to identify the language of choice when shopping at Portuguese stores or visiting the family doctor, the hairdresser, the travel agent, the real estate agent, the dentist, and the lawyer.

Seventy-two out of 79 first generation respondents (91%) reported that they use Portuguese monolingualism whenever they shop at Portuguese stores. The ethnic language is not used as much during their visits to the family doctor, as only 47 out of 81 respondents (58%) stated that they use Portuguese, while the remaining 34 (42%) communicate in English only. A high percentage of respondents also use Portuguese monolingualism when using hair styling (78%) or travel agency (83%) services. The interaction with real estate agents is mainly done in Portuguese (59%), but a high proportion (36%) of respondents also use English monolingualism. Dentist and legal services are the ones where the Portuguese language is the least used, as only 32 percent of those use Portuguese when visiting a dentist, and 38 percent when seeking legal advice. With these two services, the minority language is surpassed by English (See Table 5.16).

**Table 5.16*****Business and Service Domain, by First Generation Respondents***

	Portuguese Half & half	English	N	
Shopping	91 14%	2.53	6.33	79
Doctor	58.02	0	41.98	81
Hair dresser	77.78	1.23	20.99	81
Travel agent	83.33	5.13	11.54	78
Real estate agent	59.21	5.26	35.53	76
Dentist	31.58	1.32	67 10	76
Lawyer	38.16	0	61.84	76

Although the Portuguese have been in Winnipeg since the early 1950's, the first Portuguese-speaking dentist only graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1984 (Fernandes, 1997, informal interview).<sup>5</sup> This may explain the small percentage of first generation respondents using the Portuguese language in their visits to the dentist. Most respondents, upon their arrival in Canada, may have chosen an English-speaking dentist with the help of translators, and did not see the need to switch when a Portuguese-speaking individual became available. Furthermore, although fluent in his ethnic language, the Portuguese dentist, a second-generation member himself, naturally prefers to speak English with his clients, unless they do not possess the English linguistic skills to communicate, or simply prefer to interact in Portuguese.

Presently, the Portuguese community has at its service several Luso-Canadian lawyers who have also graduated from the University of Manitoba. As it happened with the dentist, first generation immigrants had already established services with English-speaking lawyers, as need arose, although they presently seem to be gradually seeking the services of those who speak their mother tongue.



Of the 36 second generation respondents that shop at Portuguese stores, 16 (44%) use Portuguese monolingualism, four (11%) use English and Portuguese, and 16 (44%) speak English. The visits to the doctor and to the hair dresser have exactly the same percentages of Portuguese (9%) and of English (89%) use. After Portuguese stores, travel agencies are the places where the Portuguese language is mostly practiced: out of 38 respondents, 14 (37%) interact in Portuguese, and 23 (61%) in English. There was one single respondent (3%) who reported that Portuguese is the language used when dealing with a real estate agent. Thirty-two out of 34 (94%) communicate in English. Of the 45 respondents who answered the question dealing with the language used during their visits to the dentist, three (7%) stated that they use Portuguese and 41 (91%) English. Only 30 second generation individuals answered the question related to the services provided by a lawyer, and of those, only five (17%) use Portuguese monolingualism (See Table 5.17).

**Table 5.17**

***Business and Service Domain, by Second Generation Respondents***

	Portuguese	Half & half	English	N
Shopping	44.44%	11.11	44.44	36
Doctor	8.51	2.13	89.36	47
Hair dresser	8.7	2.17	89.13	46
Travel agent	36.84	2.63	60.53	38
Real estate agent	2.94	2.94	94.12	34
Dentist	6.67	2.22	91.11	45
Lawyer	16.67	3.33	80	30

Thus, the respondents of both generations use Portuguese the most when shopping at Portuguese stores and when they use the services of a travel agency. This reality may be due to the establishment of Portuguese

grocery and furniture stores, as well as the availability of a Portuguese travel agency since the early years of the community. For several decades these institutions have served as a bridge between the home country and the host society. Furthermore, because the owners of such places are first generation members, they may themselves use and promote the Portuguese language.

**The Mass Media Domain.** In order to examine the frequency of language use in this domain, three questions were asked of the respondents: the first question was related to the reading of ethnic newspapers, the second dealt with the respondents' frequency of listening to ethnic radio programs, and the last asked how often they watched Portuguese television programs.

Sixty-nine percent (55/80) first generation respondents claimed to read Portuguese newspapers, local or from abroad 'very often' or 'occasionally', as compared to 21 percent (10/47) second generation respondents (See Table 5.18). Several conclusions can be drawn from these data: although the reading of newspapers is not widespread among Portuguese immigrants due in part to their low literacy rate, first generation respondents have higher than second generation respondents reading and comprehension skills, thus allowing them to understand news articles. Of the second generation respondents, only 12 out of 36 (33%) have attended Portuguese language classes, either in the public school system or through the supplementary program, leaving the majority with only the basic skills acquired in the family domain. Furthermore, many first generation respondents still hold a certain attachment to their home town or country newspapers and share common interests with those back home, while others have great interest in sports, mainly soccer, and therefore subscribe to sports newspapers. Second

generation individuals have weaker ties with Portugal, and the issues that take place there are not of immediate interest to them.

There are presently two Portuguese radio programs in Winnipeg, which are transmitted on weekends by Radio C.K.J.S.. The first one, in existence since 1968 (Bairos, 1995), transmits popular music as well as community, national, and international news; the other is especially directed to the youth and transmits both Portuguese and English pop music, as well as local and international news. A high percentage (72%) of first generation respondents reported that they listen to these programs 'very often' or 'occasionally', compared to 23 percent of second generation respondents (See Table 5.18). Some of the reasons for this difference might be the lack of skills to understand the language of a native speaker, the lack of identification with the ethnic culture, and the availability of a much higher number of sources of English music, such as radio stations, cassettes, and CDs, which are more appealing to the youth.

The last question concerned watching Portuguese programs on television. Although in the past there were two Portuguese television programs, aired by Cable 13, a monthly one prepared by the church, and the other, a weekly program with Portuguese news and documentaries from Portugal, at present there are no Portuguese television programs in Winnipeg. However, the cultural organizations such as the Portuguese Association, the *Casa do Minho*, and the Azorean Cultural Centre, as well as many individuals have access to satellite T.V., which brings news, cultural programs, and films directly from Portugal, on a daily basis. Fifty-three percent of first generation respondents reported that they watch Portuguese programs, namely news from the home country, sports editions, soap operas, documentaries, folk dancing, talk shows, and movies, 'very often' or 'occasionally'. This is a much

higher percentage than the 24 percent reported by second generation respondents (See Table 5.18). According to reasons reported in the survey, many other first generation respondents would watch Portuguese television programs if they had the means to do so. The reasons stated for the low percentage of second generation respondents included the fact that many of the programs transmitted are not of interest to them, the language used is too advanced, and the English programs are more appealing. Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not ask any direct questions or comments regarding the role of Portuguese broadcasting in the linguistic and cultural maintenance of the Portuguese in Winnipeg, as did the study conducted by Renz (1987) in California.

**Table 5.18**

***Frequency of Mass Media Contact, by First and Second Generations***

	<b><i>Newspapers</i></b>		<b><i>Radio</i></b>		<b><i>Television</i></b>	
	<b><i>First gen.</i></b>	<b><i>Second gen.</i></b>	<b><i>First gen.</i></b>	<b><i>Second gen.</i></b>	<b><i>First gen.</i></b>	<b><i>Second gen.</i></b>
<b><i>Very often</i></b>	18.52%	6.38	28.4	6.38	17.28	8.51
<b><i>Occasionally</i></b>	49.38	14.89	43.21	17.02	35.8	14.89
<b><i>Seldom</i></b>	23.46	34.04	20.99	38.3	28.4	31.91
<b><i>Never</i></b>	8.64	44.68	7.41	38.3	18.52	44.68
<b><i>Total</i></b>	81	47	81	47	81	47

Table 5.19 shows the level of comfort in listening to or reading the language used by the mass media among members of both generations studied. The majority of first generation respondents stated that they feel 'always' or 'usually comfortable' with the language of radio broadcasts (93%), with the language used on television programs (91%), and with the language used by the newspapers (86%). These percentages are high compared to the second generation percentages of 48 percent 'always' or 'usually comfortable'

with the language used in the radio, 45 percent 'always' or 'usually comfortable' with the language used on television programs, and of 27 percent 'always' or 'usually comfortable' with the language used by the ethnic newspapers. The results reported by second generation respondents show that their listening and understanding skills are higher than their reading skills. This is due to the fact that most second generation respondents have Portuguese as their mother tongue, use the ethnic language to communicate with their parents and grandparents, and at least until they entered the public school system, were raised in households where Portuguese was used as the home language. Although less than half of second generation respondents had the opportunity to be enrolled in a Portuguese language program (See next section, Participation in Language Programs), most had the chance to hear their parents speak to their grandparents and to each other in Portuguese, and had often the opportunity to practice their oral skills with the older people.

**Table 5.19**

***Level of Comfort of Language Used by Mass Media***

		A.C.	U.C.	S.C.	N.C.	N.A.	Total
<b>First Gen.</b>	Radio	64.63%	28.05	4.88	1.22	1.22	82
	Television	67.07	24.39	3.66	1.22	3.66	82
	Newspaper	56.1	30.49	6.1	2.44	4.88	82
<b>Second Gen.</b>	Radio	20.45	27.27	31.82	6.82	13.64	44
	Television	15.91	29.55	22.73	13.64	18.18	44
	Newspaper	6.82	20.45	27.27	31.82	13.64	44

Legend: A.C. = always comfortable  
 U.C. = usually comfortable  
 S.C. = sometimes comfortable  
 N.C. = never comfortable  
 N.A. = not applicable

In any case, it is obvious that not only the language used, but also the articles and programs issued by the radio, television, and newspapers have the potential to contribute, directly or indirectly, to the maintenance of the Portuguese language and culture in Winnipeg. This contribution would certainly be greater if the Portuguese community in Winnipeg had access to more ethnic newspapers, radio programs, and television via satellite, which would put all Luso-Canadians in continuous contact with their heritage language and culture.

### **Participation in Language Programs**

One of the survey questions addressed to first generation respondents asked whether or not their children were attending Portuguese language classes. If they provided an affirmative answer, they were also asked to identify the type of program; and if they provided a negative answer, they were asked to state the reasons for the lack of attendance. Of the 72 who responded to this question, 39 percent reported that their children were attending or had attended a Portuguese language program, and 61 percent answered negatively. Among those who identified the type of program, 13 percent were or had been enrolled in the public school program, and 21 percent in the program promoted by the Portuguese Association of Manitoba.

The reasons provided by parents for not enrolling their children in Portuguese language classes varied. The majority (12) claimed that their children displayed lack of interest, five that Portuguese school was too far, and four reported that Portuguese classes were not available when they arrived in Winnipeg. Other reasons were the lack of transportation (2), the

recommendation of public school teachers who believed that it would be detrimental to the regular English program (3), the heavy load of work for children after a long day of regular school, the fact that some children had to work (2), and some already knew how to speak the language (3).

Second generation individuals were asked whether or not they are enrolled, or have been enrolled, in a Portuguese language program. The affirmative response required information on the type of program and the negative response requested justification for not enrolling in the program. Among those (36) who answered this question, 12 (33%) reported that they are attending or have attended Portuguese language classes, and 24 (67%) answered "no" to the question. Of those who specified the type of program, seven indicated the evening school, four the public school, and one the Seven Oaks classes. Similar to the ones provided by first generation respondents, some of the reasons indicated for not attending school were lack of availability (4), distance (2), lack of interest (8), and unawareness of its existence (2). Thus, the fact that the majority (67%) of second generation respondents have never attended any formal Portuguese language instruction may explain their low self-rating in reading and writing skills in Portuguese.

### **Participation in Cultural and Religious Events**

In the language survey, respondents were given the opportunity to register their level of participation in community events, both cultural and religious. Although this will not directly measure the amount of Portuguese language being used, the simple participation in community events is an indication that Luso-Canadians established in Winnipeg not only continue to

recognize and celebrate their common roots, but also appreciate their Portuguese traditions and their way of life. This sense of togetherness and belonging creates the necessary conditions for the use of the ethnic language, through which those cultural values are expressed. It has been the researcher's observation that during these community activities, all services provided by the organizers (bar, kitchen, entertainment, etc.) are conducted in Portuguese, which is also the language of interaction, at least among the majority of first generation members.

Table 5.20 indicates that, of the first generation respondents, 66 percent attend socio-cultural celebrations, such as Portugal Day, on June 10th., either 'very often' or 'occasionally'; 65 percent visit the Portuguese Folklorama Pavilions, sponsored by the Portuguese Association of Manitoba and the *Casa do Minho* Portuguese Centre, during the first two weeks of August; and 63 percent attend dinners organized by the main cultural organizations, throughout the year. A much smaller percentage (24%) of this generation reported having attended a drama production. This is partly due to the fact that these productions are only held occasionally and, although advertised, they do not attract many people because some are not organizational members and the quality of the product is questioned.



**Table 5. 20**

***Level of Participation in Religious and Cultural Events***

		<b>Very often</b>	<b>Occasionally</b>	<b>Seldom</b>	<b>Never</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>First Gen.</b>	<b>Religious Fest.</b>	57.50%	30	7.5	5	80
	<b>Social Cel.</b>	22.5	43.75	10	23.75	80
	<b>Folklorama</b>	32.47	32.47	14.29	20.78	77
	<b>Theatre</b>	9.72	13.89	15.28	61.11	72
	<b>Dinners</b>	32.05	30.77	7.69	29.49	78
<b>Second Gen.</b>	<b>Religious Fest.</b>	29.79	38.3	12.77	19.15	47
	<b>Social Cel.</b>	21.28	51.06	10.64	17.02	47
	<b>Folklorama</b>	25.53	34.04	10.64	29.79	47
	<b>Theatre</b>	4.35	13.04	17.39	65.22	46
	<b>Dinners</b>	21.28	38.3	17.02	23.4	47

A higher percentage (88%) of first generation respondents participate in religious festivities, such as processions, the Holy Trinity, the Holy Spirit, and the Children's Group (*Império das Crianças*) festivities, sponsored by the Immaculate Conception Parish, 'very often' or 'occasionally'.

The participation in religious and cultural events by second generation respondents is comparable to the one provided by the first generation: 72 percent participate in socio-cultural celebrations; 60 percent visit the Portuguese Pavilions during Folklorama; 60 percent participate in dinners promoted by the several community institutions, such as the church, the cultural organizations, the *Banda Lira de Fátima*, and the Business Association; and 68 percent also reported that they attend religious festivities either 'very often' or 'occasionally.' Similar to the first generation's responses, there was a low percentage of theatre attendees (17%). This is obviously an area that needs to be encouraged and promoted, both in terms of quality and attendance, in the Portuguese community of Winnipeg. Thus, generally speaking, there is a strong participation in community events by both generations. While first generation respondents reported a higher level of

participation in activities sponsored by the church and its fraternities, the younger generation tend to choose socio-cultural functions promoted by the cultural organizations.

### **Opinions and Attitudes on Language Maintenance**

The last section of the language survey has questions dealing with personal opinions about the number of Portuguese speakers in Winnipeg, the importance of Portuguese language and culture maintenance, the respondents' own language preference during the past five years, whether they consider themselves to be Canadian, Portuguese, or Luso-Canadian, and if their family promotes the maintenance of Portuguese in their households.

The majority of both first and second generation respondents, 84 and 98 percent, respectively, believe that half or more than half of the members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg speak their mother tongue (See Table 5.21).

**Table 5. 21**

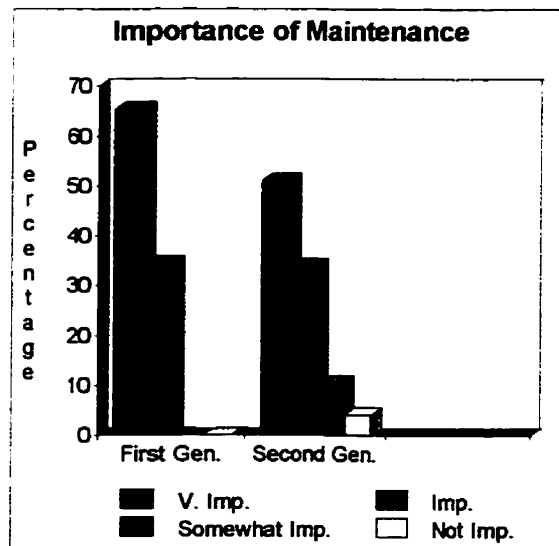
***Percentage of Portuguese People that Use their Heritage Language in Winnipeg***

	<u>All or almost all</u>	<u>More than half</u>	<u>Half</u>	<u>Less than half</u>	<u>Very few</u>	<u>N</u>
<b><i>First Gen.</i></b>	20.78%	42.86	20.78	15.58	0	77
<b><i>Second Gen.</i></b>	25.53	48.94	23.4	2.13	0	47

Table 5.22 shows that all first generation respondents are of the opinion that Portuguese language maintenance in Winnipeg is 'very important' (65%) or 'important' (35%). Surprisingly, a high percentage (85%) of second generation respondents also share the same point of view, and only 15 percent are of the opinion that Portuguese language maintenance is 'somewhat important' or 'not important' at all. One of the latter respondents justified his position by stating that:

The promotion of the Portuguese culture, including events such as Folklorama, concentrates on the seclusion of 'cultural groups' and the breakdown of Canadian pride amongst its citizens. Canadians should concentrate on being proud to be Canadian and helping our country grow together, and not how to show every other person that they are 'different' because of where they were born or what language they speak.

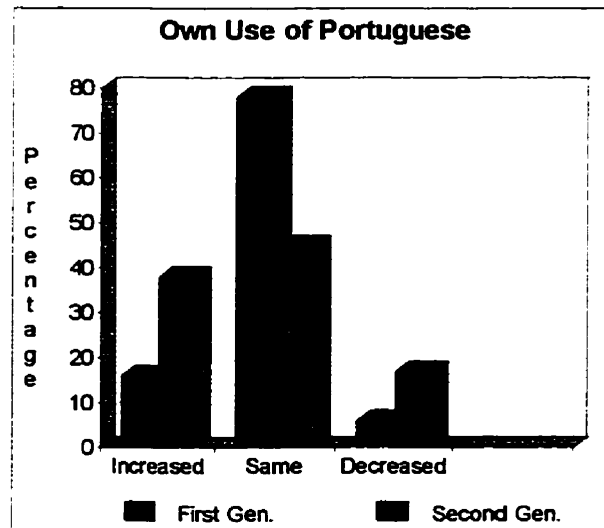
**Table 5. 22**



A great majority of first generation respondents claimed that their use of the mother tongue has 'remained the same' during the past five years, while only six percent felt that there has been a decrease in their use. Eighty-three percent second generation respondents stated that their use of Portuguese

has remained the same (45%) or increased (38%) during that period of time (See Table 5.23).

**Table 5. 23**



Most first generation respondents (68%) and more than half (51%) of the second generation consider themselves to be Portuguese, as opposed to Luso-Canadian or simply Canadian. Almost all of them, more specifically, 94 percent for the first generation and 96 percent for the second, also reported that the Portuguese language and culture have been promoted by their families.

To conclude, the majority of respondents of the generations studied are of the opinion that more than half of the members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg use their minority language, consider the maintenance of Portuguese language and culture as being important, and have preserved and promoted the language and values in their family. Despite the fact that the Portuguese have been in Canada for over four decades, more than half of all respondents claim that the use of their ethnic language has remained the

same or even increased during the past five years and still identify themselves as being Portuguese.

## **CONCLUSION**

The data gathered from the language survey and analyzed in this chapter demonstrate that the Portuguese language is still widely used in the Portuguese community of Winnipeg, especially among first generation members, and mainly in the domains of family, friendship, church, and cultural organizations. It is obvious that a shift into the dominant language is occurring, particularly among members of the second generation, who address the older generation mostly in Portuguese, but interact with people of their age and younger in English. Nevertheless, the vast majority of both first and second generation members reported that their own use of the ethnic language has 'remained the same' or 'increased' during the past five years.

In terms of linguistic skills, it is noticeable that comprehension is the most developed in both generations, with a gap between the first and the second generation in the overall proficiency of the oral, reading, and writing skills. Both generations share the opinion that the maintenance of the Portuguese language and culture in Winnipeg is important, and claim that their families encourage and promote that maintenance.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE MAINTENANCE OF PORTUGUESE IN WINNIPEG**

Like many other minority communities, the Portuguese in Winnipeg also strive to keep alive their language and culture amidst the dominant society. Besides the societal domains, such as family, friends, church, cultural organizations, media, businesses, and school, there are several other important factors that also contribute to the maintenance of the heritage language and culture. For instance, the length of immigration and the area of establishment of the community, factors considered by Glazer (1978) as important for the linguistic and cultural maintenance of an ethnic group, have had an impact on the preservation of the Portuguese ethnic values in Winnipeg. The Portuguese in Winnipeg form a relatively young, large, and fairly unified community. Although several first generation immigrants, especially those who immigrated at a younger age, have already acquired a high degree of English-Portuguese bilingualism, the majority still use Portuguese as their predominant language. Furthermore, as described in Chapter 3 of this study, the concentration of the Portuguese ethnic group for over two decades in the central area of Winnipeg (Anderson & Higgs, 1976) isolated the community, in a sense, from the rest of the host population, favoring the use of the minority language (See Appendix F).

The age of immigration and the level of education are also important factors contributing to the preservation of the heritage values. The majority of Portuguese-born immigrants belong to the 37-56 age group, immigrated

during the decade of 1970's, and had a grade four level of education. At that age, and with no English language background, most of these immigrants immediately entered the work force rather than education as their main priority, in order to improve their economic status. According to Fernandes (1989), many parents even encouraged their children to drop out of school after grade nine, as economic reasons were the prime goal of immigration.

A strong ethnic identity is another element that has kept the Portuguese united through their language and traditions. Survey results indicate that, four decades after the first Portuguese immigrants arrived in Winnipeg, 68 percent of the first generation and more than 50 percent of the second still consider themselves as being Portuguese, as opposed to Luso-Canadians or Canadians. The high rate of endogamy among Portuguese people also plays an important role in maintaining the mother tongue alive, as both parents have a tendency to use the ethnic language when communicating within the home environment.

There are, on the other hand, several factors which favor a shift into the English language. Since the main purpose for immigrating was the achievement of a higher standard of living, many immigrants opted for a rapid integration into the dominant society, as they viewed this step as an opportunity to get a better job and to improve their social status. One first generation respondent commented that her children did not attend Portuguese evening classes because, as soon as they learned the English language, they were expected to work and contribute to the household expenses. This reaction led them, many times, to discard their ethnic language and cultural background in order to be readily accepted by the host society, which many considered superior. Expressions such as, "We don't need Portuguese here,"

or "We are not in Portugal," were often heard when the researcher taught Portuguese.

During the past decade, the Portuguese have been gradually moving away from their initial settlement. St. Vital, St. James, Transcona, East Kildonan, Maples, Tyndal Park, Garden Grove, Garden City, and Riverview have been chosen by the Portuguese as preference sites of residence, as evidenced by the different area telephone numbers. This migration within Winnipeg is gradually leading to a more complete integration into the dominant society, where English will become the main language even in the traditional domains. The results of this movement have already been felt in some domains such as the Portuguese language programs (offered by both the Portuguese Association and by the public school system), and the number of people shopping at Portuguese stores. For instance, in language programs, there was a sharp decline in student enrollment in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Portuguese language programs, but an after-school program was implemented in Seven Oaks School Division.

As the second generation is maturing, some of its members are finding their spouses outside the Portuguese community. One of the 47 second generation respondents reported her interracial marriage: she has adopted English as the home language in order to communicate with her husband and with her three year old daughter, but added that she intends to teach Portuguese to her child.

An important agent affecting the Portuguese language shift, also referred to by Glazer (1978) when writing about language shift in the United States, is the public education system. Generally speaking, first generation grandparents and parents usually communicate in Portuguese with their children and grandchildren, as reported in the language survey. However,



once the child enters the public school system, the basic linguistic skills acquired at home are gradually replaced by English, if the adults do not make a conscious effort to promote the home language. Two parents in this study reported that their children were encouraged by their public school teachers not to enroll in the Portuguese program as this would affect their academic subjects. Finally, very few newcomers have come from Portugal in the recent past, thus there is neither an immediate need to speak Portuguese nor the extra vitality to ensure the survival of the language.

To conclude, parallel to the significant domains where the Portuguese language is predominantly used, there are other important variables which also have an impact on the preservation of this minority language in Winnipeg. These include the recency of immigration, the age at arrival, the relatively large size of the community, the concentrated area of residence, the level of education attained in Portugal, the strong sense of ethnic identity and unity, and the high rate of endogamy. To counterbalance these supportive maintenance factors, Luso-Canadians in Winnipeg are often pressured to ingress into the mainstream in order to become economically rewarded. Actions such as the departure from the original area of settlement to look for wider and more rewarding horizons, the pursuit of spouses outside of the Portuguese linguistic group, and the reality of a reduced number of new immigrants all have an important impact on the gradual loss of the Portuguese language, as reported in the findings of this study.

# CHAPTER VII

## CONCLUSIONS, UNEXPECTED FINDINGS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

### CONCLUSIONS

As the title suggests, *The Maintenance of Portuguese as a Heritage Language in Winnipeg* is a study concerned with the degree of maintenance of the Portuguese language among members of the Portuguese ethnic community in Winnipeg. It would be almost incomprehensible to study the maintenance of this language without providing a socio-historical overview of the Portuguese people prior to their emigration to Canada.

Since the early 1930's, the fascist regime of Salazar created in the Portuguese people a desire to leave the country in search of a more dignified and higher standard of living. Although Canada had been a part of Portuguese historical adventure since the 1500's, official immigration only started in the 1950's. Similar to other communities across Canada, the Portuguese community in Winnipeg also felt the need to preserve and promote its cultural identity. From the outset, institutions such as the Church, the Portuguese Association, the Casa do Minho Portuguese Centre, and several businesses and services were established which fostered the ethnic language and its cultural values. However, despite this conscious promotion, as well as the effort to use the Portuguese language with members of the family, with friends, in church, in cultural organizations, in businesses and

services, and in the mass media, both first and second generation members have often felt the need to borrow English words or adapt them, in order to express themselves in their new milieu.

A review of literature on language maintenance indicated that the struggle for language preservation is not unique to our days, nor is it just a concern of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg. It is a natural process that occurs whenever a minority group enters into contact with a dominant and well-established society. In this contact, however, certain groups have succeeded in achieving high levels of language maintenance, others have suffered severe language losses during their process of integration, while others have found themselves in danger of losing their ethnic language permanently.

The proclamation of the policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' in 1971 encouraged ethnic groups in Canada to preserve and promote their language and cultural traditions (Cummins, 1984b). In the light of this policy, the Portuguese community in Winnipeg also attempted to transmit its heritage language and culture to its second generation members. This was achieved by establishing business, religious, and socio-cultural institutions, as well as implementing the Portuguese language program in the public school system, both in the Winnipeg School Division No.1 and in the Seven Oaks School Division No. 10.

The purpose of the language survey conducted among 66 households was two-fold: first, to examine the extent to which the ethnic language has been maintained by Luso-Canadian individuals of the first and second generations, established in Winnipeg; second, to determine the differences in language proficiency between both generations studied. Individuals of the third generation were not included in the study due to the fact that they are

still few and too young to participate. According to the language survey, of the 47 second generation respondents 36 were single, five were married but did not have children, and 6 had children under ten years of age. An examination of the data gathered indicates that, whereas all first generation and 83 percent of second generation respondents claimed Portuguese as their mother tongue, a much smaller percentage use it now more frequently than English (65 percent and 0 percent, respectively). The cross-tabulation of parents and children's language characteristics, recommended by Lieberman (1980), has provided us with an indication of the shift occurring into the dominant language by both generations, and the degree of Portuguese language being transmitted from the first into the second generation. Nevertheless, the majority of first generation respondents (91%) still speak Portuguese 'frequently,' compared to 34 percent of the younger generation.

The written aspect of the language is the least used, as only 27 percent of first generation respondents write Portuguese 'frequently' as opposed to a meager one percent for the second generation. The fact that only approximately one third of the second generation members uses the ethnic language frequently becomes a concern in terms of language maintenance, as their oral skills will gradually deteriorate and will not be passed on when they establish their own families. As a consequence, less Portuguese will be used at home in the future, and the course of shift into English monolingualism will accelerate unless counter steps are taken.

In terms of language proficiency, a high percentage of respondents of both generations (95% for the first, and 89% for the second) claimed having 'very good' or 'good' comprehension skills. However, in oral, reading, and writing skills, the differences between generations are striking: 88 percent first generation respondents considered themselves as possessing 'very good'

or 'good' oral skills, as opposed to 57 percent second generation respondents; 74 percent as having 'very good' or 'good' reading skills, as opposed to 41 percent; and 61 percent as having 'very good' or 'good' writing skills, as opposed to 22 percent of the younger generation. Almost half (46%) of the second generation respondents reported having 'unsatisfactory' writing skills. The reading and writing skills are low in both generations, not necessarily because there has been a decrease in their linguistic skills, but because most first generation members only attended school up to grade four and only a few second generation members had attended formal Portuguese language classes. In any case, the linguistic ability of second generation individuals is low, and this, of course, will have a negative impact on future generations. Their high level of Portuguese understanding, on the other hand, is unquestionably positive and encouraging, but, in the words of Veltman (1983), "Those children who understand a minority language but who do not speak it will make no contribution to the future of their language group" (p. 108).

The language survey results also reveal that among the domains studied, family is the domain in which the Portuguese language is the most widely spoken, and therefore, where it is best maintained. Communication by first generation members with grandparents, mothers, and almost all fathers is maintained in Portuguese, and high percentages of the ethnic language are also used with siblings, spouses, and other relatives. Portuguese is the least used in the interactions between first generation respondents and their children: whereas 55 percent speak Portuguese to their children, only 37 percent of those are replied to in Portuguese. Second generation respondents also communicate mainly in Portuguese with their grandparents, but prefer English and Portuguese to interact with their parents and older relatives, and mostly English with their siblings, spouses, and children. It

seems that the classical language pattern of an immigrant family, suggested by Grosjean (1982), is emerging among members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg: Portuguese monolingualism in the first generation, bilingualism in the first and second, and English monolingualism in the second and third. Thus, as several researchers point out (Veltman,1983; Waggoner,1988; Prokop,1990), there is a relationship between the ethnic language maintenance and the place of birth, age, and time of immigration of the speaker: generally speaking, Portuguese monolingualism is essentially the main language of those who were born in Portugal and immigrated at an older age; bilingualism is adopted by the adults who have been here for a long period of time, or by those who immigrated at an early age and lived in households where Portuguese was the home language; and English monolingualism is used by Canadian-born or by those who immigrated at an early age, but lived in households where Portuguese, as home language, was replaced by English or by an intense dosage of English bilingualism.

High rates of Portuguese are also used by first generation respondents to communicate with friends, in church related activities, in cultural organizations, and in several business transactions and other services, such as Portuguese grocery stores, the hair dresser, or the travel agent. Considerably less use of the ethnic language was found in their interactions with the family doctor, the real estate agent, the lawyer, and the dentist. Lower percentages of Portuguese use were consistently registered in all of the above domains by second generation individuals

Regardless of their linguistic proficiency, and of how much or how often the ethnic language is used by members of both generations studied, they both value the importance of Portuguese language maintenance, and more than 90 percent of both also stated that this language has been promoted by

their families. However, while first generation members put their belief into practice by choosing Portuguese as the main language of communication in the traditional domains, second generation individuals, with few exceptions, tend to use English in all those domains.

To summarize, the language survey data indicate that the highest proportion of Portuguese language use and maintenance occur in households where both parents are first generation members; in couples where one of the spouses is of a different ethnic background (three in the first generation, and one in the second), the dominant language has been chosen as the home language; and when both parents are of the second generation, very high rates of English monolingualism are used. Thus, with the low numbers of new Portuguese immigrants currently settling in Winnipeg, and with the gradual passing away of the first immigrants, it is crucial that not only the home, but also all the other community institutions make a conscious effort to encourage, promote, and preserve, through formal and informal activities, the ethnic language, customs, and traditions brought to Canada and to Winnipeg, upon immigration.

## **UNEXPECTED FINDINGS**

Although the findings of this study support findings reported in the literature of similar studies, the survey data did, however, reveal some unexpected results. For instance, it was found that among first and second generation members, a high percentage (29 percent and 98 percent, respectively), prefer English over Portuguese as their most currently used language. Furthermore, even though almost all second generation members

prefer English as their main language, 85 percent are still of the opinion that the maintenance of the Portuguese language in Winnipeg is 'very important' or 'important', and 38 percent reported that their Portuguese speaking habits have increased during the past five years. Most surprising, however, is the fact that although second generation members are undergoing a language shift, more than half still identify themselves as being Portuguese rather than Canadian or Luso-Canadian.

## **FUTURE RESEARCH**

From the present study, some recommendations are put forward for consideration of researchers who would like to make their contribution to the field of study of language maintenance in general and of Portuguese in particular.

1. Since third generation members of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg were not included in this study, it would be appropriate to examine, in the next decade or two, their rate of ethnic language use and maintenance, as well as their linguistic skills proficiency.

2. Since the early 1950's, thousands of Portuguese immigrants arrived in Winnipeg, mostly holding a grade four level of education, with no English language background, and extremely anxious about an unknown, although promising, future. The recent newcomers bring with them an open and more realistic vision of what to expect in the new country. They usually possess some English language background and have easy access to an established community network of social services, which allow them to more readily integrate into the dominant society. Thus, it would be interesting to compare



and contrast the level of Portuguese language maintenance of these better equipped newcomers with that of less well prepared immigrants such as the first generation of this study.

3. According to the literature review, there are many minority communities that have been established in countries of immigration for longer periods of time than has the Portuguese community in Canada and in Winnipeg. A research study of interest would be to compare the results of their heritage language maintenance achievements, after several generations, with the ones reported by the first two generations of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg.

# APPENDIX A

## Minister's Office

### MEMORANDUM

82380  
✱

**RUSH**

July 19, 1923

W.R. Little, Esq.

About two months ago, Mr. Louis Roteberg submitted a proposition to the Minister whereby he was going to encourage the emigration of a number of farmers from the Continent of Europe, and he was given assurances that every facility would be extended in handling the movement of any of these farmers.

Advice has just come through that the Fabre Line has 200 Portuguese farmers ready to sail from Lisbon.

Will you kindly arrange by cable to have one of our officers go down to Lisbon for the purpose of advising and assisting in this movement.

*J. E. Featherston*  
J. E. Featherston,  
Private Secretary

# APPENDIX B

## "PORTINGLÊS" VOCABULARY

**Words commonly used in the Portuguese Community of Winnipeg:**

<b>Borrowed Word</b>	<b>Adapted Form ("Portinglês")</b>	<b>Standard Portuguese</b>
<b>Nouns</b>		
accident	o acidente	o acidente
announcement	o anúncio	o anúncio; a notícia
application	a aplicação	a inscrição; o requerimento
appointment	o apontamento	a consulta; o encontro
backlane	a becline	a rua traseira
basement	o beisimento; o beicimento	a cave
beer	a bia	a cerveja
bells (church)	as campainhas	os sinos
bike	a baique	a bicicleta
boring	borim	macador
boss	o bossa	o patrão
brakes	os breiques	os travões
bus	a base	o autocarro
business	as bisnas	o negócio
carrot	o carrote	a cenoura
cent	o cento	o cêntimo

cheap	chiparia	barato; fraco
Christmas	as Crismas; as Caríssimas	o Natal
class	a classe	a turma
compensation	a compensecha	a indemnização
computer	o compiuta	o computador
comer	a coma	a esquina; o canto
court	a corte	o tribunal
cracker	a craca	a bolacha
dollars	os/as dólas	os dólares
downtown	dontaun	o centro da cidade; a baixa
estimate	a estimata	estimativa
estimator	o estimeira	o avaliador
evaluation	a avaliação	a avaliação
farm	o farne	a fazenda; a quinta
farmer	o farmeiro	o agricultor; o lavrador
fence	a fence	a sebe
freezer	a frisa	a arca congeladora
furniture	a farnicha	a mobília
gang	a ganga	o grupo
garage	a garage	a garagem
garbage	o garbiche	o lixo
gas	o gás	a gasolina
German	Germano	Alemão
government	o gavarmento	o governo
grade (school)	o grau	o ano de escolaridade
grandmother	a grama	a avó

gun	a gana	a pistola
health card	o medical	o cartão de saúde
high school	a escola alta	a escola secundária
Hungarian	o Hungariano	o Húngaro
ice cream	o aicecrime	o sorvete; o gelado
inch	a incha	a polegada
insurance	a inchurança	o seguro
interest (bank)	o interesse	o juro
inventory	o inventório	o inventário
knife	a naife	a faca
lawyer	o lóia	o advogado
library	a livraria	a biblioteca
driver's licence	a licença	a carta de condução
long weekend	o fim de semana longo	o fim de semana prolongado
machine	o mechim	a máquina
mall	o mole	o centro comercial
manager	o manageiro	o responsável de serviço
marks	as marcas	as notas
mayor	o/a meia	o/a presidente da Câmara
meeting	o mitim	a reunião
money	o manim	o dinheiro
mortgage	a morgueixa	a hipoteca
note	a nota	o bilhete
office	o ofício	o escritório; o consultório
operator	a operadora	a telefonista

paper	o papel	o jornal
party	o pari	o convívio; a festa
peanuts	os pinotes	os amendoins
perimeter (city)	o perímetro	a periferia da cidade
piece (of bread)	a peça	o pedaço
plate	o prato	a matrícula do carro
pound	o pano; o pande	a libra
Premier	o Primeiro	o Primeiro Ministro
principal	o principal	o/a director escolar
procession	a parada	a procissão
pump	o pampo	a bomba de pressão
red, green lights	as luzes vermelhas, verdes	os semáforos
report	o reporte	a avaliação
roof	o rufo	o telhado
runners	as ranas	as sapatilhas
Sargent (Ave.)	a Sargento	Avenida Sargent
scrambled eggs	scramblo egos	ovos mexidos
slip	a slipa	a tira de papel
snow	o senó	a neve
social	o social	o convívio
steam	a estima	o vapor
store	o store	a loja
sweater	a soera; a soela	a camisola
tax	o tacse	o imposto
television	a televeja	a televisão
test	o teste	o exercício escrito

ticket	a tiqueta	a multa; o bilhete de entrada
tires	os taias	os pneus
trailer	a trela	o atrelado
truck	o troque	o camião
video-cassette	a video-cassete	a cassete de video
zoo	o zô	o jardim zoológico

### Verbs

to apply; to make an application	aplicar; fazer uma aplicação; fazer uma appliqueixa	requerer
to appoint	apontar	nomear
to attend	atender	assistir; frequentar
to cheat	chitar	enganar
to check	dechecar	verificar
to conduct (music)	conduzir	dirigir
to deliver	deliverar	entregar
to discourage	descorajar	desencorajar
to discuss	discutir	discutir; tratar de
to do piece work	fazer pice work	trabalhar à peça
to drive	draivar	conduzir
to elect	eleitar	eleger
to evaluate	evaluar	avaliar
to fight	faitar	brigar, lutar
to freeze	frisar	congelar
to get fired	levar faiar	ser despedido
to graduate	graduar	formar-se
to introduce someone	introduzir	apresentar

to jump	jumpar	saltar
to know someone	saber	conhecer
to park	parcar	estacionar
to play a game	brincar	jogar
peel	pilar	descascar
to practice	praticar	ensaiar; treinar
to retire	fazer o retiaia	reformar-se
to shave	cheivar	fazer a barba
to support	suportar	apoiar
to turn on	acender	ligar
to turn off	apagar	desligar



# APPENDIX C



## Faculty of Education ETHICS APPROVAL FORM

To be completed by the applicant:

Title of Study:

The Maintenance of Portuguese as a Heritage Language in Winnipeg

Name of Principal Investigator(s) (please print):

Carlos Nota

Name of Thesis/Dissertation Advisor or Course Instructor (if Principal Investigator is a student) (please print):

Dr. Pat Mathews

I/We, the undersigned, agree to abide by the University of Manitoba's ethical standards and guidelines for research involving human subjects, and agree to carry out the study named above as described in the Ethics Review Application.

\_\_\_\_\_

Carlos Nota  
Signature(s) of Principal Investigator(s)

Pat Mathews  
Signature of Thesis/Dissertation Advisor or Course Instructor  
(if required)

To be completed by the Research and Ethics Committee

This is to certify that the Faculty of Education Research and Ethics Committee has reviewed the proposed study named above and has concluded that it conforms with the University of Manitoba's ethical standards and guidelines for research involving human subjects.

Name of Research and Ethics Committee Chairperson: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Research and Ethics Committee Chairperson: \_\_\_\_\_

# APPENDIX D

## LANGUAGE SURVEY

### I. RESPONDENTS' BACKGROUND

Please indicate: Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

1. When were you born?  
before 1940 \_\_\_\_\_  
1941 - 1960 \_\_\_\_\_  
1961 - 1980 \_\_\_\_\_  
1981 - 1985 \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. Where were you born?  
Portugal \_\_\_\_\_  
    a) Mainland \_\_\_\_\_  
    b) Azores \_\_\_\_\_  
    c) Madeira \_\_\_\_\_  
Canada \_\_\_\_\_  
Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. If you were not born in Canada, when did you immigrate here? 19\_\_\_\_
  
4. If you were born in Portugal, what level of education did you complete there?  
  
Grade 4 \_\_\_\_\_  
Grade 5-8 \_\_\_\_\_  
Grade 9-12 \_\_\_\_\_  
University degree \_\_\_\_\_  
Other (specify ) \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. What was the first language that you spoke? \_\_\_\_\_

### II. PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE USE

6. Which language do you speak most frequently now? \_\_\_\_\_

7. How often do you speak Portuguese?  
 Frequently \_\_\_\_\_  
 Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_  
 Seldom \_\_\_\_\_  
 Never \_\_\_\_\_
8. How often do you read Portuguese?  
 Frequently \_\_\_\_\_  
 Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_  
 Seldom \_\_\_\_\_  
 Never \_\_\_\_\_
9. How often do you write Portuguese?  
 Frequently \_\_\_\_\_  
 Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_  
 Seldom \_\_\_\_\_  
 Never \_\_\_\_\_

If your answer are 'never' to questions 7, 8, and 9, please go to question 12.

### III. SELF-RATING ANALYSIS OF THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE

10. How would you rate your knowledge of Portuguese in the following categories?
- a) Oral: Very Good \_\_\_\_\_  
 Good \_\_\_\_\_  
 Fair \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unsatisfactory \_\_\_\_\_
- b) Written: Very Good \_\_\_\_\_  
 Good \_\_\_\_\_  
 Fair \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unsatisfactory \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Reading: Very Good \_\_\_\_\_  
 Good \_\_\_\_\_  
 Fair \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unsatisfactory \_\_\_\_\_

d) Understanding oral language:

Very Good \_\_\_\_\_  
Good \_\_\_\_\_  
Fair \_\_\_\_\_  
Unsatisfactory \_\_\_\_\_

11. Rate the extent to which you feel comfortable when making use of each of the following skills in Portuguese.  
Circle one number of each item, using the following scale.

1 = always comfortable  
2 = usually comfortable  
3 = sometimes comfortable  
4 = never comfortable  
5 = not applicable

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Engaging in an everyday conversation with native speakers in Portuguese | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) Listening to news broadcasts in Portuguese                              | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) Watching films or television programs in Portuguese                     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) Reading books in Portuguese   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) Reading newspapers and magazines in Portuguese                          | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| f) Writing letters in Portuguese   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

#### IV. LANGUAGE PREFERENCE

12. Which language do you use most when talking to the following members of your family?

a) mother	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____
b) father	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____
c) brothers/sisters	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____
d) grandparents	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____
e) other relatives	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____
f) spouse	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____
g) children	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____

13. Which language do the following members of the family use when talking to you?

a) mother	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____
b) father	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____
c) brothers/sisters	Portuguese _____	English _____	Half & half _____

- d) grandparents      Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_ Half & half \_\_\_\_\_
- e) other relatives    Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_ Half & half \_\_\_\_\_
- f) spouse             Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_ Half & half \_\_\_\_\_
- g) children            Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_ Half & half \_\_\_\_\_

14. What is the background of your three closest friends?  
       Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ Other nationality \_\_\_\_\_
15. Which language do you usually use when talking to your closest friends?  
       Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_ Half & half \_\_\_\_\_
16. Do you have more Portuguese friends or more non-Portuguese friends?  
       Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ Non-Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_
17. If you have children, which language do they use when talking to their friends?  
       Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_ Half & half \_\_\_\_\_
18. a) Which language do you usually use when you pray?  
       Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_
- b) If you attend catechism, which language do you use?  
       Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_
19. What church do you attend?  
       \_\_\_\_\_
20. Are you a member of any of the Portuguese organizations in Winnipeg?  
       Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
21. How often do you use Portuguese during meetings and activities of your organization?  
       Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
22. How often do you use Portuguese businesses for your shopping needs?  
       Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
23. Which language do you use when shopping in Portuguese stores?  
       Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_
24. Which language do you use for the following services?

- |                        |                  |               |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| a) family doctor       | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |
| b) hair dresser/barber | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |
| c) travel agency       | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |
| d) real estate agency  | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |
| e) dentist             | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |
| f) lawyer              | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |

25. How often do you read Portuguese newspapers?  
 Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
26. How often do you read Portuguese books?  
 Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
27. How often do you listen to Portuguese radio programs?  
 Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
28. How often do you watch Portuguese television programs (e.g. via satellite)?  
 Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
29. Which language do you prefer to use in the following situations?
- |                                     |                  |               |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| a) at home                          | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |
| b) in a public place                | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |
| c) in a Portuguese organization     | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |
| d) with Portuguese speaking friends | Portuguese _____ | English _____ |

## V. RESPONDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

30. a) Do you attend Portuguese language classes?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
- If yes, please indicate which program:
- |                       |       |
|-----------------------|-------|
| a) Public school      | _____ |
| b) Evening school     | _____ |
| c) Saturday program   | _____ |
| d) Seven Oaks program | _____ |
- b) Do your children attend Portuguese language classes?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, please indicate which program:

- a) public school \_\_\_\_\_
- b) evening school \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Saturday classes \_\_\_\_\_
- d) Seven Oaks program \_\_\_\_\_

If no, please indicate the main reason for not sending them:

- a) School not available \_\_\_\_\_
- b) Too far \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Too expensive \_\_\_\_\_
- d) Not interested \_\_\_\_\_
- e) Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

## VI. PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL EVENTS

31. How often do you participate in the following Portuguese community events?

- a) religious festivities  
Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
- b) social celebrations  
Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Folklorama  
Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
- d) theatre  
Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_
- e) dinners (e.g. New Year's, Easter, etc.)  
Very often \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_

## VII. OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES ON LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

32. In your opinion, how many Portuguese people in Winnipeg speak Portuguese?

- All or almost all \_\_\_\_\_
- More than half \_\_\_\_\_
- About half \_\_\_\_\_
- Less than half \_\_\_\_\_
- Very few \_\_\_\_\_

33. Indicate the degree of importance of the maintenance of the Portuguese language and culture in Winnipeg.

- 1 = very important
- 2 = important
- 3 = somewhat important
- 4 = not important

34. In the past five years, would you say that your own use of Portuguese

- a) has increased \_\_\_\_\_
- b) has decreased \_\_\_\_\_
- c) remained the same \_\_\_\_\_

35. What do you consider yourself to be?

- a) Canadian \_\_\_\_\_
- b) Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Luso-Canadian \_\_\_\_\_

36. Does your family promote the maintenance of the Portuguese language and culture at home?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

37. Comments:

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# APPENDIX E

## QUESTIONÁRIO

### I. DADOS PESSOAIS

Sexo: Masculino \_\_\_\_\_ Feminino \_\_\_\_\_

1. Quando nasceu? antes de 1940 \_\_\_\_\_  
1941-1960 \_\_\_\_\_  
1961-1980 \_\_\_\_\_  
1981-1987 \_\_\_\_\_

2. Onde nasceu? Portugal \_\_\_\_\_

- a) Continente \_\_\_\_\_  
b) Açores \_\_\_\_\_  
c) Madeira \_\_\_\_\_

Canadá \_\_\_\_\_  
Outro (nome do país) \_\_\_\_\_

3. Se nasceu em Portugal, quando emigrou para o Canadá? 19 \_\_\_\_\_

4. Se nasceu em Portugal, que nível de ensino completou lá?

4ª classe \_\_\_\_\_  
5ª - 8ª ano de escolaridade \_\_\_\_\_  
9ª - 12ª ano de escolaridade \_\_\_\_\_  
Curso Universitário \_\_\_\_\_  
Outro (indique qual) \_\_\_\_\_

5. Qual foi a primeira língua que aprendeu a falar? \_\_\_\_\_

### II. USO DA LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA

6. Presentemente, que língua fala com mais frequência? \_\_\_\_\_

7. Com que frequência fala Português?  
 Com frequência \_\_\_\_\_  
 De vez em quando \_\_\_\_\_  
 Raramente \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nunca \_\_\_\_\_
8. Com que frequência lê Português?  
 Com frequência \_\_\_\_\_  
 De vez em quando \_\_\_\_\_  
 Raramente \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nunca \_\_\_\_\_
9. Com que frequência escreve em Português?  
 Com frequência \_\_\_\_\_  
 De vez em quando \_\_\_\_\_  
 Raramente \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nunca \_\_\_\_\_

Se respondeu "Nunca" às perguntas 7, 8 e 9, avance para a pergunta 12.

### III. AUTO-ANÁLISE DO CONHECIMENTO DA LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA

10. Como classifica o seu conhecimento de Português nas áreas seguintes?

- |                      |              |       |
|----------------------|--------------|-------|
| a) Expressão Oral    | Muito Bom    | _____ |
|                      | Bom          | _____ |
|                      | Suficiente   | _____ |
|                      | Insuficiente | _____ |
| b) Expressão Escrita | Muito Bom    | _____ |
|                      | Bom          | _____ |
|                      | Suficiente   | _____ |
|                      | Insuficiente | _____ |
| c) Leitura           | Muito Bom    | _____ |
|                      | Bom          | _____ |
|                      | Suficiente   | _____ |
|                      | Insuficiente | _____ |
| d) Compreensão       | Muito Bom    | _____ |
|                      | Bom          | _____ |
|                      | Suficiente   | _____ |
|                      | Insuficiente | _____ |

11. Indique até que ponto se sente confortável usando a língua Portuguesa nas seguintes situações. Use a classificação seguinte e indique o número mais apropriado para cada situação.

- 1 = sempre confortável  
2 = normalmente confortável  
3 = às vezes confortável  
4 = nunca confortável  
5 = não diz respeito

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Quando participa em conversas do dia a dia com pessoas que falam Português fluentemente. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) Quando ouve o noticiário em Português  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) Quando vê filmes ou programas de televisão Portugueses                                   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) Quando lê livros em Português  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) Quando lê revistas e jornais Portugueses   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| f) Quando escreve cartas em Português   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

#### IV. LÍNGUA DE PREFERÊNCIA

12. Que língua usa com mais frequência quando fala com os seguintes membros da sua família?

- |                   |                 |              |                   |
|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| a) mãe            | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| b) pai            | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| c) Irmãos e irmãs | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| d) avós           | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| e) parentes       | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| f) esposa/marido  | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| g) filhos         | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |

13. Que língua é usada com mais frequência pelos seguintes membros da sua família quando falam consigo?

- |                   |                 |              |                   |
|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| a) mãe            | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| b) pai            | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| c) Irmãos e irmãs | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| d) avós           | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| e) parentes       | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| f) esposa/marido  | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |
| g) filhos         | Português _____ | Inglês _____ | Uma e outra _____ |

14. De que origem étnica são os seus três melhores amigos/as?  
Portuguesa\_\_\_\_\_ Outra origem\_\_\_\_\_
15. Que língua usa mais frequentemente quando fala com os seus melhores amigos/as?  
Português\_\_\_\_\_ Inglês\_\_\_\_\_ Uma e outra\_\_\_\_\_
16. Tem mais amigos/as Portugueses ou mais amigos/as não-Portugueses?  
Portugueses\_\_\_\_\_ Não-Portugueses\_\_\_\_\_
17. Se tem filhos, qual é a língua que eles usam quando falam com os amigos?  
Português\_\_\_\_\_ Inglês\_\_\_\_\_ Uma e outra\_\_\_\_\_
18. a) Em que língua costuma rezar?  
Português\_\_\_\_\_ Inglês\_\_\_\_\_
- b) Se frequenta a catequese, que língua usa?  
Português\_\_\_\_\_ Inglês\_\_\_\_\_
19. Que igreja frequenta? \_\_\_\_\_
20. É sócio/a de alguma organização Portuguesa em Winnipeg?  
Sim\_\_\_\_\_ Não\_\_\_\_\_
21. Com que frequência usa a língua Portuguesa nas reuniões e actividades na sua organização?  
Com frequência\_\_\_\_\_ De vez em quando\_\_\_\_\_ Raramente\_\_\_\_\_  
Nunca\_\_\_\_\_
22. Com que frequência faz compras nos estabelecimentos Portugueses?  
Com frequência\_\_\_\_\_ De vez em quando\_\_\_\_\_ Raramente\_\_\_\_\_  
Nunca\_\_\_\_\_
23. Que língua usa quando faz compras nos estabelecimentos Portugueses?  
Português\_\_\_\_\_ Inglês\_\_\_\_\_
24. Que língua usa quando fala com as entidades seguintes?
- |                             |                |             |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| a) médico                   | Português_____ | Inglês_____ |
| b) barbeiro/cabeleireiro/a  | Português_____ | Inglês_____ |
| c) agente de viagens        | Português_____ | Inglês_____ |
| d) vendedor de propriedades | Português_____ | Inglês_____ |
| e) dentista                 | Português_____ | Inglês_____ |



Se sim, por favor indique o programa:

- a) escola pública \_\_\_\_\_
- b) escola da noite \_\_\_\_\_
- c) aulas ao Sábado \_\_\_\_\_
- d) programa da Seven Oaks \_\_\_\_\_

Se não frequentam, indique a razão principal por não os matricular:

- a) não havia escola \_\_\_\_\_
- b) muito longe \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Dispendioso \_\_\_\_\_
- d) Falta de interesse \_\_\_\_\_
- e) Outros motivos \_\_\_\_\_

## VI. PARTICIPAÇÃO EM ACTIVIDADES CULTURAIS

31. Com que frequência participa nas seguintes actividades da comunidade Portuguesa?

a) Celebrações religiosas

Com frequência \_\_\_\_\_ De vez em quando \_\_\_\_\_ Raramente \_\_\_\_\_  
Nunca \_\_\_\_\_

b) Convívios sociais

Com frequência \_\_\_\_\_ De vez em quando \_\_\_\_\_ Raramente \_\_\_\_\_  
Nunca \_\_\_\_\_

c) Folklorama

Com frequência \_\_\_\_\_ De vez em quando \_\_\_\_\_ Raramente \_\_\_\_\_  
Nunca \_\_\_\_\_

d) Teatro

Com frequência \_\_\_\_\_ De vez em quando \_\_\_\_\_ Raramente \_\_\_\_\_  
Nunca \_\_\_\_\_

e) Jantares (Passagem de Ano, Páscoa, etc.)

Com frequência \_\_\_\_\_ De vez em quando \_\_\_\_\_ Raramente \_\_\_\_\_  
Nunca \_\_\_\_\_

## VII. OPINIÕES E ATITUDES SOBRE A MANUTENÇÃO DA LÍNGUA

32. Em sua opinião, quantos Portugueses em Winnipeg falam Português?

Todos ou quase todos \_\_\_\_\_  
Mais de metade \_\_\_\_\_  
Metade \_\_\_\_\_  
Menos de metade \_\_\_\_\_  
Muito poucos \_\_\_\_\_

33. Indique o grau de importância da manutenção da língua e cultura Portuguesas em Winnipeg.

1= Muito importante \_\_\_\_\_  
2= Importante \_\_\_\_\_  
3= Mais ou menos importante \_\_\_\_\_  
4= Não importante \_\_\_\_\_

34. Nos últimos cinco anos, acha que o seu uso de Português

Aumentou \_\_\_\_\_  
Diminuiu \_\_\_\_\_  
Não mudou \_\_\_\_\_

35. Considera-se

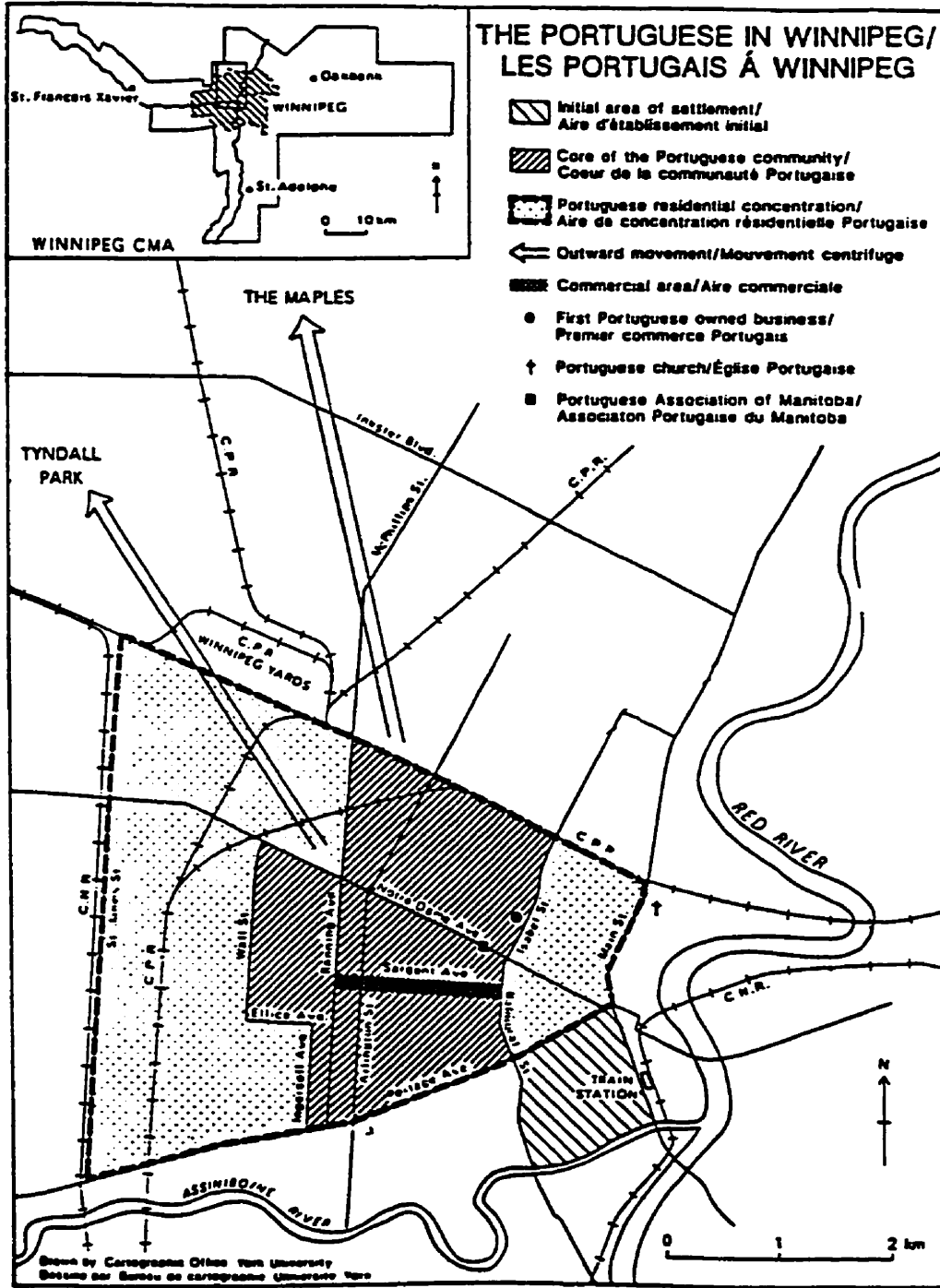
a) Canadiano/a \_\_\_\_\_  
b) Português/a \_\_\_\_\_  
c) Luso-Canadiano/a \_\_\_\_\_

36. A sua família promove a manutenção da língua e cultura Portuguesas no ambiente familiar?

Sim \_\_\_\_\_ Não \_\_\_\_\_

37. Comentários \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

# APPENDIX F



Source: Teixeira, C.. Reproduced with Permission.



## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Laura Carreiro, Coordinator of the Portuguese Language Program for the Portuguese Association of Manitoba. Winnipeg, August, 1997.
- <sup>2</sup> August Bairos, former chairperson of the Portuguese Advisory Committee. Winnipeg, July, 1997.
- <sup>3</sup> Manuel Gomes, Coordinator of the Catechism for the Immaculate Conception Parish. Winnipeg, April, 1995.
- <sup>4</sup> Luciano Mota, Sunday School Teacher for the Immaculate Conception Parish. Winnipeg, March, 1997.
- <sup>5</sup> Dr. Américo Fernandes. First Portuguese dentist in Winnipeg. Winnipeg, November, 1997.

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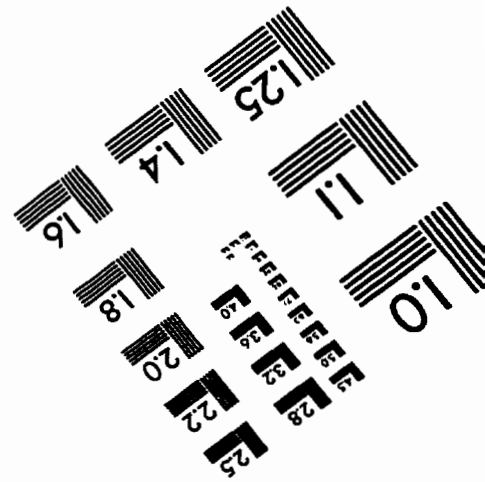
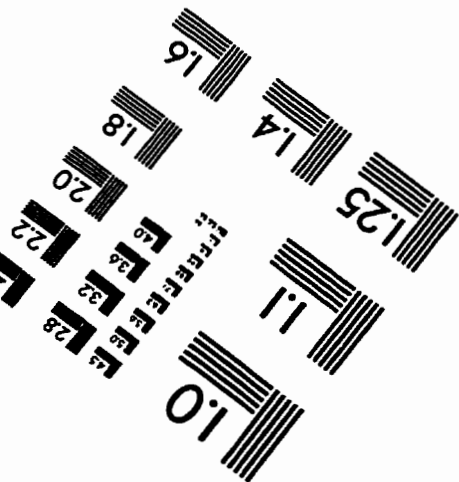
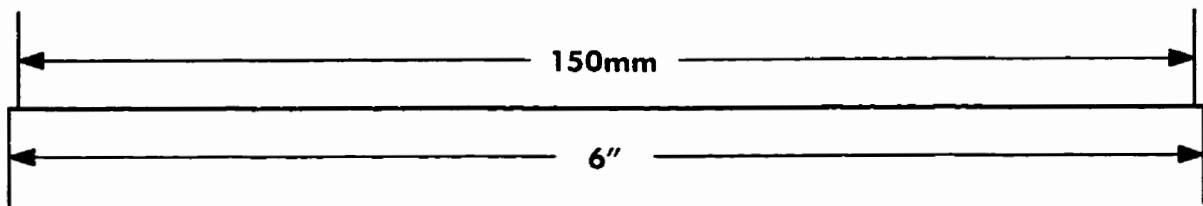
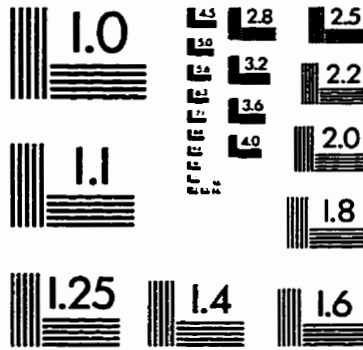
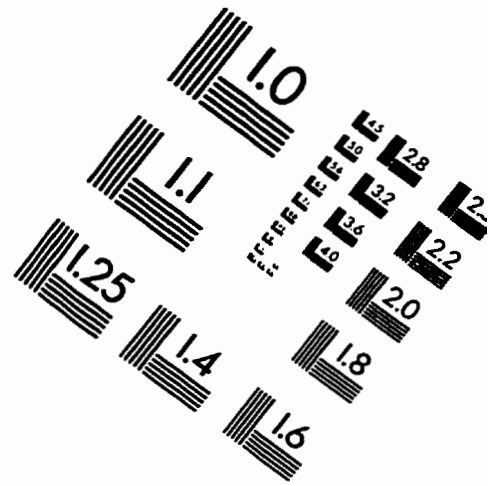
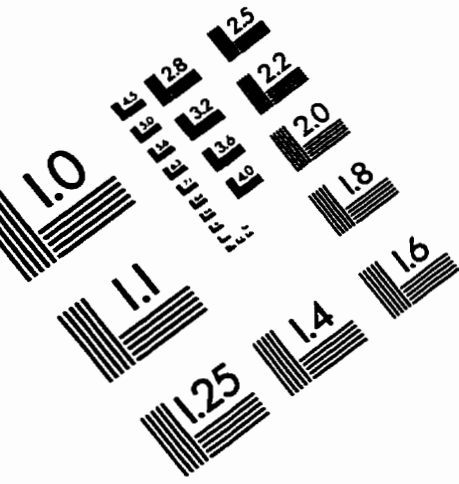
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