

**LANGUAGE SHIFT AND MAINTENANCE IN THE
PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY OF JOHANNESBURG**

by

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For my parents

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Summary

The aim of the study is to provide an account of the present state of Portuguese in the Johannesburg Portuguese community, and to identify factors influencing the maintenance of, and shift from the mother tongue.

South African society necessitates a knowledge and daily use of English, and sometimes Afrikaans. Literacy and proficiency in the Portuguese mother tongue is therefore rapidly decreasing, especially amongst the third generation. Despite this decline, certain factors play a role in maintaining Portuguese. The most important factors in the maintenance of the mother tongue are education, cultural activities, contact with Portugal, parental influence and positive attitudes.

If measures are not taken, and an awareness created within the community of the need to create a situation of stable bilingualism, the Portuguese language will continue to be eroded.

Key words

Portuguese; language maintenance; language shift; language attitudes; language loyalty; minority groups; immigrant communities; Sociolinguistics; sociology of language; bilingualism; code-switching; multilingualism; mother tongue instruction; language death.

Resumo

O objectivo desta tese é analisar o nível actual da língua portuguesa, na comunidade Portuguesa em Joanesburgo, e identificar os factores que influenciam a manutenção e ou o afastamento da língua materna.

A sociedade sul-africana necessita de um conhecimento diário da língua inglesa e, por vezes da língua afrikaans. Por conseguinte, a capacidade de ler e escrever fluentemente na língua portuguesa está rapidamente a desaparecer, especialmente na 3ª geração. Apesar deste declínio, existem ainda determinados factores que contribuem para a sobrevivência da língua portuguesa na comunidade. Os factores mais importantes são: a educação, as actividades culturais, o contacto com Portugal, a influência familiar - atitudes positivas tomadas pela própria comunidade.

Se não forem criadas medidas pelos portugueses, que garantam a consciencialização da língua materna e um determinado bilinguismo, a língua portuguesa acasará por desaparecer na África do Sul.

Abbreviations

EMT:	Ethnic Mother Tongue
FLB:	Foreign Language Broadcasting
ESL:	English Second Language
TBE:	Transitional Bilingual Education
SES:	Socio-economic Status
TED:	Transvaal Education Department
USA:	United States of America.
SABC:	South African Broadcasting Corporation
§	Paragraph references

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

From the earliest history of South Africa, there has been substantial contact with, and influence from the Portuguese. Portuguese sailors were the first Europeans to have contact with the inhabitants at the Cape, and it is interesting to note that a form of Portuguese, i.e. Malay-Portuguese, was also spoken at the Cape in the middle of the seventeenth century (Raidt 1982:163,199). (This Malay-Portuguese was a type of lingua franca used by the slaves, who were introduced to the Cape from the East at that time.) Since that time, to the present day, the Portuguese have made their mark on South African society by their numerous and invaluable contributions, in all spheres of our South African society, such as commerce, law, education and medicine (cf. Groenewald 1979; Boshoff 1988; Van Graan 1988; Bearzi 1988).

Portuguese immigration to South Africa has always been characterized by a constant flow of immigrants (Appendix I). The number of Portuguese in South Africa increased, however, during the mid 1960s, culminating in a dramatic increase in the 1970s (1974/1975), due to the civil wars in Mozambique and Angola. Although Portuguese culture and tradition in South Africa has persisted to the present day, the use of the mother tongue is rapidly decreasing, especially among the third generation of immigrants. Many are not literate in their mother tongue.

The present situation with regard to language usage in the Portuguese community, is best summed up as follows by Van Graan (1988:58):

The majority of young Portuguese (under 30 years of age) [have] received no formal instruction in the Portuguese language. Many only speak the language, but do not read or write it.

A decreasing interest in Portuguese language and culture can clearly be detected among the younger generation, due to increasing assimilation into South African society. This is in direct contrast to many of the parents and older members of the community, who strive to maintain the language and culture, according to Van Graan (1988:59):

Members of the older generation, born in Mozambique, Angola, Madeira or Portugal, speak Portuguese, but the younger, South African born generation prefer

to speak English, the language medium used at school. Many speak Afrikaans, and in general the younger Portuguese understand it because they have to study it at school as a second language. Portuguese children will address their parents in Portuguese, but each other in English, often within the same argument or conversation! Like youth in general, they are exposed to cross-cultural contact and influence, whilst their family elders have little contact with English and Afrikaans.

1.2 The problem

The main problem to be addressed in this dissertation is to identify the forces at work within the Johannesburg Portuguese community, that determine the abovementioned situation, namely, the decline in the use of the mother tongue in the community.

It appears that there are at least two forces operating:

- (i) Certain factors are facilitating language maintenance (see § 2.1.1 for definition of language maintenance) of the mother tongue. Education, culture and the parents (or the older members in the community), for example, play an important role in this maintenance process.
- (ii) Conversely, certain factors are necessitating a language shift (see § 3.1.1 for definition of language shift) from the mother tongue. For example, the need to be fluent in English and/or Afrikaans (or the language of wider communication, cf. Aziz 1988:1) for daily use, employment, etc. Consequently, there is also an increasing assimilation of the Portuguese immigrants into the South African society.

1.3 The aim

The aim of this study is, therefore, to give an account of factors underlying the maintenance of, and shift from, the Portuguese mother tongue. More specifically, this implies providing a sociolinguistic account of the present state of Portuguese in South Africa.

1.4 Hypothesis for this study

Many researchers have observed that immigrant communities tend to demonstrate a shift from their mother tongue to that of the dominant language of the host society (e.g. as illustrated in the comprehensive studies of Fishman (1966) and Veltman (1983)). The Portuguese mother tongue in South Africa is undergoing a rapid transformation, i.e. younger generations of mother tongue speakers are showing an

ever increasing shift from the use of the mother tongue (Portuguese) to the use of the language(s) of the host society, i.e. English and/or Afrikaans (depending on where the speakers find themselves within the country, i.e. a predominantly English-speaking or Afrikaans-speaking area or region). This decrease in the use of the mother tongue is revealing itself in nearly all spheres of daily life (including, even, the home). Nevertheless, there appear to be certain factors which have a restraining influence on this language shift.

The research is therefore guided by the following hypothesis:

Despite a detectable language shift which is taking place in the Johannesburg Portuguese community, certain factors or agents within the community are slowing down this process of language shift, and are assisting the maintenance of the Portuguese mother tongue.

1.5 Motivation for the study

Despite the fact that:

- (i) the Portuguese are the third largest language group among whites in South Africa (Van Graan 1988:58; Groenewald 1979:11; Boshoff 1988:18);
- (ii) they are an integral part of our South African society (Groenewald 1979:8; Van Graan 1988:58; De Gouveia 1990);
- (iii) they have made numerous contributions to South African society (Groenewald 1979:8; Boshoff 1988:12; Van Graan 1988:60; Toffoli 1989),

comprehensive research or literature on the community is minimal, for example:

Boshoff 1988; Groenewald 1979; South African Panorama 1961; Schutte 1989; Toffoli 1989; Van Graan 1988; Wood 1965; Van Rensburg 1968; Botha 1971; Quail 1971, Grobbelaar 1990.

The researcher therefore feels it necessary to undertake this study in an attempt to contribute to, and complement the already existing academic research on the community, thereby further bridging the gap in the knowledge of the oldest forefathers and nation builders, who have greatly contributed to the creation of the modern South African society, as indicated by Van Graan (1988:60):

A great deal is to be learnt from hard-working Portuguese South Africans, many of whom have weathered hardship and sorrow, to make a fine contribution to the South African community, the full extent of which needs to be researched and recorded.

The academic research conducted to date has not examined the linguistic or socio-linguistic aspect of the community as a whole. It is therefore necessary that such a study be undertaken, as the use of the mother tongue by the younger generations is decreasing. This situation needs to be addressed, if the community desires the retention of the mother tongue by future generations.

1.6 The history of the Portuguese community in South Africa

1.6.1 Introduction

Because the provision of the historical background of a community in a linguistic study is important in assisting in situating the speech community within a broader socio-historical context (cf. Pütz 1991:477), the following short survey of the history of the Portuguese community in the Republic of South Africa is presented. As literature and research on the Portuguese community is very limited, the researcher was very dependant on one comprehensive article, in which the editor also refers to the scarcity of research on the community (Van Graan 1988:43).

Portuguese immigration to South Africa has always been characterized by a constant flow of immigrants. This is typical of Portuguese immigration in general, as noted by Apalhão and Da Rosa (1980:21), who state that Portuguese immigration " ... is now both constant in time and universal in space." All the various reasons for the process of emigration can be taken together in the push-pull theory of emigration (Apolhão and Da Rosa 1980:37). The "push" aspect of the theory refers to the causes of immigration, i.e. it refers to the factors responsible for "pushing" or driving people out of their mother country, or the country in which they were residing prior to their immigration to South Africa (e.g. in the case of the Portuguese in South Africa, this would be primarily due to political circumstances in Mozambique and Angola). The "pull" aspect of the theory refers to the attractive or positive factors which attract people to a country, e.g. improved living conditions, economic factors, advertising, socio-political image or factors and the testimony of people already there.

Both the "push" and "pull" factors have played an important role in Portuguese immigration to South Africa. The "push" factor, by far, had the greatest influence on Portuguese immigration to South Africa: the civil wars in Mozambique and Angola

resulted in a great influx of people, over a short period of time. The "push" factor was therefore characterized by a sudden and rapid process; the immigration primarily from within Africa. It can also be seen as forced immigration: because of the civil wars people did not have a choice, except but to flee from the colonies.

The "pull" factors also influence Portuguese immigration to South Africa, but to a far lesser extent than the "push" factors. This immigration is characterized by a gradual influx of people over a period of time. The immigration is therefore voluntary and due to positive factors or causes, e.g. social (joining family or friends); employment opportunities, etc. The immigration due to the pull factors is mainly from Portugal and Madeira.

The arrival of the Portuguese in South Africa can be divided or seen in two main stages:

- (a) The earlier period of immigration (up to 1973);
- (b) Civil war in Mozambique and Angola (1974 - 1975).

I will now discuss each of the stages of arrival separately:

1.6.2 The earlier period of immigration

Although the Portuguese were the first to sail around the Southern part of Africa, they did not establish any settlements here, for various reasons, for example: unfavourable weather conditions which prevail at the Cape at certain times of the year; parts of the coast were dangerous, and had already caused shipwrecks; apart from Saldanha Bay, there were no other natural harbours, the indigenous population were regarded as barbaric, and almost always caused clashes or skirmishes; they also already had many harbours in Madeira, Cape Verde Islands, the Azores, Brazil, St Helena and Mozambique. The primary goal at that stage was trade and not colonization.

Discovery routes along the west coast of Africa were primarily due to the initiative of Prince Henry the navigator, and later Dias's journey around the southern part of Africa in 1488. En route to India, Da Gama named Natal when he stopped there on Christmas Day, 1497. In 1503 a sailor, Antonio de Saldanha, climbed Table Mountain, and named it so. He also initially named Table Bay (so named in 1601).

Aguada de Saldanha. Saldanha Bay was named after him at a later stage. Admiral Francisco de Almeida together with 57 of his crew, were the first Portuguese to die in Southern Africa, when they were murdered by Hottentots in Table Bay. Other nameless Portuguese also settled in South Africa, as described by Groenewald (1979:9):

One's thoughts go to the many survivors of shipwrecks on the treacherous wild coast who stepped onto South African soil long before Jan van Riebeeck's arrival in 1652.

1.6.3 Early establishment in South Africa

Two Portuguese sailors who had suffered shipwreck, settled permanently in the Cape, during the period of Dutch occupation of the Cape (1652-1896):

1. Ignácio Leopold Ferreira,
2. Manuel João de Oliveira.

The Ferreriras had a large influence on the genealogy of the Afrikaans community. In 1722 Ignácio Ferreira established himself in Mossel Bay in the same area where Dias landed in February 1488. Thirteen years after his arrival, he married Martha Terblans, thus resulting in the establishment of the Afrikaans Ferreira family. He converted to Protestantism, and also raised his children in this belief. His family and descendants settled in the Eastern Cape, and intermarried with Afrikaans families. Subsequently, they became very involved in the Afrikaans community, and its history, for example:

- Joachim Johannes was a founder-member of "Klein Vrystaat" in 1877. During the First Anglo-Boer War he was a commander, and during the Second Anglo-Boer War he was a delegate at the Peace conference at Vereeniging (1902).
- Ignatius Philip was a soldier, farmer and prospector in Kimberley, Pilgrim's Rest and Barberton; he participated in the Sekhukhune War, and also played a role in the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand. Ferreira's Town is named after him.

Manuel de Oliveira did not have as large a genealogical influence. His most important descendant was Jan Adriaan van Schoor de Oliveira, who, during the Second Anglo-Boer War, fought on the British side.

The most important Portuguese during the nineteenth century were:

- Joseph(us) Suasso de Lima, a Portuguese Jew, from Amsterdam, who held a doctorate. He was a teacher, poet and journalist. He taught at the Evangelical-Lutherian Church at the Cape (1823-27). He wrote the first history book at the Cape; initiated the first weekly newspaper, **De Verzamelaar** in 1826, and also served on the editorial staff of **Het Volksblad** (1853-58).
- João Albasini who played an important role in the contact between the Portuguese from Mozambique and the Voortrekkers. In 1858 he was appointed vice-consul of the Portuguese Government under the Voortrekkers, and assisted them in wars against the local African tribes.
- Casimiro Simões who was a prominent and successful dealer in the Eastern Transvaal.
- Lorenço Mariano Nunez, who traded and assisted the Afrikaans community at Schoemansdal, and was later assimilated into the community.
- Brás Piedade Pereira, of Schoemansdal, who assisted in the wars against the local African tribes, and assisted with the Transvaal's foreign relations.
- Mariano Luís de Sousa, a clerk in Lydenburg, was employed in one of Albasini's shops. His two sons are of note: Elias de Sousa, returned to the Transvaal in 1899, after receiving his university education in Utrecht, to participate in the Second Anglo-Boer War. Later he played a leading role in Lydenburg: he was a founder-member of the farming Co-op, a member of the school board, and a member of the Executive Committee and House of Assembly for Lydenburg. His brother, Luis Francisco de Sousa, was a secretary for Commandant-General Piet Joubert, and at times stood in for him.
- Joachim Machado, an engineer, assisted in the construction of a railway line from Pretoria to Maputo. Machadodorp is named after him.

1.6.4 The Twentieth Century

South Africa experienced a dramatic increase in Portuguese immigrants in the twentieth century, although there was no organized immigration scheme. Various patterns can be detected, however:

- People from Mozambique came to the Lowveld.
- Some people sent their children to schools in South Africa, and followed later.
- Immigrants from Madeira came to work in the goldmines and on vegetable farms, in commerce or the building industry.

Portuguese immigrants to South Africa came originally from both Portugal (80%) and Madeira (20%), before the mass-immigration from Mozambique and Angola. Immigrants arriving from Madeira, were primarily "market gardeners", while immigrants from Portugal were professionals or tradesmen (**South African Panorama**, March 1961:12; Van Graan 1988:45).

The number of Portuguese in South Africa increased dramatically: from an estimated 10 000 in 1961 (**South African Panorama**, March 1961:12) to an estimated half million in the late seventies and eighties (Groenewald 1979: 8; Boshoff 1988: 12; Van Graan 1988:45/58; Toffoli 1989:36). The vast majority having settled and established themselves in the Johannesburg area.

The Portuguese are today the third largest language group among whites in South Africa (Van Graan 1988:58; Groenewald 1979:11; Boshoff 1988:18). The South African Portuguese community is also the third largest in the 38 countries to which Portuguese have emigrated, only exceeded by Brazil and France (Groenewald 1979:11).

Prominent Portuguese in the twentieth century were the following:

- Thomas James Frates (1910-1961). His father, Joseph Frates, played a leading role in Pretoria, first as a city council member, deputy mayor and later National Volksraad member for Koedoespoort. He was also a council member for the University of Pretoria.

- Austin Ivens Ferraz distinguished himself in the field of journalism. He was a journalist for **The Star**, **The Bulawayo Chronicle**, **Natal Advertiser**, and also an assistant editor of **The Salisbury Mail** (1952-1961).

A number of Portuguese have also distinguished themselves in the academic and cultural fields. In the academic field the following names are prominent:

- Prof. Frank Reginald Nunes Nabarro, a professor in physics, who was a deputy vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand.
- Prof Morais de Barbosa was Head of the Portuguese Department at the University of the Witwatersrand up to 1977.
- Prof. Louis A. de V. Leal, who was head of the Portuguese Department at the University of the Witwatersrand (1979-1989).
- Dr Armando Severo Martins de Jesus, who became a nuclear physicist at Pelindaba.
- Dr Mário Luís Guerra Coelho, who excelled in the field of veterinary science, obtaining a doctorate from the University of Pretoria in 1973, and subsequently appointed as a lecturer in anatomy.
- Dr Manuel Antunes was the Head of the Cardiology Department at the Wits School of Medicine and worked with Dr Barnard.

In the cultural field the following Portuguese have distinguished themselves:

- The distinguished poet, Fernando António Nogueira Pessôa, who wrote in both English and Portuguese.
- Manuel Escorcio, well-known singer of both Afrikaans and Portuguese music, who studied at Stellenbosch, and later obtained a M.Mus at the University of Cape Town. He has also received the order of Infante Dom Henrique from the Portuguese Government.

These prominent figures will be referred to later (see § 6.2.3. and 6.2.7), with regard to the potentially important role which such people could play in the efforts to maintain the Portuguese mother tongue and also the improved status and recognition of both the community and its language.

The preceding discussion of the history of the Portuguese testifies to the fact that the Portuguese have, from the earliest history of South Africa, substantially contributed to South African society. As such, they have therefore also contributed towards, and played an important role in the shaping of South African history.

It can also be postulated, that two possible forces were at play in this early period of Portuguese immigration to South Africa:

- (i) There may have been a certain degree of influence of the Portuguese language and culture on the developing South African culture and languages, such as Afrikaans (cf. the studies of the influence of Portuguese on Afrikaans: Raidt 1982:163,199; Van Graan 1988:62; Leal 1978).
- (ii) Members of the Portuguese community may, however, have identified completely with one of the groups in South Africa, thereby leading to assimilation with the South African society. Hence, Portuguese influence in the South African linguistic context would have been minimal or none at all. This would also have resulted in the initial process of language shift.

1.6.5 Civil war in Mozambique and Angola

In 1951 Angola and Mozambique were re-named "overseas provinces", thereby incorporating them as a part of Portugal, and making them an integral part of the Portuguese state. However, this did not decrease the growing move towards decolonization, starting from after World War II. The Portuguese were the first colonial power to arrive in Africa, yet the last to withdraw.

Angola

The Portuguese settled in Angola in the late fifteenth century, and the present boundaries were established at the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. A resistance struggle against colonial rule started in 1961 and continued for 13 years, despite the large Portuguese army in the country. In 1974 three independence movements were operating in different parts of the country:

1. National Front for the liberation of Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto, controlling the north.

2. Popular movement for liberation (MPLA) led by Dr Agostinho Neto, a Soviet-supported movement, controlled the central region and Cabinda.
3. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, in eastern and southern Angola.

The three leaders signed an agreement with Portuguese representatives on 15 January 1975, requesting the independence of Angola. There was to be interim rule by a Portuguese High Commissioner and a President Collegiate, consisting of one representative of the three liberation movements. At a later stage, the FNLA and UNITA formed an alliance against the MPLA, who were controlling the capital at the time. On 10 November, Dr Neto announced the establishment of the People's Republic of Angola. On 23 November the FNLA-UNITA proclaimed the formation of a rival Democratic People's Republic of Angola, with Huambo as its capital. FNLA and UNITA continued their resistance to the MPLA from 1976-1978, and formed a joint force in 1979. On 10 September 1979 President Neto died in Moscow, and was succeeded by José Eduardo dos Santos.

As a result of this unsettled situation, 13 000 people came to South Africa from Angola, of whom 4 000 stayed permanently in South Africa.

Mozambique

As is the case of Angola, Portuguese rule was established in Mozambique in the early sixteenth century, when Mozambique became a port of call for Eastern trade. Portuguese rule of the area was recognized by the European powers at the Berlin Congress of 1884-1885. In 1952 Mozambique became an overseas province of Portugal, thereby being incorporated as an integral part of Portugal.

Armed resistance to Portuguese rule was started in 1964 by Frelimo. After the coup in Lisbon in 1974, negotiations called for a coalition government between Frelimo and the Portuguese representatives, and for independence to be granted by mid-1975. The white minority tried to establish a white provisional government. The Coup d'état on 10 September 1974 failed and the majority of whites emigrated to Portugal or South Africa. On 25 June 1975 Mozambique became an independent "people's republic" under Samora Machel. Initially 6 000 people came to South Africa from Mozambique. Later more people were to follow, and a total of 33 000 people settled permanently in South Africa.

Therefore it can be seen that because of the civil wars in Mozambique and Angola, the majority of Portuguese in these countries fled to South Africa. Some decided to return to Portugal, from or via South Africa. Others decided to stay and re-establish themselves in South Africa

1.7 Conclusion

The survey of historical and contemporary Portuguese immigration to South Africa is important not only to situate the speech community in a broader socio-historical context (cf. § 1.6.1), but the information derived from such a review is also important in determining, explaining and interpreting sociolinguistic phenomena (see § 5.8, 5.9 & 6.2.7).

In the colonies of Mozambique and Angola, the Portuguese were the sole ruling nation. Consequently the Portuguese language was also established in these areas, as the language of the government and also of power. It was the language of daily use, and of wider communication. Furthermore, a knowledge of the Portuguese language by the native inhabitants, was therefore essential for access (cf. § 3.2.4) to areas of importance in everyday life, e.g. employment and shopping. Portuguese was also used in areas such as trade, commerce, etc. In short, Portuguese was the official language of these colonies, and therefore the language of power. This language situation therefore lead to a corresponding decrease in the use of the languages spoken by the native inhabitants of these colonies (i.e. there was a language shift among the native inhabitants of these colonies, from the indigenous languages which they spoke, to Portuguese).

However, when the Portuguese were forced to flee from Mozambique and Angola due to the Civil Wars, it involved a dramatic change for these Portuguese refugees. Once members of a strong and stable ruling nation, they now became one of many minority groups in a foreign land, i.e. South Africa. Being forced to flee from a country, in which they were members of the ruling class, lead to a loss of self-image, which in turn resulted in a change of attitude towards their mother tongue. Their language had now changed in status, and became a minority language in a host society. (Interestingly, Portuguese retained its status as the official language in both Mozambique and Angola; with many native inhabitants still employing and claiming the language as their mother tongue.)

The Portuguese immigrants then found themselves in a situation where English and Afrikaans were the official languages of their new country. A knowledge of at least one of these languages was therefore essential for daily use, general communication and access (cf. § 3.2.4). Use of English and/or Afrikaans was therefore also important for employment and to attain future success (social and financial) and consequently social status in a host society. These factors and realizations have undoubtedly played an important role in the present language shift in the community (cf. Chapters 5 and 6).

Despite an inherent feeling of pride in their ethnic roots and cultural heritage, the reality of the situation in which the Portuguese find themselves in South Africa, dictates a shift in the use of the mother tongue to that of the host society. Using the language(s) of the host society, not only for instrumental, but also integrative purposes (cf. § 3.2.5), could therefore be seen to be an attempt to regain and re-establish a social standing and feeling of pride and security, damaged by their flight from the once thriving colonies. Pride, which the majority of people display, in their cultural heritage, can nevertheless, be an important factor to help stem the present state of language shift.

In the following two chapters the literature on language maintenance and language shift will be reviewed. Thereafter, in Chapter 4, the results of a survey conducted in the Portuguese community of Johannesburg will be presented, and these results will be discussed in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6 certain conclusions, predictions and suggestions will then be presented.

Chapter 2

Language Maintenance

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Introduction and definition of language maintenance

Minority languages are often under threat from the national, or dominant language of a host society. *Fase et al.* (1992:214) indicate that: for many immigrants and refugees, a shift to another language is not always voluntary, i.e. it is not necessarily a matter of choice. A language shift may be necessitated by domains such as daily use and communication. However, in certain areas, minority groups do have the option of using the mother tongue, e.g. with family, friends and in various organizations. There are therefore, certain domains which can play a role in facilitating language maintenance.

Language maintenance can be defined as " ... an attempt to retain a community's native language against social and psychological pressures to the contrary" (Srivistava 1989:10). Hence, Crystal's (1987:360) observation that language maintenance occurs in a situation where " ... one language holds its own despite the influence of powerful neighbours".

Language maintenance is also related to the concept of *language conservation*: the term 'conservation' is used in the same sense or context as the concern for national resources, namely: "a careful preservation and protection of something; especially planned management of a natural resource to prevent exploitation, destruction or neglect" (Campbell and Schnell 1987:178).

Also related to the concept 'language maintenance', and by implication, is the term *language loyalty*. Whereas language maintenance refers to "the degree to which an individual or group continues to use their language, particularly in a bilingual or multilingual area or among immigrant groups" (Richards *et al.* 1985:158), language loyalty can be seen as "a principle in the name of which people will rally themselves and their fellow speakers consciously and explicitly to resist changes in either the functions of their language (as a result of language shift) or in the structure or

vocabulary (as a consequence of interference)" (Weinreich 1979:99). Hence, language maintenance could be viewed as "passive". Speakers of the language (as well as agents responsible for maintaining the mother tongue (such as the media), may therefore continually use the mother tongue, and yet not necessarily with the aim of consciously or intentionally maintaining the mother tongue. The use of the mother tongue could therefore be purely due to habit. The concern for maintaining the mother tongue (by possibly both speakers and maintenance agents) could therefore also be seen as passive in the sense of not responding " ... to something normally expected to provoke expressions of emotion or feeling" (Kellerman 1972:693). Speakers and/or maintenance agents would therefore possibly not necessarily rally active (or visible) support for the maintenance and/or continued use of the mother tongue in a bilingual or multilingual context or environment. Language loyalty (in contrast to language maintenance) may then be seen as a more active, involved and clearly visible attempt to retain the mother tongue. This view of language loyalty is also held by Weinreich (1979:99-100) when he indicates that loyalty to a language will be demonstrated when the language (and/or its future) is threatened: " ... loyalty sentiments bear some proportion on an actual or potential threat to the language. As a reaction to a threat, manifestations of language loyalty might perhaps be viewed in a similar conceptual framework as those which anthropologists employ in the study of nativism."

There are certain areas in which a language is used, and these are known as domains (or "dimensions of use") of the speaker (Srivistava 1989:19). Certain domains can influence or facilitate language maintenance. A survey of the literature reveals that the following domains (also known as *language ecology domains* (Pütz, 1991:480)) are the most prominent in the maintenance of a language: education; religion; ethnicity and nationalism; media; family; cultural organizations; residential area; migration and overseas visits; gender and social structure. It should be borne in mind, however, that language maintenance and language shift are closely inter-related fields, and in many instances there is no clear distinction as to which domains are directly or primarily responsible for assisting in language maintenance and which are responsible for language shift. Many of the domains can be seen to be congruent or complementary: they can be responsible for facilitating language maintenance, yet also necessitating a language shift. A discussion of each of these ten domains follows.

2.2 Domains facilitating language maintenance

2.2.1 Education

The extreme importance of the influence of education on language maintenance is clearly evidenced in the literature on the topic. Both Rigsby (1987:370) and Kalantzis (1985:173) point out that if language is offered as a school subject, it can lead to an improved or more positive status of the language. Official status and acceptance thus serve as a barrier against immigrant status embarrassment, i.e. the feeling of inferiority or "self-depreciation" (Glazer in Fishman 1966:362) experienced by many immigrants in a host society. Smolicz (1985:19-20) indicates the importance of public recognition of the mother tongue and educational reinforcement of bilingualism to make it an acceptable and normal way of life. In many instances, immigrant communities (including their language, culture and tradition) are regarded as inferior by, and in comparison with, the host society. This attitude is also discussed by Smolicz (1985:17) in his study of Greek-Australians:

People of Greek ancestry have been part of Australia for over three generations, but their children are still often referred to as migrants rather than Greek-Australians.

Official and social acceptance or recognition, as well as state support, are therefore important factors contributing to the maintenance of a language (Glazer, in Fishman 1966:362).

Mougeon (1985:476) indicates that if there is no schooling in the minority language, this could lead to a failure to acquire features which are typical of the standard language, and hence, "... ironically, in some instances, we find these very children enrolled later in traditional language courses, at public expense, to study the very languages they commanded so well as children" (Campbell and Schnell 1987:180). The same argument is put forward by Makin (1992:71), concerning immigrant languages in Australia:

If we are to ensure that language and communication skills for national needs are developed through education, then we cannot afford to neglect the existing language resources which Australia's children bring to early childhood and primary school programs.

A clear example of this type of situation is also referred to by Dorian (1987:65): Scottish school children, are denied the opportunity to study their mother tongue at school. Dorian points out that Irish Gaelic is accepted as a legitimate language of

study in Ireland, whereas in Scotland the status of Gaelic has been eroded because it is generally not available as a school subject option:

Irish schoolchildren ... are most unlikely to be denied the opportunity to study Irish if they wish it; over most of Highland Scotland, school children and their parents are still told either that there are no teachers available to teach Gaelic or that there is no room in the curriculum for the subject.

Education therefore appears to present a catch-22 situation. Although education may positively foster minority languages, children will, nevertheless, have to learn the language of the host community in order to obtain an education (Buccheit 1988:5). Furthermore, peer pressure is often exerted, necessitating a familiarity with the dominant language in order to be stylish and modern (Fishman 1966:366).

Hence, it should be borne in mind that the domain of education can also be an ambivalent domain. Although education can play a leading role in the maintenance of the minority language, it can, at the same time, be a prime domain in causing and facilitating language shift. This is especially true in instances where the language is not offered or available as a subject of study (in primary, secondary and tertiary education), or it is also not the medium of instruction. In the latter instance, the acquisition and use of the language of the host society will therefore be a prerequisite for obtaining an education. This is the case with the Portuguese community in South Africa: a knowledge of English or Afrikaans is necessary, as these are the two languages used as a medium of instruction in schools and universities. Portuguese is also not readily available as a subject of study in South African schools and universities.

Li (1982:11) indicates that there is often a positive relation between the education level of the parents and language maintenance: educated parents will be more aware of maintaining the mother tongue. In contrast, Ramat (1979:150) indicates that there is often a shift among highly educated people. In certain instances, however, language maintenance or loyalty is also associated with low education, e.g. Spanish in Los Angeles (Lopez 1991:486): this could possibly be ascribed to the fact that the general level of educational attainment of a large number of the Hispanic community is lower than the national average. These trends are also discussed by Clyne (1985:31) in his study of a German-Australian speech community where lack of education or lower education leads to isolation from the dominant host community and hence language maintenance. A higher education may result in cultural contact with the dominant (host) society. However, Clyne (1985:31) also points out, in

agreement with the view expressed by Li (1982:11), that parents who are educated, and even though conversant in English, may devote time and efforts to the maintenance of the minority group's heritage and culture - resulting in language maintenance.

The literature on language maintenance also emphasizes the importance of ethnic schools for language maintenance (e.g. Aziz 1988:83). Due to the fact that there is often no real language reinforcement of the mother tongue after formal schooling, ethnic schools are central to cultural bilingualism (Fishman 1966:38). Campbell and Schnell's study (1987:180-182) of educational programmes in the USA emphasizes the necessity for acquiring minority languages, either through ethnic schools or bilingual education programmes. Three influential educational programmes can be identified, which may contribute to language maintenance (and/or enhancement), namely bilingual education, ethnic school programmes and the notion of initial mother tongue education. These programmes of education will now be discussed.

(a) *Bilingual education*

It should be noted that the following outline of bilingual education is based on the various approaches and models, particular to, and operational in the USA, and discussed by Woolfson (1989:231-256). Bilingual education can be defined as:

... the question of how best to provide publicly sponsored education to children whose English language proficiency is limited to a group of instructional approaches which, taken together, have come to be called bilingual education ... bilingual education is exactly that - instruction in two languages. (Woolfson 1989:234, 241, 255.)

The main aim of bilingual education in the USA is to provide an equal educational opportunity for children who have limited or no proficiency in English. Unfortunately, however, bilingual education is viewed negatively by many people, who view it as "compensatory education for children who are regarded as 'handicapped' by their lack of fluency in English" (Woolfson 1989:234). Ironically, however, Woolfson (1989:235) indicates that there is " ... no consensus as to what bilingual education is, or what should be achieved through it."

Bilingual education is essential in a host community, especially for purposes of employment in such a society (Lieberson and Curry 1971:132).

Added benefits of bilingual education are suggested by Tamis (1990:499) in that it must improve family cohesion; cultivate self-esteem; generate balanced bilinguals.

The United States Supreme Court, in accordance with the Civil Rights Act, also has stated that owing to the fact that public schools in the USA operate in English (i.e. English is used as a medium of instruction), one cannot, essentially, speak of equal treatment, in the sense that all students are being provided with the same educational opportunities. The mere fact that the public schools operate in English, is an immediate barrier for foreign pupils or students, who are not proficient in English:

There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, methods, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. (Woolfson 1989: 238, 239.)

In the United States bilingual education also has a legislative basis, as evidenced by the 1974 Bilingual Education Act, necessitated by the fact that there are a large number of pupils in American public schools who are not proficient in English. As such, their educational needs can only be satisfactorily met by, or benefit from, various other educational programmes, such as bilingual or bicultural education:

... special education provision must be made for persons of limited English-speaking ability, because there are significant numbers of such children with unique educational needs which can best be met by bilingual or bicultural educational methods and techniques. (Woolfson 1989:238.)

The United States policy, therefore, as declared by law is:

- (i) to encourage bilingual educational methods and techniques and
- (ii) fund state and local education agencies to develop and carry out such programs at the elementary and secondary level (Woolfson 1989:238).

The central question in bilingual education, is whether English (or the dominant language of the host society) should be the medium, and also the goal of instruction, for children whose native language is not English. A brief overview of five different models of bilingual education, based on Woolfson (1989:240-247), follows:

(i) *Submersion approach*

In this model, children are placed in mainstream classrooms, and taught only in English (or the dominant language). Hence, there is no additional help for children whose native language is not English. This approach, however, has very serious consequences: it leads to a high drop-out rate, among minority groups whose native language is not English, which, in turn, leads to unemployment.

(ii) *English as Second Language (ESL)*

An important consideration with this model, is to what extent English should be employed. There are various options within this approach:

- Special instruction in ESL is given in a monolingual school or regular mainstream schooling.
- English is part of a special programme, in which early instruction is given in the mother tongue.
- Pupils are taken out of their classes, in order to be instructed in English language skills.

This approach presents a catch-22 situation: drawing attention to a minority group, could increase or worsen the stigma attached to the minority group. However, it is also argued that "... reading and language arts are best taught first in the native language of the child, who will then easily transfer these skills to reading in English" (Woolfson 1989:242).

(iii) *The Immersion model*

In this model, the target language is used for instruction in the early grades, while reading and content in the mother tongue is gradually increased in the later grades of elementary schools. It is preferable that the teacher is bilingual or conversant in both languages. Hence, with this approach through content courses, the instruction is planned so as to teach and learn the target language. Instruction in the mother tongue is only introduced once the individual is competent in the target language. The primary aim with this approach is to be biliterate and bilingual.

According to research conducted by Carey (1984:257) on the implementation and effectiveness of Immersion Programmes in Canada, it appears that this programme is effective in achieving proficiency and literacy in the foreign language.

Singh (1986:563) indicates that non-mother tongue instruction does not negatively influence the performance or progress of school-children. Zentella (1986:38) also notes that it is important to study in the foreign language, e.g. Spanish. This will lead to enhanced language proficiency, and is to be preferred to a language course (especially for students wanting to learn a foreign language (Zentella 1986:38)).

(iv) *Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)*

TBE is also referred to as two-way bilingual education (TWBE). This approach was initially intended for poor, non-English speaking children to "overcome the language barrier" (Woolfson 1989:244), thereby becoming fully conversant and literate in English. Mother tongue instruction is an important point of departure. In the initial years of schooling, reading is taught in the mother tongue and in English. With regard to *content*, instruction in English gradually increases, as the proficiency in and ability to study in English increases. Instruction in the mother tongue then decreases. Pupils should therefore be mainstreamed when entering high school. An ESL component should also be available to facilitate the learning of English. Woolfson (1989:246) indicates that this particular approach is effective in areas where there are large numbers of school pupils, who have the same ethnic background, and language.

The benefits of two-way bilingual education are highlighted by Campbell and Schnell (1987:182): Such a programme facilitates mother tongue maintenance, scholastic achievement, acquisition of English, increased self-esteem and a decreased chance of dropping out. Zentella (1986:38) also indicates that two-way bilingual education programmes are important, so that bilingual education may be viewed as enrichment and not remediation.

(v) *Maintenance Bilingual Education*

The aim with this approach is the maintenance of the minority language and culture, teaching children to be both bilingual and biliterate. Children can therefore learn to appreciate their own ethnic heritage, and also to be able to participate in the host society. Hence, this approach is in contrast with bilingual education legislation which aims at assisting a pupil to enter the mainstream English-speaking society, and not developing his own mother tongue.

This approach can thus be summarized as follows: The child's mother tongue is employed as both a medium of instruction, as well as a subject of study forming part of the curriculum, throughout the entire school career. Children are therefore literate and proficient in both their own mother tongue, as well as the language of the host society. This approach also fosters the maintenance of ethnic heritage and identity through the education programme (Woolfson 1989:247).

This model embraces extensive reading and writing in the mother tongue and English (or L2). The ideal strived for is proficiency in the second language, yet without losing touch with the first language (Zentella 1986:39).

(b) Ethnic schools

When considering the role of education in language maintenance, a prominent and vital feature of minority communities to be considered is that of *ethnic group schools*. In his study of ethnic group schools in the USA, Fishman (1966:92ff) correctly indicates that, universally, they are a result of dislocation, i.e. the presence of immigrant communities or minority groups in foreign countries or areas, due to the process of emigration (either voluntary or forced), resulting in a dispersation and the consequent re-settlement and re-establishment of the people in various countries or areas. Four school types can be identified depending on two factors, namely: the frequency of instruction and the number of hours of instruction per week.

(i) All day schools

In many instances all-day schools (also known as Parochial Schools) (Fishman 1966:92ff) are supported by and linked to a certain church or denomination. Religious, cultural and linguistic heritages form a major part of the curriculum (and is in addition to the general curricula requirements of American educational law). They are less concerned with ethnicity, and as such, these schools have a lesser degree of influence on language maintenance, in comparison to the afternoon schools, which are more language-centred. It is open to debate whether these schools assist more with language maintenance or ethnicity. They do, nevertheless, have the greatest potential for cultural maintenance.

Many of these schools are found in the USA, but they are also found in the RSA. Prominent examples of such types of schools in the Johannesburg area are:

- SAHETI (South African Hellenic Educational and Technical Institute), a Greek school.
- Deutsche Schule (the German school).
- King David (2 in the Johannesburg area), for Jewish pupils.

(ii) Weekday afternoon schools

Children first attend public or private schools in the morning, and then go to the ethnic school in the afternoon. In certain instances, such schools may also be under religious auspices. An example of such a programme is provided by Jamieson's (1980:108) study of various communities in New Zealand: The Greek community has an afternoon school for 1½ hours after school, three days a week which teaches children basic reading and writing skills in the Greek language.

There are many schools of this type in the Johannesburg Portuguese Community, in certain instances funded by the Portuguese Government. At present 1 600 children in South Africa attend afternoon schools (see also § 5.2). (Personal Communication, Ms Lourdes Ponte, Portuguese Consulate).

(iii) Weekend schools

Children attend these schools either on a Saturday or Sunday. They are seen as offering the least intensive programmes, in comparison to the two major types of ethnic schools (Fishman 1966:94) previously discussed. An example of such an ethnic schooling system is provided by Campbell and Schnell (1987:180-181), who studied a Korean community school in Los Angeles. The main aim of the ethnic school or language programme is proficiency in the mother tongue, in order to communicate with family and friends in the mother country. There is a greater emphasis on culture, than on language. It is also significant that third generation parents, who are usually monolingual English, generally do not send their children to these schools.

(iv) Other schools (e.g. summer schools, evening classes, etc.)

Various other types of ethnic schools or ethnic school programmes, can be operational (e.g. summer schools, winter schools) and possibly even correspondence courses could also be offered. A further possibility is that of evening classes. Neville (1987:154) identifies certain specific difficulties, with regard to evening classes: evening classes could be characterised by heterogeneity, i.e. there are various ages and capabilities. The availability of teaching aids, and possibly even qualified staff, could present potential problems:

Age, previous levels of education and linguistic competence, for example, could lead to differences in motivation. A further area of difficulty could also be the

availability or non-availability of teaching materials. (See also: Tamis (1990:497) & Holmes *et al* (1993:13).)

There are also nursery schools (where children are taught through the medium of the local regional language (Neville 1987:153)). However, as she points out, these nursery schools tend to attract children belonging to a specific social category or class, namely the children of educated, middle-class, professional parents. These parents may not necessarily be native speakers of the regional language, but desire their children to benefit from being competent in the regional language of the area or region.

The following important points emerge from Fishman's (1966:96ff) study of ethnic schools in the USA. School is a central meeting point: there is an interaction of varying people in the community. Most ethnic schools are under religious auspices. Schools offering mother tongue instruction have come into existence later than those which do not include it in the curriculum. There are more "foreign born" pupils in schools having mother tongue (vernacular) instruction, compared to educational institutions where there is no mother tongue instruction. There is a greater difference *between* school types, as opposed to *within* school types (i.e. those offering and not offering mother tongue instruction). Mother tongue instruction is greatest in small towns, as opposed to large communities where mother tongue instruction is set aside more frequently at an earlier stage and rapidly. Ironically, Fishman (1966:102) indicates that it is mostly the all-day schools that are on the path of de-ethnicization, Americanization and Anglicization. Fishman (1966:103) also indicates the fact that ethnic schools still exist after the mother tongue is no longer taught, implies that the school has ties or bonds with its immediate or surrounding area, other than simply language ties.

Language maintenance can also be facilitated by teaching 'other ethnic subjects', e.g. history and religious education (Fishman 1966:105). The trend seems to be, however, that history, culture and religion are taught in English even when mother tongue instruction does take place within a school. The opposite tends to occur in schools which do not offer mother tongue instruction: art, music and dance (the folk arts) are taught in the mother tongue. (There is a distinction therefore between the symbolic, intellectual and cultural subjects, as opposed to traditional-festive subjects like art, music and dancing.)

In schools with mother tongue instruction, group identity is sometimes seen to be more important than language maintenance. Language maintenance, however,

should be part of a hierarchy of goals of an ethnic community. Fishman (1966:109) is of the opinion that group maintenance should not, however, be maintained at the expense of language maintenance.

An example of a study of an ethnic group school in the USA is provided by Okamura-Bichard (1985) who examined Japanese school-going pupils in the USA: Children were advised to attend Japanese supplementary schools in the USA, in order to maintain the Japanese language. It was found, however, that attendance at Japanese school did not have a significant effect on mother tongue maintenance. The longer the children stay outside of Japan (the mother country), the greater the decrease in the mother tongue.

Important points can be identified in the study of Okamura-Bichard (1985:68, 74):

- (a) It is not the nature and function of the weekend school which is of great importance, but rather how well the school is utilized by the pupils or learners which helps with the maintenance of the mother tongue;
- (b) Japanese (mother tongue) education in the USA, did not achieve the full potential of maintaining and developing the mother tongue.

Central to the aspect of education is the teacher, and more specifically the ethnic school teacher.

The background characteristics of the teacher, and also his or her teaching proficiency, can have implications for language maintenance. Language teachers can assist in preventing the acceleration of the process of language death and language shift (Zentella 1986:35). Language teachers can also help in creating an "authentic commitment to real bilingualism" (Zentella 1986:38): Attention given to the mother tongue does not necessarily have to occur at the expense of the dominant (host) language, e.g. English. In brief, the mother tongue teacher has to be a true believer in and totally committed to language maintenance.

Fishman (1966:109) identifies a potential problem facing the mother tongue teacher (in the USA), namely American-born children may identify the language and language maintenance with old-fashioned, outmoded ideas. This potential problem therefore leads to an important consideration. Should one have

- (a) a young foreign born teacher, i.e. born in the mother country or a country in which the mother tongue is spoken, or
- (b) an older, native born teacher, i.e. born in the country or host society in which the immigrant community or minority group find themselves (who might, however, be more distant from the community and its needs).

A possible compromise is that teachers should be a 'mixture', of both worlds with ethnic, as well as general American linguistic and cultural, patterns. Further suggestions proposed by Fishman (1966:114) include a native born teacher willing to accommodate language maintenance; a foreign born teacher who is bilingual; an American born teacher who has mastered the mother tongue. A further important domain to consider is the involvement of the teachers with those whom they teach: are teachers "insiders" or "peripheralists" of the ethnic group whose language they teach?

Interesting notions regarding the facilitation of teacher-training have also been proposed (Fishman 1972a:34): There could be tests for people who learn the language indirectly, e.g. by travelling. They could then obtain certificates of basic competence to teach the language. This could in theory and practice assist with language maintenance. Furthermore, this method may create the publicity for uncommon languages. Pupils learning a language outside school could also take tests in the language, thereby obtaining additional credit. Teachers from overseas, apart from teaching a "curriculum subject", could also instruct their own language. Such teachers could therefore serve as "cultural representatives".

Neville (1987:153) warns that there should, however, be set academic requirements for the teaching of languages, otherwise the level of teaching of languages could suffer. A good example of stringent academic requirements in a bilingual education programme is provided by Minaya-Rowe (1986:469) in her study of such programmes in South America. Teacher trainers, teachers and administrators, have to possess the following qualifications:

- (a) be a native speaker of Quechua (or Quichua) or Aimara;
- (b) have been born and raised in the region;
- (c) have taught in rural areas of the region;

(d) be a fluent Spanish speaker.

Some important suggestions with regard to mother tongue instruction and teachers have been forwarded by Fishman (1972a:32-39). Firstly, they indicate the importance of *public areas* for language maintenance, e.g. public or government schools. However, they do warn against the limits of public schools: methods and materials of instruction are usually aimed at teaching monolinguals.

A non-English speaking child entering school, should, ideally, have instruction in his/her mother tongue until he/she becomes literate in this language. The mother tongue could therefore be both a subject and medium of instruction. The introduction of English should be a gradual process. Bilingual schools could, therefore, provide a solution, as in the case of Mexican Americans. Nevertheless, one should guard against social and/or cultural segregation in such instances (Fishman 1972a:35).

(c) *Initial mother tongue instruction (Portuguese)*

It was earlier (in 2.2.1(a)(iv)) indicated that Woolfson (1989:246) views the Transitional Bilingual Education approach as important, especially in areas where there is a concentration of school children, who are of the same ethnic background or descent. Grobbelaar (1990) conducted a study of Portuguese school children in Johannesburg, in which she focussed on the initial years of education (with particular reference to grade 1). The important aspects of this study will be utilized and highlighted to briefly discuss the aspect of initial mother tongue instruction.

It is significant to note that in primary schools (in South Africa) where there is a large majority of Portuguese pupils, there is no provision for initial mother tongue instruction. This could be of great benefit to these pupils, especially in cases where pupils are from a monolingual home background (i.e. only Portuguese is spoken in the home). In South Africa, initial mother tongue instruction has been a policy in black schools, up to and including standard 3 (see Grobbelaar 1990:112).

There are some important preliminary considerations in this regard, highlighted in the study by Grobbelaar (1990). A child grows up within a specific culture, where a specific language is used in the interaction between mother and child (Vrey 1979:72, 80, 135). Consequently, this language is part of the child's very being and existence: it is the means by which the child communicates, expresses his or her emotions,

reasons, etc. However, this language which the child has utilized since birth, does not merely fall into disuse upon entering school (Brown 1979:26). Therefore, on entering school, the difference between the home language, and the school language (i.e. medium of instruction), could result in difficulties - not only in terms of comprehension of (syllabi) content, but also with the rapport with teachers and peers.

The language used in the initial instruction in schooling is very important; not only for establishing a basic understanding and comprehension, but also for later success in schooling. Grobbelaar (1990:8) also attests to the importance of language as a medium of instruction within a multicultural and multilingual community. However, no provision is made for the language requirements of the Portuguese primary school child in South Africa (Grobbelaar 1990:123), despite the large concentration of Portuguese pupils in certain areas.

An interesting notion is forwarded by Pattanayak (1981:43, 74) who suggests that the medium of instruction is the indirect result of educational discrimination, also leading to various other effects:

- (i) drop-out and stagnation
- (ii) an ineffective teaching or education system, as well as
- (iii) illiteracy in the mother tongue and low achievement levels in the dominant language.

Grobbelaar (1990:110) however, then poses the question as to whether initial mother tongue instruction is fair or justified. Parekh (in Grobbelaar 1990:111) provides a comprehensive response by stating that minorities who desire mother tongue teaching, are asking no more than what is the norm for children of the host or dominant society, and correctly so:

In case it is argued that the ethnic minorities are seeking a privileged treatment in asking for mother tongue teaching, it must be said that they are only asking for the same treatment that is accorded as a matter of right to the white British child. English is taught in our school to children whose mother tongue it is. In other words, mother tongue teaching is already an established and cherished practice of the British educational system. The ethnic minorities ask for no more than that this practice be extended to them as well.

Even if pupils receive instruction by means of the dominant or official language of the host society, he or she should still have the opportunity to study his or her mother

tongue as one of the subjects of the school curriculum (Grobbelaar 1990:117). Justification for this view is provided by Parekh (in Grobbelaar 1990:109-110):

It implies a recognition by the school that a child's mother tongue is an integral and essential part of his or her education and therefore the responsibility of the school. ... Its inclusion assures the child that the school respects his or her language and culture

Grobbelaar (1990:167) makes a further valuable suggestion, in order to reduce or eliminate (potential) language problems experienced by Portuguese pupils in primary school: attending a bridging or pre-school year in which specific attention is paid to language skills: the language development and acquisition of English. Alternatively, attending an English nursery school could also assist in eliminating the language barrier. An important aspect with regard to initial mother tongue education is indicated by Wong-Fillmore (1991:345), namely the timing (at what stage) of introducing English (as the dominant language). She indicates that English should only be introduced once the mother tongue is "... stable enough to handle the inevitable encounter with English and all it means."

There seems to be a strong argument in favour of initial mother tongue instruction, owing to the educational advantages, which can be derived from it. Grobbelaar (1990:122) refers to the important role played by language in education. She indicates that a child's mother tongue is the most appropriate medium of instruction, as it is the language in which socialization and cognitive processes take place. Instruction in a foreign language merely facilitates learning problems and inhibits academic achievement. Portuguese is an appropriate medium of instruction, as it is an international language:

As kommunikasiemiddel is taal onontbeerlik vir opvoeding en onderrig. Die kind se moedertaal is die mees verantwoordbare medium vir onderrig. Dit is die natuurlike taal waarin sosialisering en denke plaasvind. Onderrig deur medium van 'n vreemde taal lei tot leerprobleme en kortwiek prestasie. As **internasionale taal** (own emphasis) wat oor goedgevestigde literatuur beskik, is Portugees 'n verantwoordbare onderrigmedium.

In agreement with this view, Kalantzis (1985:171), in her study of community languages in Australia, indicates the same view in defence of German:

But German was a major international language worthy of being taught and used in Australia in its own right, for its rich literary and high cultural traditions, if for no other reasons. If there was money going for languages, German should get its just slice.

This approach is also supported by Duminy and Söhnge (1981:57) who indicate that pedagogically, initial mother tongue instruction, where possible, is the most appropriate approach, for the initial years of schooling

... daar maar één juiste pedagogiese standpunt kan wees naamlik dat alle kinders, waar enigsins moontlik, hul skoolloopbaan met die moedertaal as voertaal moet begin.

In light of the abovementioned arguments pointing to the advantage(s) of initial mother tongue instruction, the appropriateness and/or relevance of such an approach in the South African context (in areas containing a large concentration of Portuguese school-going pupils) is highlighted.

2.2.2 Religion

Religion is an important domain in language maintenance because church services and activities often are, or can be, conducted in the mother tongue of a minority group, e.g. Greek is used in the Greek Orthodox Church (Clyne 1988:79, Smolicz 1985:26, Jamieson 1980:102, 108). This domain is also alluded to by Kloss (in Buccheit 1988:6), who suggests that "religio-societal insulation" is very important to language maintenance.

Sridhar (1988:80) stresses the importance of religion for language maintenance through ritual and prayer. In certain cases, language is an integral part of religious observance as for example in the Greek Orthodox Church (Fishman 1966:137). The importance of the mother tongue in the church is also evident from the Vatican's Apostolic Constitution, *Exsul Familia* (1952), whereby the Pope recognized the right of immigrant groups to be served by priests speaking their mother tongue (Kloss 1971:253).

In his study of a German Australian speech community, Pütz (1991:487) indicates that "membership of a religious denomination ... seems to promote language maintenance which, in turn, underlines the importance of a combination of domains, i.e. religion, ethnicity and language."

Fishman (1972a:49) also points out the importance of the relation between ethnicity, language and religion. Fishman (1972a:67) also suggests that (in the USA) before emigration, ethnicity is important; after emigration, religion takes precedence. Religion, he suggests, substitutes for and preserves ethnicity. However, this is not sufficient for language maintenance. He furthermore suggests that the function of language in the church is primarily to safeguard the faith of the people in an urban situation. The use of the vernacular in the mass is not sufficient for language maintenance.

Haugen (in Fishman 1966:140) indicates that the church is a primary institution: it provides immigrants with justification for using their own language. For example: the Greek Orthodox Church is not only a national church, but also a language-based, or related, church. Certain communities also strongly attempt to retain the mother tongue, using the church as a domain where the mother tongue can be spoken or utilized. Holmes *et al.* (1993:8) indicates that the Tongans in Wellington (New Zealand) generally "speak Tongan to Tongans whenever possible' ... The rule holds in Tongan homes, at church, at community events, and even at work". In the same study, Holmes *et al.* (1993:10) also indicates that Cantonese is still utilized at Chinese community events and in church, more so by older than younger speakers, however.

In his study of mother tongue retentiveness in ethnic parishes in the USA, Fishman (1966:127) indicates that there is a preference for the utilization and preservation of the non-English languages (minority languages), as well as ethnic traditions in church-related issues and activities.

There are two major reasons for language maintenance in parishes:

- (i) An attempt to retain a national or religious ideology.
- (ii) The need to accommodate older members, or initial immigrants.

The literature on language maintenance continually emphasizes the importance of recent immigration (and therefore ethnicity) for language maintenance (for example: Demos 1988:61 and Minaya-Rowe 1986:471). Accordingly, Fishman (1966:134) also remarks that ethnicity, as opposed to religion, is more important as a reinforcer of language maintenance.

Fishman (1966:135) also notes that language maintenance in ceremonies and sermons is more common in larger (as opposed to smaller) cities. Language

maintenance is also more prevalent where there are similarly-minded and like-tongued people. Language maintenance is therefore related to ethnic-denomination concentration, as opposed to urban-rural domains. A parish could be said to be heterogeneous due to the influx of other members and, secondly, intermarriage. Homogeneity may facilitate, but does not necessarily guarantee, language maintenance.

The concept of mother tongue use in parishes tends to be more in theory, than in practice. In his examination of the clergy in the USA, Fishman (1966:138) proposes that they are not really activists of language maintenance. He indicates that they are guided by religious rather than by ethnic considerations. Domains such as the hierarchy of the church or attempts to draw more members (as in the case of the Greeks) could result in Anglicization. The problems of Anglicization, however, may continue or arise after the second generation. There are also very few foreign born pastors (an estimated one third), and in many instances they are replaced by American-born or other ethnic pastors.

From his study of various parishes in the USA, Fishman (1966:151) indicates that parishes which maintain the mother tongue fairly well, are generally the larger congregations (and usually supported by parochial schools), which are also older and well organized. This is in contrast to churches or parishes which do not retain the mother tongue very well, or to a large extent. Fishman (1966:151) further indicates that a concentration of a religious group over time, together with certain other domains such as occupational stability, will also contribute to " ... religio-ethnic homogeneity as conditions of linguistic retentiveness."

A number of sociolinguistic studies have been made of the role played by religion in the maintenance of minority languages in immigrant communities. Three significant studies are presented below.

Examples of studies

(a) *Twelve Minnesota Counties (USA)*

The areas with a higher percentage of church-going population were found to be more retentive of the minority language(s) (Fishman 1966:151ff). ('Retentive' is used in the sense of "to continue to use or practice" (Kellerman 1972:819)). Rurality of an area does not, however, necessarily imply greater linguistic retentiveness:

ethnic and denominational homogeneity are more important for linguistic retentiveness.

Fishman (1966:152) also notes that Catholics are more conducive to Anglicization. Not forming part of a national church, they are not as motivated to maintain the ethnic mother tongue.

(b) Portuguese and Greeks in Cape Town

Steinberg (1978:12), in his study of Portuguese and Greeks, points out that the religious domain is important in a study of the integration process of minority groups into the new host society in which retention of ethnic characteristics leads to a smoother process of assimilation or immersion. Newcomers are usually expected to give up their way of life, with the possible exception of their religion. Hence, religion is an important component in identity maintenance. Religion can therefore be seen as a stabilizing influence. It also protects the identity of the newcomer. Minorities are thus sometimes known as *religious subcommunities*.

In Steinberg's (1978:15) study, two important hypotheses were postulated: (1) Religious practices are retained in the process of integration into the host society, and (2) intensity of religious observance varies according to socio-cultural origins of the various immigrant groups.

The following important findings emerged from the study:

- In both groups (namely the Portuguese and the Greeks), attendances of church services decreased in South Africa, in contrast to the country of origin. There is a general trend: from weekly attendances in the country of origin, to the attendance of special functions or occasions (e.g. weddings) in the host society.
- Whereas a majority of Greeks confirmed that church attendance in South Africa assisted with ethnic consciousness or "... keeping the ways of the old country" (Steinberg 1978:17), the majority of Portuguese did not feel this way at all.
- The same pattern is detected with regard to religious practices and ceremonies at home: whereas the Greeks indicated a retention of these in

the host society, the Portuguese indicated a decrease in these practices and ceremonies at home.

- Steinberg (1978:18) also postulated that there would be a regular church attendance among immigrants who are not yet settled and, secondly, a minimum church attendance among those who are settled. There was, however, no correlation between these two domains (church attendance, and the degree to which people were settled in the new host society).
- Both Greeks and Portuguese indicated a general decrease in church attendance in South Africa, as opposed to the land of origin.
- The respondents were also asked to indicate their feelings toward their children marrying out of their religious faith. 46% of the Greeks were totally opposed to this idea, the remaining 54% of the Greeks varied in their response from being slightly opposed to the idea, to being not at all opposed to the idea. 48% of the Portuguese were not at all opposed to this idea. The remaining 52% of the Portuguese varied in their response from being totally opposed to the idea, to being only slightly opposed to the idea.

With regard to the two hypotheses postulated; the first was confirmed, namely, the retention of religious practices in a new, host society, more so by the Greeks than the Portuguese. The second hypothesis, namely, the varying intensity of religious observance among different immigrant groups, is also validated by the study.

The religious domain is nevertheless confirmed by the study as an important "... variable in the process of integration of immigrants into a new society" (Steinberg 1978:20).

(c) *The Greek Orthodox Church (USA)*

The central idea, or theme, emerging from this study, is that the church has "resisted assimilation and emphasized preservation of the Greek identity" (Saloutos 1973:395). However, this is very difficult with such a heterogeneous population, as found, for example, in the USA.

The Greek church in the USA has experienced difficult transitional stages: Firstly, "... an uncompromising commitment to the preservation of the Greek national identity" (Saloutos 1973:395). Secondly, the fact that children born in the USA are

Greek-Americans; and thirdly, difficulty in acknowledging both the fact that the church had become indigenous, and that the identity to be preserved is American rather than Greek (i.e. that Greek-Americans wanted to be seen as Americans rather than as Greeks or Greek-Americans).

Saloutos emphasizes the role of the Greek priest in assisting to retain the national identity. Being foreign born and educated in the mother country (old world), he therefore spoke only Greek and no English, and was also in touch and up to date with the customs and traditions of the parishioners.

Economic crises can also have a detrimental effect on the survival of the church. The Great Depression caused many Greek churches in small areas to close down, as people moved to new areas of employment and the few remaining members were unable to support a church and a priest.

A large number of immigrants, especially after 1968, caused major problems for the Church. The new arrivals spoke only Greek; members who had been in the USA for longer wanted an increased use of English in church services and a Church more in line with the American society. The Church therefore had to place greater emphasis on its religious, as opposed to ethnic, role. Finally, permission was granted in 1970 for the use of English in the liturgy as needed, due to fear that membership would decrease within a generation. Inter-marriage placed an added strain, leading to the Church taking an official stand in 1961 (Saloutos 1973:403):

The wish of our Church is that Greek Orthodox Christians be joined in wedlock only with Greek Orthodox.

Hence, the abovementioned studies indicate certain important issues with regard to the role played by religion within an immigrant community: ethnic and denominational homogeneity are important factors for language maintenance. Due to the fact that religion is an important factor in group identity, it therefore also plays an important role in the integration of a minority or immigrant group, into the new host society. Despite a general retention of religion and religious practices by immigrant communities in a new host society, a simultaneous decrease in church-attendance in the new host society seems to be the rule rather than the exception.

To conclude, one should also note that religion can also be regarded or classified as an ambiguous domain since it can also be a domain in language shift (Simpson 1980:236). Glazer (in Fishman 1966:364) indicates that the Roman Catholic Church

(fundamentally) remained indifferent to the mother tongue: church services were not conducted in the mother tongue in the USA. Hence, parishes with their own mother tongue arose and supported the maintenance of the mother tongue. 'Ethnic' churches played an important role in language maintenance and strengthened language loyalty. Religion is therefore important at a national level, i.e. linked to and identified with a single nation (e.g. Greek Orthodox Church, Jamieson 1980:108). Prabhakaran (1992:70), in his study of Telugu in South Africa, also contributes to the maintenance of the Telugu language in South Africa to two prominent domains: religion and culture.

2.2.3 Ethnicity and Nationalism

Fishman (1966:62) defines ethnicity as follows:

Ethnicity designates a constellation of **primatical** awareness, sentiments, and attachments by means of which man has traditionally recognized the **discriminenda** that relate him to some other man while distinguishing him from other.

Ethnicity therefore refers to certain features of society, some of which are shared by all nations, others which are unique to each nation (Clyne 1988:72). He indicates that part of this sense of belonging to a group includes a shared language:

... the acquisition of history and origins of the group into which you are born, a sense of 'belongingness', including nationality, language, religion.

Hence, language is one of the central domains which unites people as a group, and distinguishes one group from another. Fishman (1966:162) also indicates that language behaviour is embedded in ethnicity rather than ideology. Ideology, mass culture and religion, he suggests, contribute to language maintenance.

Fishman (1966:399), however, has indicated that ethnicity and cultural maintenance are more stable than language maintenance. Bilingualism, for example, occurs before people become de-ethnicized or bi-cultural. A continued interest in the culture seems to prompt interest, nostalgia and respect for the mother tongue.

Young (1988:336) introduces the concepts of inter- and intra-ethnic group communication, where different languages or dialects are used in different situations or contexts, and for different reasons: the former necessitating language shift; the latter facilitating language maintenance. In his study of language maintenance and shift in Taiwan, Young (1988:336) indicates a shift from the various mother tongues to Mandarin (the national language), in inter-ethnic group communication (e.g. in the

work domain). The dialects (e.g. Hakka), are used almost solely in intra-ethnic communication.

In her study of language maintenance and language shift of Catalan and Occitan, Paulston (1987:34-42) discusses the notion of ethnicity. Firstly she distinguishes between four linguistic types of social mobilization, each of which are defined below:

- (a) Ethnicity, i.e. features which are common to a group of people, or a nation, for example, a common history, culture, beliefs and language:

... roots and shared biological past and the common ancestors ... cultural value, and beliefs (op. cit. p. 34).

- (b) Ethnic movements. Organized, sometimes militant movements, which can be in direct conflict with the dominant group or host society, for obtaining social and economic advantages and/or privileges:

... a conscious strategy usually in competition for scarce resources ... ethnicity turned militant ... will be concerned with boundary maintenance ... a conscious, cognitive ethnicity in a power struggle with the dominant group for social and economic advantage (op. cit. p. 38).

- (c) Ethnic Nationalism. This emerges when a separate group arises from the ethnic group:

In ethnic nationalism, language is a prime symbol of the nation (op. cit. p. 41).

An example of language playing an important role in ethnic identity is provided by Louw-Potgieter and Giles (1987), who indicate that a large majority of Afrikaners (except those of the extreme right-wing) regard language as the most important aspect of Afrikaner group membership.

- (d) Geographic Nationalism. A movement, restricted to a certain area or region, and is primarily political in nature. The organization or movement is heterogeneous and not necessarily homogeneous, it is

... territorially based ... and features a political society, constituting a notion of fellow citizens regardless of ethnic descent (op. cit. p. 42).

Paulston (1987:43) points out that it is important to determine if the languages are related to nationality or ethnicity, as this will lead either to language maintenance or language shift. Ethnicity stresses a shared biological past and common ancestors (Paulston 1987:34), whereas Nationalism embraces membership of a political

community, a nation, an independent statehood (Paulston 1987:40). People's links or bonds with Nationalism tend to be stronger than with Ethnicity. It can therefore be said that if a language is linked to Ethnicity, it has a greater chance of being subject to shift, whereas Nationalism will play a greater role in the maintenance of the language. Ethnicity leads to language shift. Nationalism fosters language maintenance.

Smolicz (1987:17) distinguishes over-arching values from ethnic core values. In contrast to values shared by all people in a country, Smolicz (1985:17) and Clyne (1988:70) indicate that certain values or features are characteristic of, or shared by each nation (or group of people) independently, for example, family structure, language and religion (Smolicz 1985:17). These values are known as core values or ethnic core values. For some people, language is an *ethnic core value* (e.g. the Greek language is linked to religion: it is the sole language used in the Greek Orthodox Church). If one rejects these values, then there is also the risk of exclusion from the group. In his study of Greek-Australians, Smolicz (1987:17) identifies ethnic core values and indicates the importance of the maintenance of these values if *authentic Greek* ethnicity is to be preserved. He identifies family life, language and religion as important. The stress on religion for ethnicity is further highlighted by Tamis (1990:495) in his study of Greek-Australians when he indicates that due to the link between religion and language (i.e. language being used for religion or religious denomination) religion can also either distinguish people from each other, or necessitate the assimilation of people of various backgrounds:

... religion, being a very private domain, is closely linked with the ethnic language of the individual ... religion acts as a powerful carrier of ethnicity or as a welding pot, where the ethnic group membership is subordinated.

A further important concept used in the literature is *authentic ethnicity*. Fishman (in Smolicz 1987:27) first employed the term 'authentic' in conjunction with ethnicity, to distinguish between:

- (a) ethnic groups preserving their language and/or core values;
- (b) ethnic groups which only retain certain cultural aspects or remnants, such as food, folklore and artifacts. The fact that only certain aspects of a culture are retained, can be attributed to the process of assimilation.

In his examination of Greek-Australians, Smolicz (1985:27) employs the notion of 'authentic' ethnicity (i.e. aspects or features of a nation's culture, which are central,

valid or genuine in the culture, and also important for the continuation of the people's ethnicity). He indicates that the core values play an important role in the preservation and continuation of "...'authentic' Greek ethnicity in Australia" (Smolicz 1985:27). It is very difficult to revive authentic ethnicity, and Smolicz (1985:27) also makes an important point in this study: "It is extremely difficult to revitalize a language once it has been lost."

The literature (cf. Aziz 1988:166, Rohra 1986:46-47) also identifies a strong relationship between language and culture. Prabhakaran (1992:171) discusses the situation with regard to young Andhras in South Africa. The group fear that the loss of the group's culture will result in the loss of the group identity in South Africa. The group realizes the link between language and culture, and are therefore reviving and employing the mother tongue in an attempt to preserve the culture.

Aziz (1988:134) points out that language is not only a part of one's cultural heritage but also expresses that cultural heritage. Rohra (1986:46-47) elaborates on the role played by culture. Adherence to culture can lead to adherence to, or lasting ties with the mother tongue. The mother tongue is a marker of group affiliation. The mother tongue is also the carrier of culture and assists with the transfer of cultural traditions. The vital importance of the mother tongue is therefore clearly evident in the maintenance of social and cultural identity in a multicultural society, as well as in the sphere of cultural growth.

The role of *mass-culture* should also be considered. Fishman (1966:408) indicates that ethnicity is not necessarily a strong domain for language maintenance. Religion, in contrast, is not always in favour of supporting language maintenance. Hence, people look to the needs, values and institutions of American (the host) society. Bilingualism, therefore, must be proven and shown to be beneficial and useful and, as such, accorded a place in mass culture.

One of the most important aspects of ethnicity in most minority communities is that of Group Identity. Ethnic or group identity can be defined as follows (Nahirny and Fishman 1965:314):

a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby, to relate himself to others.

Once again, the relation between mother tongue and group identity is very strong, with language being a pertinent feature of group identity, and vice versa. By using

the mother tongue, groups try to maintain their individuality and ethnic survival (Srivastava 1989:9, 19; Neville 1987:156; Ramat 1979:145). Jamieson (1980:108) indicates that a lack of national identity could lead to the language loss of a group.

An important point is highlighted by Christopherson (1986:519): the mother tongue is part of the innermost self as a member of a nation. Hence, there is a sense of identity bound up with the mother tongue:

But this emotional tie that links a language with the ancestry of its speakers and possibly with a whole nation, thus bringing in issues of nationhood and state and the so-called 'race' with which the people are identified...

However, Christopherson also indicates that this emotional tie is not a universal feature.

Grimes (1985:390-391) also indicates that identity and mother tongue are closely bound together. The mother tongue is not only important for identity, but also for distinctiveness. Membership of a language group is therefore important. An example is provided by Demos' (1988:61) study of American-Greeks where proficiency in Greek (the mother tongue) is associated with ethnic identity. In a study of Italian immigrants in Australia, Clyne (1988:71) indicates that the Italians need a language not only to express their 'cultural core value' and family cohesion, but that the language is further linked with the ethnic identity. It is interesting to note that Clyne (1988:71) points out that identification with a language, and not use of a language, has been revived in the USA.

The same situation is detected by Holmes *et al.* (1993:11) in their study of various communities in New Zealand: In the Tongan community, for example, Tongan is regarded as " ... an important component of Tongan identity ... vital for the preservation of our culture."

Bennett's (1992:55) study of the Dutch in Australia also highlights the importance of group identity among many second generation immigrants, who tend to demonstrate a pride and preference for their ethnic background:

here is now a feeling among many second generation immigrants ... to show pride in one's non-Anglo-Celtic ethnic background ... and many seem to feel that their linguistic and cultural backgrounds is preferable to a monolingual, monocultural Anglo-Celtic background.

In Saloutos' (1978:402) study of the Greeks in the USA he indicates certain domains which assisted in maintaining the identity of Greek Americans, e.g. visits by Greeks to Greece, Greek theatre, dancing and singing groups, and Greek films.

Hidalgo (1986:207), in her study of a group of Mexicans on the USA border, highlights the most central aspect of group identity. She mentions the fact that certain domains mentioned above (e.g. singing, dancing, etc.), contribute to the maintenance of group identity. However, nationality (Mexican identity), was more important than language (Spanish):

... when claiming attitudinal loyalty to Mexican Spanish, the simple assertion 'I'm Mexican' was more important than SES, education, bilingualism, sex, age, or local identity. (Hidalgo 1986:207.)

Therefore although there is a close link between ethnicity and language, ethnicity alone is not necessarily a sufficiently strong factor to maintain a language.

2.2.4 Media

A prominent domain in language maintenance is the media: radio, television and the press (Barnes 1990:145; Jamieson 1980:108). Lopez (1978:272) indicates that the older members of society prefer radio and television programmes in the mother tongue. In addition, publications also remind people of their heroic past and therefore foster pride in their nationality (Fishman and Nahirny 1965:320). The importance of the media (cinema, literature, newspapers, videos) is also highlighted by Sridhar (1988:79-80). A review of the literature on two major subdomains of the media (namely, publications and broadcasting) follows.

(a) Publications

In his survey Fishman (1966:51) identifies the following important trends: monthly publications are the most popular, in contrast to daily and weekly editions. This was especially the case with languages experiencing reinforcement after World War II, an era of mass immigration.

The circulation of non-English publications tends to be greater than the number of mother tongue speakers, owing to factors such as: automatic distribution, organization membership, and multiple subscriptions.

Mixed publications are also important, in that they bridge the linguistic or cultural gaps, the generational gaps between immigrants, their children or grandchildren. Although these publications are not a complete solution to the intergenerational problems, they do play a substantial role in maintaining traditions.

In certain instances there may be English language publications for ethnic groups. This could obviously be seen as self-defeating as it assimilates readers - hence there is no real need for an ethnic press. A possible way, therefore, of assisting with language maintenance would be religious and educational publications. These could also reinforce language and ethnic identity.

An important trend is pointed out in Fishman's (1966:71) survey in the USA: non-English publications tend to decrease, with an increase in bilingual and English monolingual publications. Fishman (1966:71) indicates that from 1930 to 1960 the circulation of the ethnic press remained stable; the linguistic distribution (or make-up), however, changed dramatically, as is evident from the following circulation statistics:

	1930	1960
Non-English publications	82%	37%
Mixed publications	7%	10%
English publications	12%	54%

Fishman (1966:71) therefore concludes that there is " ... a directional sequence from non-English to mixed to English-only publications."

The main purposes of non-English publications (in contrast to bilingual and English publications) are ethnic, and not essentially communicative. Language maintenance in these non-English publications is encouraged via content and not through activities. The mixed and English publications also, in some instances, demonstrate language maintenance interests (Fishman 1966:71).

(b) Foreign Language Broadcasting (FLB)

The magnitude and recency of immigration is important for foreign language broadcasting. In his discussion of foreign language broadcasting in the USA Fishman (1966:75) identifies the following important domains:

- (i) The value of radio is its portability, i.e. home, car and public venues;
- (ii) It is also an affordable means of communication.
- (iii) The press is more important in the educated and economically mobile sector, while broadcasting has a greater impact on the low mobility group.
- (iv) There is also a tendency for an increase in television viewing, and a decrease in radio listening.

A distinction to be borne in mind is to what extent FLB is perceived of as maintaining language and culture, and to what extent it is perceived of as a means toward communication or de-ethnicization goals. Fishman (1966:87) notes that among the five most prominent languages in the USA (i.e. Spanish, Polish, Italian, German, French), language and cultural maintenance are primary goals. It is also important to take into consideration at which group or generations the broadcasting is aimed.

The primary and most successful goal of FLB is to maintain language and/or cultural ties, as opposed to Anglicization. This can also be seen in Aziz (1988:124) who indicates that the purpose of Radio Lotus (the SABC's station for the Indian Community) " ... is the cultural and linguistic revival and maintenance of the Indian people." The types of programmes presented vary from religious to educational and musical.

FLB does, however, also have to contend with certain problems:

- (i) Obtaining sufficient sponsorship.
- (ii) The availability of personnel, proficient in the language.
- (iii) Obtaining scheduling or permission to broadcast (i.e. air time). (The latter problem of scheduling is discussed by Clyne (1988:78) in his study of the German-Australian speech community. A committee was established to represent the community in their "... struggle for public radio time.")

- (iv) Loss of audience, due to interest differences between the generations. Significantly, however, Spanish programmes (in the USA) seem to be the least affected (by the abovementioned problems) due to the flow of immigrants and continuous ("throughout the day") broadcasts.

Another potential problem area could be language and/or cultural maintenance versus the younger generation, as these two are often not compatible. Fishman (1966:91) concludes that FLB, the non-English press, ethnic organizations and mother tongue schools have not been very successful. FLB, therefore, should not emphasize "high traditions", in order to protect its own future. It is important that FLB, the press, organizations and schools are not seen, or regarded, as a relic of an ethnicity which existed "long ago and far away" (or in some other time and place). It should still be regarded as something vibrant and contemporary.

Television is another aspect of the media which has considerable potential for maintenance. Pütz (1991:484) quotes the aims of multilingual television, elucidated by the Ethnic Television Review Panel (ETRP) in Australia:

- (i) To assist residents from all ethnic groups to maintain their languages and develop their cultures, to pass them on to their descendants and to contribute to a greater sense of self-esteem and confidence.
- (ii) To promote tolerance and mutual understanding among the members of society and an appreciation of the diverse, multicultural nature of such a society, its history and traditions.
- (iii) To provide information and advice on the rights and obligations of residence and on other matters which will assist non-English speaking immigrants to settle.
- (iv) To encourage the learning of English.

Pütz (1991:484) also states that German television in Australia facilitates interest in contemporary German culture and language, resulting in an increase in the use of the mother tongue, with specific reference to the younger generation. It would therefore appear that television is more successful in the field of language and culture maintenance than FLB.

Government support (for the media) could also assist in or further language and culture maintenance. An example of government support for the media is highlighted in Cartwright's (1987:195) study of the Anglophone minority in Quebec, where book publishing, theatrical and television production and the development of

Radio Quebec have all received government support. Regional newspapers and magazines also received financial backing.

2.2.5 Family

A typical characteristic of minority communication, noted by Cartwright (1987:193) and Gräbe (1992:156), is the use of one language in, and another outside, the home. For this reason the home or family domain plays a vital role in the maintenance of the mother tongue.

The family can play a role in helping to preserve language and religion. In his study of Greek in Australia, Tamis (1990:490) observes that the church and home (parents) were asked to assist in establishing Greek as a communicative alternative. The view that parents are an important factor in mother tongue maintenance, is also supported by Okamura-Bichard (1985:63) and Jamieson (1980:103), who indicate that if parents do not teach their children the mother tongue, the chances of transmission are greatly decreased.

Parents can assist in maintaining the mother tongue by speaking it at home and teaching children to read and write it (Sridhar 1988:84). The important role which could be played by the mother should be highlighted. Barnes (1990:145) indicates that due to the close bond between mother and child, " ... many mothers feel it only 'natural' to speak their mother tongue to their children even if it is not used in the community around them." In contrast, Jamieson (1980:106), in her study of various communities in New Zealand, reports that even if mothers report the same proficiency in their mother tongue as in English, they do not always feel " ... secure to use their mother tongue with their children." Jamieson (1989:107) correctly concludes that the "first language experience in the mother tongue", although necessary for the transmission of the mother tongue, does not guarantee this transmission.

Grandparents could play an even more important role in language maintenance as they very often speak only the mother tongue and not the language(s) of the host society. Three examples in the literature illustrate this point:

- (i) In her study of Welsh, Lewis (1975:120) found that parents discouraged the use of Welsh by their children, except to their grandparents.

- (ii) In her study of American Hungarian Communities Falk-Bánó (1988:169) found that parents " ... send their children to Hungary to learn Hungarian from their grandparents."
- (iii) Holmes *et al.* (1993:9) in their study of various communities in New Zealand, also indicate that grandparents and older parents in the Greek community, are very often, only monolingual. Younger people often have to translate for these older people, especially in situations where the older people are, for example, shop owners.

Lieberson and Curry (1971:136) have also pointed out an important trend in the family domain:

When there are a large number of immigrants who are unable to speak English in a group, bilingual immigrants are less likely to raise their children in English; in contrast to bilingual parents within an immigrant group, where there is a high level of bilingualism. Hence, they come to the following important conclusions:

- (i) A relationship exists between the parents' level of, or proficiency, in a language (e.g. English, the language of the host society), and their children's performance and achievement at school, especially if the language of the host society is the only available medium of instruction at school. (The researchers found that children whose fathers did not speak English, were less competent in the language at school, in comparison to children whose fathers did speak English.)
- (ii) In addition, what language parents choose to speak to their children affects, to a large extent, language maintenance or language shift (cf. Ramat 1979:146).

Hence, a contradictory or catch-22 situation can exist: if parents employ the mother tongue in their communication with their children, it will facilitate language maintenance. On the other hand, there is the possibility that children may then encounter linguistic difficulty upon entering school, where the language of the host society may be the medium of instruction. Conversely: if parents speak the language of the host society (e.g. English) to their children, the children's achievement and performance at school is advantaged. This approach, however, will facilitate language shift.

2.2.6 Socio-cultural organizations

The importance of social clubs as a domain in the maintenance of the mother tongue also emerges from a survey of the literature on the topic. Clyne (1988:74) and Pütz (1991:487) in their studies of German-Australian communities both investigated this domain and concluded that: not only do social clubs increase language maintenance, but they are "one of the most important domains promoting language maintenance in ethnic communities" (Pütz 1991:487). Fishman (1972a:49) even goes so far as to suggest that cultural organizations are more important than the press or broadcasting.

Fishman and Nahirny (1965:315) are of the opinion that in the USA human sentiment is largely responsible for the establishment of many immigrant organizations, and that their functions (in the USA) are " ... to foster friendly ties among former neighbours and, thereby, to keep alive the local customs and precious personal memories of their ancestral homes."

Fishman and Nahirny (1966:156) provide a comprehensive discussion of the cultural organizations in the USA. There are certain important facts which emerge.

Two important preliminary features which should characterize a social or cultural organization is that it should:

- (i) be geographically accessible to as many community members as possible;
- (ii) assist in supporting or encouraging language maintenance. This could be done by the continued use of the mother tongue (e.g. Jamieson 1980:102; Homes 1993:8, 9, 10), at various community events. Should the social or cultural organizations adopt and implement a set language policy, this would facilitate language maintenance.

In their study, Fishman and Nahirny (1966:162) make the following important observations concerning cultural organizations:

- (i) language maintenance is more likely to be promoted by an organization of recent immigrants;
- (ii) ideological-cultural factors can be supportive of language maintenance; and

- (iii) language maintenance does not necessarily lead to the continued existence of an organization.

Furthermore, Fishman (1966:163-164) indicates that with regard to membership characteristics of organizations, one of the most important aspects is membership size. It is anticipated that ethnic organizations attending to the needs or interests of recent arrivals would have a stronger interest in language maintenance. Ethnic organizations should maintain a balance between formal and informal gatherings. It is predictable that core members and leaders will use the mother tongue, in contrast to the general membership and general public. The nativity of the chief officers would, therefore, be an important determinant in whether the language in question is maintained.

An important aspect of cultural organizations, under review, is therefore the ethnic-cultural leaders (Fishman 1966:174ff). Such pivotal persons should possess certain characteristics in order to succeed in their task. Firstly, leaders need to employ the mother tongue in the immediate domain of their own personal life and dealings (e.g. Jamieson 1980:102). Many native born leaders, however, would tend toward the use of English, and the maintenance of ties with people of the same ethnic origin, whereas, in many instances foreign born leaders tend to maintain ties with the foreign born leaders of other ethnic groups also (Fishman 1966:176). Secondly, because literature, art and music are central to any given culture, the leaders need to show an interest in and promotion of these areas of culture. Further, with regards to employment, leaders should, or could, be involved in the social or cultural organization in a full-time capacity or should be employed in a position, similar to the status and position held in the affairs of the ethnic community, e.g. the treasurer of an ethnic organization, who is also, by profession, an accountant. Occupational status could, therefore, also affect or determine organizational affiliation as noted by Fishman (1966:175), with regard to Jewish cultural leaders.

A distinction can also be drawn between native born and foreign born leaders: native born leaders may be integrated into the dominant society occupationally, yet are often more involved and active in the ethnic organizations. Hence, they are culturally distanced from the dominant society. They also tend to demonstrate a keen interest and active participation in organizational ethnic life. An important characteristic of foreign born leaders is that their mother tongue predominates, in nearly all spheres of life. One could therefore distinguish between organizational and cultural leaders, respectively. Leaders could be involved in organizational ethnic life, yet be

linguistically and otherwise de-ethnicized. Ethnic leaders, nevertheless, tend to retain and show more involvement in ethnicity, than in American (associated or host society) life. Professionals in a leadership role need also assist in maintaining a balance between the foreign language and the native language(s).

Age is also an important factor: as children grow older, so their interest(s) in ethnic organizations decrease. The following trends could therefore be expected:

- (i) Ties with ethnic organizations decrease as age increases.
- (ii) Ethnic organizations can be seen to be temporary and intransmittable in nature.
- (iii) Ethnic organizations also tend to decrease with each generation, with (virtually) no return to ethnic life in the third generation.

A possible point of contention is the juxtaposition of attitudes and actions: language maintenance is viewed and defined in various ways by different people. Foreign born leaders could support the maintenance of the mother tongue on different grounds from native born leaders. For foreign born leaders the mother tongue may have more value and significance, e.g. representing a certain experience, as well as cultural heritage of the group. Native born leaders may show more interest in language maintenance on a non-ethnic base. Language maintenance and ethnicity tend to fade or become less important with time, as members, leaders and organizations view them differently (or due to successive re-interpretations). A shift in focus can therefore occur from organizational concern to organizational continuance and non-ethnic affairs.

2.2.7 Residential Area

An important relationship exists between language and environment: a knowledge of this relationship can help with understanding the maintenance and development of multilingualism. When considering the influence residential areas have on language usage and/or language maintenance, the literature identifies and examines various aspects of this particular domain. The following prominent aspects in connection with the domain of residential area can be distinguished:

- (a) residential segregation (residential isolation)

- (b) language islands
- (c) ghettoization
- (d) length of residence
- (e) childhood residence
- (f) urban and rural areas.

(a), (b) and (c) are closely inter-related aspects, i.e. language islands and ghettoization are usually the product of residential segregation.

(a) Residential segregation

Spatial isolation is a very strong reinforcer of language maintenance or, as it is termed by Rigsby (1987:369), "a self-reproducing speech community." This view is also supported by Lieberman *et al.* (in Lopez 1978:268), who indicate that spatial isolation and official support are the two most prominent factors responsible for the maintenance of multilingualism in nations. It can also be noted, however, that certain groups could choose to maintain residential segregation for a particular reason: prestige, occupational identification or enforced separation (Sridhar 1988:85).

It is maintained that spatial isolation leads to language maintenance (cf. Lopez 1978:268; Li 1982:117ff). Li (1982:118-119) indicates that residing in an ethnically segregated area (e.g. Chinatown), assists in resisting language shift. On the other hand, Chinese-Americans (especially school children), residing outside Chinatown, will usually adopt English as their mother tongue; the likelihood of such language shift among residents of Chinatown, is far less:

... the partial effect of ethnic residential segregation becomes more pronounced as the generation of immigrant increases ... the combined effects of residence and SES are much higher in the third generation than in the second generation.

Immigrants residing in an ethnically segregated area (or homogeneous area or community), will usually maintain their mother tongue, to a large extent, and for a long period of time. In contrast, however, residence in a heterogeneous area or community, as well as the length of residence in such an area or community (i.e. away from the mother country, or on ethnically segregated area in a host society) will necessitate a shift from the mother tongue, to the language of the host society.

Lieberson and Curry (1971:133), in their study of language shift in the United States, indicate that residence can also influence the learning of the dominant or host language, English. They point out an important factor in this regard, i.e. the number of immigrants within a group can influence the acquisition of English. This implies that in a homogeneous group of immigrants the acquisition of English will be low. Conversely, in a heterogeneous group of immigrants, the " ... resistance to the acquisition of English was reduced" (Lieberson and Curry 1971:130), due to economic and social pressures, as well as communication with other immigrant groups.

(b) Language islands

When considering the notion of residential segregation, an important related concept is that of *language islands*. Glazer (in Fishman 1966:365) indicates that in a language island the minority language is maintained longer. A language island can be defined as: " ... a circumscribed territory where 'the minority tongue is the principal tongue used in daily conversation by at least four-fifths of the inhabitants'" (Kloss in Jamieson 1980:102). That a language island would, therefore, have a very positive effect on language maintenance, is also indicated by Kloss (in Jamieson 1980:102). Paulston (1987:46) indicates that language maintenance is easier for larger groups of people, as it can facilitate the language establishing an elitist status.

These language islands can also be known as *core areas* (Fishman 1966:149), which are "... characterized by both early concentrated settlement and continued immigration." In discussing this concept, Fishman (1966:149) uses the example of Norwegian (in the USA). He indicates that the language is maintained, and has survived the longest in areas where there is a *solid neighbourhood core* (i.e. areas where there are both foreign born parents, as well as recent and continued immigration). This is in contrast to dispersed immigration, which results in Anglicization at a faster rate.

On the other hand, Cartwright (1987:190) suggests that living in a bilingual community or area can lead to ethnic rejuvenation (because of various cultural organizations within these areas), whereas in a language island this is denied due to isolation and distance from a central area. Cultural rejuvenation would therefore be largely dependant on in-migration and local organizations. This spatial experience can also mean that one language is maintained at the expense of another, e.g. one language can be spoken in the home, and another outside the house.

(c) *Ghettoization*

In addition to the abovementioned concepts, Fishman (1972a:20) discusses the concept of *ghettoization* (cf. also Aziz 1988:15; Kloss 1971:254). A ghetto is generally defined as: "A city area populated largely by people of a minority group, usually due to financial or social restrictions imposed by the majority group" (Kellerman 1972:409). In many instances, a ghetto is therefore usually synonymous with a segregated, poverty-stricken and slum area. However, a ghetto can also merely refer to an area (pre-determined), allocated to and/or for a specific (minority) group of people. The area would, therefore, not necessarily be characterized by negative aspects, as mentioned above.

Fishman (1972a:20,21) indicates that, possibly, two different types of ghettos can be distinguished: a ghetto which fosters ethnicity of the minority group, and rejects change. Secondly, a ghetto which rejects the ethnicity of the minority group, and this seems to be the type which is increasingly more predominant.

Fishman (1972a:21) indicates that the co-existence of these two types of ghettos would seem to imply that language maintenance is a difficult task. Furthermore, language maintenance does not require, or benefit from, either the ghettoization or forced ghettoization of linguistic groups (Fishman 1972a:39), or merely from (the preservation of) certain aspects of culture or ethnicity, e.g. folksongs and dances. Of greater importance is public recognition of a language's value, legitimacy and public support (Fishman and Stanford 1990:39). In addition, not all modes of ethnicity contribute to language maintenance. The diversity of linguistic and cultural existence should be directed toward a more creative force " ... rather than be left at worst as something shameful and to be denied, or at best something mysterious to be patronized" (Fishman 1972a:40), i.e. the expertise of professional and/or educated people within a minority group, should be utilized toward establishing and promoting pride in the group's language and culture, e.g. improvement and promotion of certain agents (press, media, organizations, etc.) as well as the image of the minority group within the host society.

(d) *Length of residence*

In contrast to the abovementioned factors, in his study of Japanese in the United States, Okamura-Bichard (1985:82-83) indicates that the length of residence can also lead to language shift: with time people come to prefer English to the mother tongue

(Japanese). With the acquisition of the second language (English), there is a decrease in the mother tongue (Japanese). In other words, there is a regression in the mother tongue in relation to the period of time spent outside Japan. The length of residence is also an important predictor in the skilled level of the Second language. A critical level of mother tongue skill is necessary to maintain the mother tongue after exposure to the second language.

Okamura-Bichard (1985:82) also points out that in the second language environment, (or within immigrant or minority groups) four groups of bilinguals can be distinguished:

- Group 1: High in mother tongue
 High in English
- Group 2: High in mother tongue
 Low in English
- Group 3: Low in mother tongue
 High in English
- Group 4: Low in mother tongue
 Low in English

The latter group (Group 4) are in a state of "unstable or confused bilingualism", i.e. they are headed towards dominance in the second language.

Li (1982:114), in his study of Chinese Americans, also indicates that the length of residence by immigrant groups in America, causes or leads to a loss of the mother tongue: "... the time is indeed a formidable domain. The longer an immigrant group has lived in America, the greater is the loss of linguistic heritage."

(e) Childhood residence

Thompson (1974:12-13) discusses childhood residence as an important domain for language maintenance or language shift. It can be assumed that one's basic linguistic abilities are established in early childhood (i.e. preschool: 0-7 years of age), and that the parents, family and neighbourhood peers, are important influences in the

establishment of basic linguistic abilities. Thompson (1974:13) therefore suggests that " ... where a person spent his childhood should be more important than where he currently lives." Consequently urban and rural domains (or urbanization) could therefore also have played a vital role in language loyalty. The age at which a person moves to the city is probably more important than how long he has lived there (Thompson 1977:13).

(f) Urban/Rural areas

It is generally argued that rurally isolated communities display a higher degree of language maintenance, in contrast to urban communities where people are in contact with other languages. Lopez (1978:272) also indicates language maintenance to be greater in rural or isolated areas, in contrast to areas where people congregate together. Accordingly Thompson (1974:10) indicates that urbanization leads to language shift.

In his study of a 1970 census (USA), Thompson (1974:14) identifies the following import trends, regarding the childhood residence of Mexicans: The predominant use of Spanish was evident among the first generation, who came from a rural background (or childhood) while the use of Spanish decreased in the second and third generations, as the number of people from a rural background (or childhood) decreased. A trend was therefore detected, in which there was a language shift (from Spanish to English) related to the shift from rural areas to urban areas.

In contrast, Fishman (1964:52) is of the opinion that the abovementioned view is an over-generalization, and he argues the opposite, namely that ethnicity and nationalism are urban phenomena, and that language maintenance efforts are greatest in the city.

2.2.8 Migration and overseas visits

Migration and overseas visits can be an important domain for facilitating language maintenance. The Portuguese in the USA, for example, are one of the ethnic groups who have a low rate of anglicization, and high rate of EMT retention (Veltman 1983:49). This aspect is attributed to recent immigration: Native born and American born members of the group are therefore provided with an opportunity to utilize, and consequently retain their EMT (Veltman 1983:67).

Continued contact with people speaking the mother tongue, leads to a higher incidence of retention of the original language. Demos (1988:61) and Minaya-Rowe (1986:471) indicate that an important domain in language maintenance is the constant number of immigrants into the country: the greater the number, the greater the degree of language maintenance; the smaller the number, the smaller the chance of language maintenance. Lieberson and Curry (1971:137) support this view that a decrease in the number of immigrants, leads to an increased shift towards English. Lopez (1978:269) also indicates that immigration at a steady pace leads to language maintenance, whereas voluntary migration leads to rapid bilingualism and therefore a shift from mother tongue usage (Paulston 1987:42).

The aspect of continued immigration is also referred to by Veltman (1983:14ff) in his study of language shift in the USA. Once again, international immigration was shown to be important for minority language groups, as new members of the group assist in maintaining the mother tongue. People who do not speak English well, retard or slow down the language shift process of the minority group. Members of the minority group will have to retain a certain degree of competence in the minority language, in order to communicate with the new members.

According to Demos (1988:64) visits to the mother country also help to retain the mother tongue and even renew the mother tongue. The study of various communities in New Zealand (Holmes *et al.* 1993:12) also highlights the fact that first generation Greeks regard the mother tongue as important for retaining contact with the mother country and many hope to return to the mother country in the future. Second generation respondents also regard the mother tongue as important for communicating with family and friends from Greece, or for when visiting Greece. It also happens that Greek girls visit Greece with the aim of securing a husband. This is also, therefore, a strong motivation for maintenance of the mother tongue.

The *time-of-arrival*, as discussed by Glazer (in Fishman 1966:361), is also an important factor. Glazer points out that at the time of arrival for the bulk of immigrants, in the first half of the nineteenth century, cultural and educational standards in the USA were not as high as in Europe. Therefore, the immigrants maintained European traditions and culture. (With time, however, the situation has changed. Therefore later arrivals are more likely to join in the USA mainstream schooling, because it presents a high standing of education.) It furthermore led to the development of separate social and cultural organizations as well as language maintenance institutions (e.g. schools, theatres, newspapers, settlements).

2.2.9 Gender

There seems to be a more positive maintenance of the mother tongue among women than among men: usually women of an immigrant community are the ones who stay at home, and thus have minimal contact with the *outside world*. They do not go to work, therefore there is no real shift in their language use (Demos 1986:65). As opposed to this situation, the men are usually the ones who must learn the second language, because of work requirements and pressures (Lieberson 1966:276-277). Males then either retain a higher level of the mother tongue language or accept the second language, depending on circumstances related to labour and employment (Lieberson 1966:276-277).

Another reason for females' maintenance of the mother tongue propounded by Pütz (1991:484) is that girls are usually more "submissive to parental control" in comparison to boys, and therefore do not resist their parents attempts to maintain the mother tongue.

2.2.10 Social structure

Social structure can have an influence on language maintenance (cf. Paulston 1987:32 and Glazer in Fishman 1966:362). Professionals, or those with a professional status, in an immigrant community have the potential to support or strengthen language maintenance by supporting institutions such as schools and the media. If these people choose to support the mother tongue, then they can play a vital role in maintenance. The relationship between these intellectuals and the less educated sector of the community is therefore of importance.

2.3 The value of maintaining a minority language

When considering the whole issue of language maintenance the question of whether it is worthwhile maintaining a minority (or decreasing) language, arises. Dorian (1987:63) has pointed out that although it is in many instances difficult to promote a language, there are nevertheless reasons why these promotion efforts should be undertaken. She indicates three main reasons:

- (i) A prominent reason for the failure or limited success of language maintenance efforts is primarily due to negative attitudes of the speakers (or potential speakers) of a language. This, she says is in itself a reason to

attempt language maintenance, because future speakers or generations may witness " ... a reversal of official attitude and a possible concomitant lessening of general hostility to the minority culture (even if the language were lost) in the community at large" (1987:64).

- (ii) Language maintenance efforts are also valuable as they also emphasize or highlight " ... traditional lifeways and some transmission of ethnic history" (1987:64). This information is of value, as a minority community may not always know about their past, heritage, customs, traditions, etc. Dorian (1987:64) indicates that this information will lead to self-awareness and self-confidence. This view is reflected in Prabhakaran's (1992:17) study of Telugu: in an attempt to retain their culture, the group is attempting to revive and maintain their EMT, because of the relationship between language and culture.
- (iii) Language maintenance efforts could also be economically beneficial, e.g. providing employment not only for teachers and translators of these languages, but also providing greater opportunities for business and international trade.

In addition to Dorian's observations, Tamis (1990:499) and Leal (in Vendeiro 1987) put forward the argument that when children learn their mother tongue, it leads to enhanced family relations or cohesion (especially between children and parents).

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the phenomenon of language maintenance was examined. Broadly defined, language maintenance is the attempt by a minority group living within a host society, to retain its mother tongue, from one generation to the next. This is not always a very easy task, as there are many factors within a host society, which can work against the efforts or attempts to maintain the mother tongue.

Ten domains which can facilitate or assist the maintenance process, were identified, viz. education; religion; ethnicity and nationalism; media; family; cultural organizations; residential area; migration and overseas visits; gender and social structure.

From the literature it is clear that education can play a vital role in language maintenance. The most effective models for maintaining a minority language appear

to be the option of providing bilingual education or attendance at ethnic schools and initial mother tongue education. Teacher characteristics and qualifications are of importance therefore, and by implication academic standards, in the various educational programmes for language maintenance.

The fact that religious services and activities can be conducted in the mother tongue of a minority group, contributes to the maintenance of the minority language. This is especially so, in cases or instances where there is a relation between religion, nationality and language, e.g. the Greek Orthodox Church (i.e. the church is linked to and identified with a single nation and language).

Ethnicity and nationalism not only distinguish and differentiate people from each other, but are also unite people together as a group. There tends to be a stronger maintenance of culture and tradition, than language. There is an undeniable link, however, between the mother tongue (or language) and the respective culture.

The media plays a prominent role within an immigrant group, not only with regard to language maintenance, but also in maintaining ties with the country of origin. Ethnic publications (e.g. newspapers) not only assist with language maintenance, but also with the maintenance of traditions. FLB is also an important aspect of the media due to it being both a portable as well as an affordable means of communication. Television also contributes toward reviving or renewing interest in the contemporary language (mother tongue) and culture, of the minority group.

A very important domain for language maintenance, is the family unit. The parents and the mother in particular play one of the most important roles in passing on the mother tongue to her children, however, this does not guarantee the maintenance of the mother tongue. Grandparents also play a very important sustaining role, especially as in many instances grandparents do not speak the language of the host country, but only the mother tongue.

Cultural and social organizations established within an immigrant community can also play an important role in assisting to maintain the mother tongue. In some instances, however, these organizations can have been established due to sentiment, and therefore, do not concern themselves with language issues primarily.

The debate with regard to the influence of residence on language maintenance centres around two main arguments or issues. Firstly, it is indicated that residential segregation (or language islands) facilitates the maintenance of the mother tongue,

due to these areas being characterized by homogeneity. Secondly, it is also argued that language maintenance will be greater in rural areas, in contrast to urban areas, which are very heterogeneous in character.

Continued contact with the mother country (e.g. corresponding with friends and/or family), as well as emigration from the mother country (influx of immigrants), both lead to a corresponding increase in language maintenance.

A more visible or tangible maintenance of the mother tongue can be detected amongst women than men: it is characteristic of many immigrant communities that the women stay at home, and only the men go out to work. The men would therefore, necessarily, have to learn the language of the host society, or *lingua franca*.

Lastly, there are indications that professionals, or the educated sector, within an immigrant community could play a very supportive role in assisting with language maintenance issues. Their knowledge, expertise and relation(s) with other members in the community could be of vital importance.

It can therefore be seen that there are a number of domains which, if exploited, and fully utilized, could greatly foster the maintenance of the mother tongue. In order to foster maintenance of a minority language, community leaders need to inform their communities of the great potential of these domains.

The degree to which these domains facilitate language maintenance in the Portuguese community of Johannesburg will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 3

Language Shift

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Definition of language shift

Language shift can be defined as: "... a shift from the use of one language to the use of another" (Srivistava 1989:10). More specifically, it is "... the change from the *habitual* use of one language to that of another" (Weinreich 1979:68, 106). Language shift is thus a shift from the mother tongue of speakers of a minority language, to the language of the dominant or host community. Language shift is a long process, influenced by a number of factors and generally occurring in multilingual situations.

Two types of shift can be distinguished:

- (i) *Partial shift*: a minority group uses the language of the host society in certain instances, while still employing the mother tongue in other instances.
- (ii) *Total shift*: the minority group uses the language of the host society in all contact situations, completely neglecting the mother tongue. (This process usually occurs over a number of generations.) The mother tongue may then completely die out within a specific minority group, but that does not imply the death of the language, as such. For example, Spanish may be used only minimally by Spanish-speaking immigrants in the USA. However, Spanish has not died out in Latin America or in Spain. Similarly, Portuguese may be gradually dying out within the South African Portuguese community; however, Portuguese has not died out in Portugal.

An important preliminary consideration is the distinction between related concepts, namely *language death* and *language change*. Language death refers to the total disappearance of a language which falls into disuse, and is replaced by another unrelated language. Language death is therefore the terminal phase of language shift. A primary reason for the death of a language, is that it no longer has a function, in terms of communication and identification, as indicated by Schlieben-Lange (in Ramat 1979:146):

... a language is abandoned when it no longer has a function to carry out, that is, when it is not used either in order to impart information and instructions ... or to reinforce group identification.

Language change on the other hand refers to linguistic changes (e.g. phonetic, semantic) which occur within a specific language over time. Hence, with language change, one language is not forfeited in favour of another language, as is the case with language shift (Richards *et al.* 1985:156-159). (Linguistic changes can also occur in a language which is dying out, i.e. it can be part of the process of a language which is dying out.)

3.1.2 Characteristics of language shift

Language shift is a universal phenomenon. As such, it is said to be geographically and historically widespread and associated (cf. Gal 1979:1). The numerous studies done in this field testify to language shift being a universal phenomenon, e.g.

- Language shift in the southern Alps (Denison 1977; Giacalone Ramat 1979)
- Hungarian minorities in Hungary (Gal 1979)
- Albanian dialects in Greece (Trudgill 1976)
- Language of immigrants in the USA (Veltman 1983).

Furthermore, language shift is also a continuous or on-going process. Gal (1979:1) indicates how language shift is continually taking place within our world: in Europe she detects an on-going shift taking place towards an increased use of the national languages of countries, e.g. the shift from Breton (spoken in villages) to French and the shift in Austria among Slovenian speakers to German (cf. Neville 1987:149).

Language shift, therefore, affects mainly minority groups as indicated by Mougeon *et al.* (1985:455):

The population undergoing shift is in the minority demographically.

This trend is particularly evident in the USA, for example, among immigrant and other minority groups, where there has been a continuous shift from the various mother tongues of immigrants, and the indigenous American Indian languages to English, over several centuries.

Language shift is normally characterized by a number of stages. It can either take place over a period of time, and in a number of stages (e.g. first a state of diglossia, followed by bilingualism, and then monolingualism in the newly acquired language). The shift from one language to another can, however, be a very rapid process, with no interim stages or phrases (e.g. Dorian (1977:24), cites the examples of Tasmanian and Yahi, which died out in one generation, and which involved no interim stage of bilingualism).

A linguistic characteristic of language shift is that it tends to be related to the process of language change, which occurs within a specific language. A new form or variation (e.g. vocabulary, sayings) is initially employed by a certain group of people, in certain contexts, before being generally accepted by the entire community for continual or daily usage:

... language shift seems to conform to the same general principles observable in linguistic change: the new forms (of the dominant language) which are destined to substitute traditional forms first present themselves as synchronic variants in the use in the community or in particular groups. (Ramat 1979:141.)

This process, whereby certain aspects of the language of the dominant or host society are gradually introduced into the language of the minority group, and used increasingly, until they are accepted or regarded as the norm by all the people, and in all contexts of communication, is ascribed, primarily, to the daily contact which exists between language groups in multilingual societies.

New forms or variants are introduced into a minority language, often to such an extent that there will be a total shift to another language (e.g. Welsh to English; Gaelic to English). Such a total language shift can be ascribed to another language being regarded as, or associated with, greater prestige or social value:

... the language being shifted to enjoys wider currency and greater prestige. (Mougeon *et al.* 1985:455.)

A language, or language variety, can either be regarded as prestigious, or conversely it can have a stigma attached to it. People tend to associate themselves with a language (and the people who use the language), if it is perceived as being prestigious. Should the language have a stigma attached to it, however, people will disassociate themselves from the language and the people who use the language (see § 3.2.9).

3.1.3 The process of language shift

Gal (1979:3) indicates that a distinct problem with regard to language shift is that the process by which language shift occurs is not a well-understood phenomenon. It can be explained, or seen, as an instance of socially motivated linguistic change.

Veltman (1983) conducted an intensive and comparative study of language shift among minority groups in the USA, with specific reference to the Spanish-speaking group (or Mexicans). In his study he highlights and discusses prominent trends or factors with regard to language shift, and indicates how minority languages in a state of shift go through a number of processes.

It is important to note that the process of language shift is seldom an instant or immediate transformation, but rather a process which occurs over a period of time. Consequently, Veltman (1983:15ff) identifies the following steps in the shift from the minority language, to the language of the dominant or host society:

- (a) *Minority language retention* (monolingualism in the minority language): mother tongue spoken only.
- (b) *Simple bilingualism* (minority language and English): a small degree of language shift, or use of the host community language.
- (c) *English bilingualism* (both languages are used equally): monolingualism in the mother tongue eventually leads to a shift to bilingualism in which English is the principle language, and as such, is a threat to the mother tongue, as the mother tongue then shifts to be the second language. Children will then also learn and continue to speak English.
- (d) *English monolingualism*: the mother tongue is spoken with less frequency (in almost all spheres of life) or not at all. The mother tongue is therefore (almost) completely abandoned as a vehicle of communication, thus also having effects on the children.

English monolingualism results in two further consequences:

1. People are less active in the minority group.

2. Children are not expected or forced to know the mother tongue. Hence, it is not only a present loss (of parents and children) to the minority group, but also a loss of future support.

Veltman (1983:20) further identifies a certain structure of linguistic emigration in his USA-study: language shift is determined by an individual's life experience, e.g. should the mother tongue differ from the political or economic language, there will be a shift to the dominant language.

Furthermore, age is important. Children may use the mother tongue in the home environment but when going to school, and later work, might be required to use another language. Language shift is most likely to occur in the later teens, and especially when adolescents or young adults leave home to live elsewhere.

Veltman (1983:21) indicates that language shift is usually completed by the age of 30-35. The extent of language shift, however, differs. People do, and can, nevertheless, return to the mother tongue. Linguistic emigration or language shift tends to follow the following pattern:

- An increase in teenage years.
- Levelling off at 30-35 years of age.
- Decreases as age increases.

De Vries (in Veltman 1983:25) indicates important trends, which complement those previously discussed by Veltman:

- (a) Linguistic emigration takes place especially in the age group 10-29 years of age, due to factors such as education, employment, inter-marriage. (Hence, an increase in the teenage and young adult years.)
- (b) Second language learning is complete by the age of 35, with language shift occurring at approximately the same time.
- (c) Length of residence normally correlates with higher rates of language shift.

3.1.4 Causes of language shift

Gal (1979:7) indicates that language shift should be seen and explained against the background of ethnography (i.e. taking into consideration the physical, cultural and linguistic environment in which speakers find themselves). Using this approach, language shift is usually ascribed to socially motivated change. Language change or shift is therefore due to social circumstances. As such, one therefore is generally able to identify *correlates*, between language shift and the accompanying or relevant social causes of the phenomenon of language shift.

It is not easy to identify *exact* causes with clarity for the process of language shift. It is therefore equally difficult to identify factors or causes which will allow or assist one to *predict* a language shift (Gal 1979:3). Language shift is a long process, influenced by a number of factors, and generally occurring in multilingual situations. The complexity of the language shift process or phenomenon is also substantiated by Mackey (1980:39):

In studying the ecology of a language shift, one cannot as a general rule single out any one cause for the retention or loss of an ethnic tongue. Causes are generally multiple and interrelated.

The causes of language shift may often seem to be fairly evident. However, it should be borne in mind that there are also deeper, underlying reasons and processes facilitating or necessitating a language shift, as indicated and discussed by Gal (1979:1-21) in her study of a bilingual community in Austria. The following discussion pertaining to the causes of language shift, is based, primarily, on the comprehensive study by Gal (1979), who investigated this phenomenon in great depth.

Social, political and economic factors can play a role in language shift. In many instances, minority groups do not have social, political and economic power. They are therefore socially, politically and economically disadvantaged and/or underprivileged. This situation will therefore necessitate a decrease or loss in the use of the mother tongue, and/or a corresponding increase in the use of the language(s) of the host society.

Being in a socially, politically and economically inferior situation has deeper, underlying implications. It can lead to the minority group being stereotyped in a negative light. This can result in a low self-image or self-esteem. Members of a

minority group will then, under such circumstances, rather shift to the language of the host society (or the dominant national language), which could be seen as prestigious, in comparison to the mother tongue or minority language, which could be seen as stigmatized.

Further socio-political factors which can contribute to, or assist in explaining language shift are factors such as conquest, wars, and the establishment of new colonies, which can lead to new boundaries or borders being established. Consequently, a group or groups of people may become minority groups within a new environment. Should these new minority groups be politically, socially and/or economically disadvantaged or inferior to the new host society, it could lead to a language shift, to the dominant or national language of the new host society. However, these factors may not necessarily necessitate a language shift. Hence, the difficulty of isolating specific factors which allow one to predict a language shift.

A language shift may be necessitated due to official language policies, e.g. in South Africa English and Afrikaans have been the official languages (therefore used in all spheres of daily usage, e.g. media, education). Immigrant communities will have to know either one or both of the official languages, for both integrative and instrumental purposes (Aziz 1988:42).

Industrialization (or the process of modernization), generally has a detrimental effect on the use of a minority language. Closely linked to the process of industrialization is that of urbanization. In both these social processes, people find themselves in a situation, where they have to conform to standardized and centralized norms and policies, e.g. language and education policies.

In the modern world, it is also virtually impossible for inhabitants of rural areas to live in complete isolation, thereby avoiding contact with the outside world. Contact with urban areas may require the use of another language, or a lingua franca. Hence, the process of language shift is set in motion.

Gender could also be a factor facilitating language shift. Dressler and Leodolter (1979:8) have observed that emancipated women are generally more language conscious. As a result, they more readily yield to social pressures towards linguistic adaptation.

Bilingualism can also play an important role in language shift. A situation of bilingualism can either be viewed as indicative of socio-political problems (a bilingual

community may display mixed feelings of ethnic loyalty); alternatively bilingualism can also be a demonstration of a cultural revival or the need for political independence, in the case of a minority group. Bilingualism and its social correlates can therefore have political implications. Hence, an important distinction can be made between stable and unstable bilingual communities. Stable bilingual communities maintain the mother tongue, whereas in unstable bilingual communities there is usually a dramatic language shift to the dominant language of the host society, and also assimilation with the host society. However, as Gal (1979:3) indicates, the distinction between stable and unstable bilingual communities is not necessarily important; more important is the process of how instability arises and shift occurs. Social change could facilitate this process: a community may be bilingual for a long period of time (even centuries) but may become unstable, thus resulting in a language shift (and possible assimilation), in the course of social change (cf. Falk-Bánó (1988:161).

Thus far, the discussion has indicated that language shift can be ascribed to, or correlated with social factors or social change. However, one should guard against generalizing these causes to all situations of language shift, for example, group loyalty is not always present when bilingualism is maintained, but can also exist without language maintenance (Gal 1979:3). A combination of factors may therefore be necessary in the explanation of language shift. Expressive and symbolic linguistic variation are also important factors to be considered, e.g. in a bilingual or multilingual situation a speaker may use a different language to express different emotions (e.g. anger, happiness, hope, disappointment). Different languages may have different symbolic associations, e.g. one language may be seen as a prestigious language, another as being stigmatized.

One also needs to examine, therefore, how social factors or social change affects language use and the values or status of a language. How do the broader social changes motivate people to abandon their own language in favour of another language? Gal's (1979) study of a bilingual Hungarian community in Austria can assist in explaining this social phenomenon, which can facilitate language shift. Three main factors are identified in this regard: the *context* in which speakers find themselves; the *variation between speakers*; *linguistic change* which can facilitate language shift.

Social contexts play an important role in determining language usage, and as such, can also facilitate or necessitate language shift. Once again, ethnography can also

determine which language is appropriate in a certain setting or context. Hence, an interaction exists between language usage and social context. A distinction can be made between casual and formal language: casual language being employed in informal settings, formal language employed in situations where a speaker is paying attention to his/her speech. The appropriate language is one which is seen to be natural in a specific context. A specific language or language variety, could be used with the speakers of a group, while another language or language variety is used when communicating with members who do not belong to, or identify with the group of the speaker. This situation can lead to the establishment of in- and out-group values, symbols and activities. If the in and out groups are ranked in a social stratification, the language(s) or variations of the higher-ranked group will be seen as prestigious, while other languages or variations will be viewed as stigmatized. A further association is therefore that of language use or varieties and social groups.

The linguistic variety employed by a speaker/s may be a normal or usual one (unmarked) or it may be an unusual, foreign form (marked). The distinction between marked and unmarked linguistic varieties can assist in explaining language shift. It can indicate certain expectations with regard to language use; namely which language or variety is used for which activities within a community. Marked and unmarked forms may also be indicative of inclusion (the we/in-group), or exclusion (the they/out-group).

Bilingual communities have a choice not only of languages and styles; but also of marked and unmarked languages and styles, each having its own symbolic value or association with subgroups and/or activities within a community.

In the process of language shift, there is *variation between speakers* both in language choice, and the distribution of functions. Language usage can reveal a speaker's social identity: the language used can be related to macro-social factors, e.g. social background. These macro-social factors can play an important role in the explanation of language choice, and determine which language is employed by members in a community or society.

The correlation of social factors and language choice does not, however, explain the process which causes, maintains or changes the correlates or correlation, or the changes in macro-social factors which affect language choice. In order to establish a relationship between correlates and macro-social factors, and by implication to assist in explaining language shift, one has to illustrate how social factors determine a

speaker's language choice. Changes in the choice of a language result in language shift, and also a consequent change in correlates. One way in which to explain the correlation between language choice and social factors, is that certain linguistic varieties are either viewed as prestigious or stigmatized forms, depending on the groups with which they are associated. Use of a specific language or linguistic variety can be for purposes of identification, i.e. a speaker may want to identify, or be identified with, someone, or a group. Certain groups and/or their language or linguistic variety, may be viewed as negative or stigmatized by those who do not associate with the group, or use their language. This can be applicable to minority groups. Members of a minority group will continue to use their language or linguistic variety, even if only in group situations or contexts. The reason is that the language or linguistic variety symbolizes group solidarity and positive aspects or values associated with the group, e.g. feelings of sincerity or toughness. Linguistic differences can therefore represent group membership or group values. Group membership and/or values are therefore important determinants in language choice.

When considering language choice, and the values associated with different languages, social networks play an important role in determining language choice and usage. A comprehensive definition of a social network is provided by Aitchison (1987:113):

... human beings tend to cluster into social networks, groups of people who regularly interact with one another, i.e. owing to friendship, family, occupation or neighbourhood.

In the context of a social network, a specific language or linguistic variety can be used owing to pressure from the group. Social networks also assist in explaining language choice or language diversity: because speech is a social activity, the norms of language use can therefore also be seen to be, in a sense, social. A further link between social networks and language use, is that both are affected by, or concerned with macro-social factors which influence or determine a speaker's decisions or activities in the daily contact and communication with others. Although social networks may not influence language use directly, they could play a role in determining people's goals and means of action. The varied use of language to claim or attain social status may be influenced by the nature of the speaker's social network. Language use could also be determined when identity is established or influenced as a result of language usage. Hence, a relation between social networks, identity and language varieties must be considered.

The frequency of contact between speakers has also been identified as a factor in influencing language choice or linguistic variety: the more people are in contact, the more similar their speech could be. Certain situations of contact, could be more influential than others, in determining or influencing language usage, e.g. peer groups can exercise a strong influence on the language used within the group.

The abovementioned factors are seen to be at work in Gal's (1979) study of a bilingual community in Austria, where she detects a language shift among the younger generation in the community. Social and economic expansion of the town, has caused a move from peasant agriculture to industrial work. In the process, people want to identify with certain groups because of their status. A language shift is therefore in progress from Hungarian (which has a peasant status) to German (which is seen to be more prestigious, due to it being associated with and symbolizing workers rather than peasants). Hence the cultural association between linguistic varieties or different languages, and social groups (i.e. macro-social factors) has affected the language choice and consequent shift, of the speakers in their daily communication.

Language shift can also be seen to demonstrate certain similarities with *linguistic change*. Two aspects can be identified: new speech forms or variants spread or are re-distributed to new social (and not linguistic) contexts or environments. The new forms can therefore be said to be re-located from a narrow to a wide range of speakers and social environments. Secondly, the new forms replace old forms or variations and are employed gradually: it is not an immediate and/or categorical occurrence.

Language shift will therefore occur when there is a distribution or re-location of languages and styles used for communication purposes (i.e. different languages and styles being re-distributed to, or used in, different contexts). In linguistic change, the separate functions for each language or linguistic variety gradually disappear, until the new language or variety employed on a daily basis by most, if not all the speakers, is used to indicate both status and expressive functions. In conversational language switching, the listener will have to be familiar with the values and status of the languages, in order to understand why a speaker(s) may switch from one language or variety to another. It can also be seen that language shift will occur when a new generation uses new connotations of a language or linguistic variants to indicate a changing identity and intentions in daily communication.

Language shift and its causes can therefore not be viewed in isolation, because as Gal (1979:xi) indicates, language shift closely resembles, and is therefore related to, other types of linguistic change. Language shift cannot be attributed to large macro-social factors only, but also the re-distribution of old and new variants, languages, styles and changes in their expressive value, which can also be influenced by the social factors.

3.2 Factors facilitating language shift

A number of factors facilitating language shift are revealed in the literature:

Employment; government policy and military training; generation; access; integrative and instrumental motivation; social factors; intermarriage; competition; socio-economic status; family; age and media.

These factors will each be discussed in turn below.

3.2.1 Employment

Employment is a factor which generally plays a major role in language shift, as people have to be able to speak the language of the work environment in order to be employed (especially in the more skilled areas of employment). This factor has been widely referred to and discussed in the literature (cf. Young 1988:324, 325; Cartwright 1987:203; Ramat 1979:150; Aziz 1988:61; Gynan 1985:33; Lieberson and Curry 1971:131-133).

A general pattern amongst linguistic minorities and immigrant communities can be identified where the mother tongue is used at home, while the language of the host society is used in the working environment. Gynan's study (1985:33) of Spanish in the USA, for example, testifies to this fact: Spanish (mother tongue) is spoken at home, while English (language of the host society) is spoken in the working environment. Immigrants, therefore, may have to learn a language for purposes of employment and this has proved to be a major incentive for language shift (Paulston 1987:53).

The importance of speaking the language of the working environment (or in order to be employed), and the subsequent language shift which occurs, is discussed in detail by Lieberson and Curry (1971:131-133). This study highlights the fact that immigrants (in the USA), who are not able to speak English, are "handicapped" (Lieberson and Curry 1971:132) and could even be discriminated against if "unable to

speak English." This research suggests that the language shift due to employment could also "... influence the possibility of mother tongue shift between the generations" (Liebersohn and Curry 1971:133).

Kalantzis (1985:173), in her study of Community languages in Australia, also indicates that, for young adults, the language required for securing a job is more important than maintenance of the mother tongue. In addition, Cartwright (1987:207) indicates in his study of language usage in Quebec that, in the work environment, the younger francophones use English more often (as opposed to French) in comparison to the older respondents.

It can therefore be seen that occupation is important in determining who speaks the language of the host community. The ability to communicate in the language of the host community leads to a wider range of occupational opportunities, advantages and privileges.

Pütz (1991:486) summarizes these abovementioned facts neatly in his study of German in Australia. The work environment can be viewed as a microcosm, i.e. a meeting place of people from a variety of different backgrounds. The need for a lingua franca is therefore necessitated, which in turn facilitates language shift:

The work domain seems to be a rather negative factor in the promotion of language maintenance; the multi-ethnic situation at the work-place and the prevalence of people from different language backgrounds creates a need for a lingua franca, i.e. English, in order to facilitate communication among workers.

3.2.2 Government policy and military training

As discussed, under the causes of language shift (§ 3.1.4), a government policy of official languages, as in South Africa leads to language shift, as immigrant communities will have to be proficient in at least one of the languages, for both instrumental and integrative reasons.

If there is a threat to cultural and linguistic heritage, native residents will fight to resist change. This could also determine the attitude toward the government: if efforts for cultural and linguistic revival are suppressed, this could lead to a negative attitude toward the government. If, however, there is an attempt to promote ethnic pride, it will lead to mutual respect among different ethnolinguistic groups (Young 1988:337). Hence, tolerance by the government and/or policies of promotion or restriction are important.

It is also important that attempts to revive the use of a minority language should have Government support as well as support from semi-government or social organizations (Rohra 1986:48).

Language shift could also be facilitated or necessitated by people of an immigrant group or community going to the army of the host country (e.g. due to conscription), and therefore having to communicate in the language of the host community.

3.2.3 Generation

Generation is one of the most prominent, widely-discussed and referred to factors in the literature, on language maintenance and shift (cf. Sridhar 1987:81; Li 1982:122-123; Rohra 1986:48; Young 1988:323-328; Thompson 1974:14; Falk-Bánó 1988:167; Zentella 1986:35; Nahirny and Fishman 1965:317). The primary reason for generation being a factor in language shift is succinctly summarized by Thompson (1974:7):

Immigrant languages disappear because they do not transfer from one generation to the next.

The typical erosion pattern of the mother tongue over three successive generations, has been identified by Nahirny and Fishman (1965:311) as:

First generation	(only) mother tongue spoken
Second generation	bilingualism
Third generation	language of the host community considered as the first language.

Falk-Bánó (1988:162) describes this phenomenon of inter-generational shift using different terminology (which correlates with the terminology used by Veltman (1983:15ff) as discussed earlier in § 3.1.3):

First generation	simple bilingualism
Second generation	English bilingualism
Third generation	English monolingualism.

Falk-Bánó (1988:162) notes that first generation immigrants are usually born in the old homeland (mother country), whereas the second and subsequent generations are usually born in the new homeland (host society).

Thompson (1974:7) provides guidelines for defining the generations as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| First generation | "... those who are listed as foreign born" |
| Second generation | "... native born of foreign or mixed parentage" |
| Third generation | " ... those native born to native parents." |

Sridhar (1988:81) notes the greater ability and "nativelike competence" of the older (or first born) children in the first generation of immigrant families (especially of the spoken language), which he attributes to the parents being able to give more linguistic input to the first child:

... parents have a greater control over the linguistic input directed at the first born, and the presence of older siblings whose language is increasingly affected by the mainstream language may make the younger child's control over the ethnic tongue less secure.

In accordance with the abovementioned, one could then note the relevance of Thompson's findings (in Lopez 1978:272) that language choice could primarily be a function of generation, and not context.

Li (1982:114) in his study of language shift of Chinese-Americans, speaks of the *language retention ratio*, i.e. an index used to measure the shift to English which occurs between two successive generations, and the extent to which the mother tongue is being maintained by an immigrant group (a concept originally introduced by Fishman). Hence, intergenerationally, there is a process of Anglicization (Veltman 1983:213).

Important characteristics and explanations of intergenerational language shift among immigrant groups, have been postulated by Lieberson and Curry (1971:134-135), in their study of language shift in the USA:

- Diversity (and hence, language contact) within immigrant groups or populations assists in the process of mother tongue shift.
- Mother tongue or language shift in the second generation is linked to bilingualism in the foreign born group.
- When English is widely used as a mother tongue by the second-generation, immigrant groups are then more likely to learn English.

In immigrant communities which display a high level of bilingualism, there will be a correspondingly high level of inter-generational shift. The inter-generational language shift is also more prominent among bilingual members in immigrant communities, who display a high level of second language acquisition or learning:

high frequencies of bilingualism will also appear as the groups with high levels of inter-generational shift. Furthermore, ... inter-generational shift is greater among those bilinguals in groups with the greatest frequency of second-language learning (Lieberson and Curry 1971:135).

Lieberson and Curry (1971:136) indicate that the possibility of bilingual immigrants raising their children in English, in an environment or group where there are only a small number of people who speak English, is far less, in comparison to bilingual parents who find themselves in an environment or group, characterized by a high level of bilingualism. If there is a large sector of the immigrant group unable to speak English, and children are raised in English, it could lead to a communication loss within members of the ethnic community. Where there is a large percentage of the first generation able to speak English, and children are raised in English, they will be able to communicate with all members of the ethnic community, and there will be " ... less reasons to resist mother tongue shift" (Lieberson and Curry 1971:136). It can therefore be seen that the frequency of bilingualism within an immigrant group plays a major role in language shift.

The phenomenon of language shift over three generations is also discussed by Campbell and Schnell (1987:178-179). They indicate that children up to approximately 6 years of age are competent speakers of their mother tongue, i.e. they can be regarded as native speakers. However, up to this age, there are certain areas outside the home, to which they have not yet been exposed, or come into contact with (e.g. the education sphere). In many instances they are also denied access to these areas. Consequently, there is a shift to bilingualism in the second generation, and a relative complete shift to English in the third generation.

In nearly every major centre in the United States we find large concentrations of homes in which English is not the dominant language of communication. In these homes, children up to the age of five or six regularly acquire and use the home language for all their sociocultural and basic physical needs. As a consequence, through natural language acquisition process found in all human societies, these children, in Chomskyan terms, acquire nearly all of the phonological, grammatical and semantic rules that identify them as native speakers of that language ... later-in-life opportunities in their first language (L1) are precisely those that are typically denied linguistic minority children in our society. The consequences are, of course, predictable ... the second generation, i.e. the children of immigrants become

bilingual and the third generation shifts relatively completely to English (Campbell and Schnell 1987:178-179).

Although inter-generational shift is the general trend, the literature also indicates a counter-trend, with regard to the factor of generations (e.g. Li 1982:112; Hansen in Fishman and Nahirny 1965:311-312); namely a linguistic and cultural revival in the younger generations. With this notion Hansen advances the idea that whereas the second generation are still in the process of establishing themselves in the new host society, the third generation of immigrant groups are characterized by an increase in ethnic consciousness. He also coins specific terminology for this phenomenon: the "fleeing sons" (second generation) and the "returning grandsons" (third generation). Hansen (in Fishman and Nahirny (1965:311)) states: "... the theory is derived from the almost universal phenomenon that what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember ...". The studies conducted by Aziz (1988:i, 3, 165, 166, 167) and Prabhakaran (1992:171), serve as good examples, to illustrate a revival of, and interest in the minority language and culture, namely: Urdu and Telugu, respectively (in South Africa). However, in contrast, Nahirny and Fishman (1965:311) maintain that ethnicity decreases in the third generation, which then also affects the use of the mother tongue, i.e. it leads to a shift.

3.2.4 Access

The function or purpose of learning a second language (or the language of the dominant society) is, primarily, that it provides or allows *access* (or inter-relations) to certain areas, important in everyday life, e.g. residence, employment, daily shopping (Cartwright 1987:204). Srivistava (1989:22) also points out that immigrants in the USA switch to English, as it is English which determines the '*degree of control*' over access to goods and services.

3.2.5 Integrative and Instrumental Motivation

Oller (1977:2) distinguishes between integrative and instrumental motivation for learning of the second language, i.e. do people learn the second language in order to integrate fully into the host community or just in order that they may have access to important areas? An important consideration in this regard is pointed out by Falk-Bánó (1988:161) who questions whether contact with the dominant group is voluntary or imposed.

Hidalgo (1986:196) indicates that research examining the integrative and instrumental aspects reveals " ... that individuals claim a higher Instrumental than Integrative motivation toward English." Hidalgo's (1986:202-204) study of a group of Mexicans on the USA-Mexican border, also indicates that these people see English as very necessary for everyday life, e.g. employment, making friends, and understanding U.S. culture. They retain Spanish, however, for reasons of solidarity or family bonds. There is a balance between integrative and instrumental motivation for learning the language of the host society, resulting in a situation of stable bilingualism. Hidalgo (1986:204) therefore concludes:

... Mexicans perceive the value of the English language as equally instrumental and Integrative ... display a combination of personal and material interests in the language spoken in the United States, because English contributes ... to individual enrichment and upward mobility in Mexican society ... have accepted both English and U.S. mass culture because of the perceived benefits derived by contact with the United States ... they learn English without relinquishing Spanish and can become comfortably bilingual as long as they feel they are using the two languages for different and independent purposes.

In a study of Asian-Indians in New York, Sridhar (1988:82-83), also found that children within an immigrant community or setting, use the mother tongue " ... mainly as an instrument for receiving information from the older generation, and English is the primary vehicle for active communication among themselves." From this particular study, it therefore appears that, for the younger generation, the mother tongue has instrumental value (in terms of communication with the older generations). The language of the host community (e.g. English), however, is of both instrumental and integrative value (i.e. a means of communicating with each other, and also for daily usage, e.g. in the work environment. It is also of importance, however, in an attempt to become integrated into, or a part of, the host society).

3.2.6 Social factors

Prince (1987:94) suggests that social factors are important in language shift:

Important social factors are, for example, influence from someone else, i.e. the group a person wants to be identified with, appropriateness and social pressure. These factors can then lead to changes in distribution and frequency of language use. Prince (1987:108) indicates the importance of social pressure by pointing out that it is a factor to which one cannot be immune.

Social factors also incorporate the idea or notion that a language also has a certain social value. Social value is related to choice: people choose a linguistic variety due to social value, therefore either identifying with or rejecting the mother tongue. There is usually an ideological value related to group membership. Association with a certain culture can have some nostalgic association (Ramat 1979:145-146).

In her study of Catalan and Occitan, Paulston (1987:46) raises this issue: with what do people associate a language? She concludes that there are two extremes with which a language can be associated:

- (i) modernity and opportunity, or
- (ii) shame.

In her study of Greek in Australia, Tamis (1990:498) indicates how the mother tongue being included in the education system, leads to a corresponding increase in its social value and/or acceptability, not only in society in general, but also within the community:

... the introduction of MG (mother tongue Greek) as an examinable subject for tertiary entrance requirements in 1973 and its teaching in certain Australian Universities and Colleges of Education ... further increased not only the functional value of the mother tongue, but also stipulated the acceptability of MG in the Greek community.

3.2.7 Intermarriage

Demos (1988:170) points out that there is a decline in the use of the mother tongue in the event of intermarriage. Paulston (1987:35) indicates that in cases of intermarriage, the language shift is in the direction of the socio-economically favourable group. Seen from a different viewpoint, Nahirny and Fishman (1965:322), in their study of an American immigrant group, indicate that intermarriage is also, for some, a means or way of completely rejecting or escaping their immigrant or national identity, or their (past) ethnicity.

3.2.8 Competition

In a situation where two languages exist side by side (e.g. the language of the host society, and the language of the minority or immigrant community), if the two languages do not compete for the same functions (e.g. status, power), language maintenance is high or at least more probable. Competition and conflict, however,

result in language shift (Srivistava 1989:145). An agrarian society would therefore be more accommodating of the immigrant or minority language, provided it does not compete for the same status and power as the language of the host community. At the other end of the scale, however, an industrialized and urban society, where there are a number of speech communities living in close proximity, results " ... in a state of constant competition and conflict in learning each other's language" (Srivistava 1989:15).

3.2.9 Socio-Economic Status (SES)

SES, in this context, refers to a language being associated with a certain SES (or level in society) for example, a language could either be seen as prestigious (this factor is also referred to as 'prestige' in the literature) or associated with a lower class of society, thus obtaining a *stigma*. An important preliminary consideration is that "... a mother tongue is the necessary basis of self-esteem and self-respect" (Parekh 1985:133).

In this section certain examples in the literature are presented which demonstrate or illustrate how languages can be associated with a certain SES. It has already been noted in § 3.1.2 that the language being shifted to enjoys greater prestige (Mougeon *et al.* 1985:455).

In her study of language attitudes in Barcelona, Woolard (1984:70) indicates that the use of Catalan is more prestigious than that of Castilian. Tamis (1990:498) in his study of Greek in Australia points out that: "The acquisition and learning of MG (mother tongue Greek) is further inhibited or promoted by the attitudes of the overall society and the prestige that it carries amongst teachers and educators." SES can also contribute to language maintenance, e.g. affording private (ethnic) schools. Ryan (in Hidalgo 1986:196-197) shows that both the members of the majority and the minority language group prefer prestigious languages and language varieties (even if only attitudinally), in comparison to low prestige languages.

Children tend to disassociate themselves if there is a negative status attached to the language or the group. If the language and group, however, have a high social status (especially if the language is associated with international activity), it could lead to a retention of bilingualism, and support for cultural organizations devoted to language maintenance (Veltman 1983:141). Interestingly, prestige is less important among parents and adults (Kalantzis 1985:172).

A further example of a language being associated with low SES, is that of Spanish in Los Angeles - in the sense of, primarily, " ... low educational achievement" (Lopez 1978:267).

In contrast, low status is not always a precursor to shift. Li (1982:116-117) proposes, "... that SES has a positive effect on language maintenance, or a negative effect on language shift." His study of Chinese-Americans highlights an important generalization, namely, that the lowest SES groups show the least language shift or "... the lowest resistance to pressure for language assimilation ... middle-class Chinese-Americans are most successful in retaining their native language" (Li 1982:117).

3.2.10 Family (Adults)

Despite the fact that family is a domain which strongly facilitates language maintenance (2.2.5), family and friends could also cause a shift in language usage (Young 1988:325). This is pointed out by Aziz (1988:58), whose study of Urdu (in South Africa) shows that parents, in general, had a negative attitude to Urdu, and preferred their children to learn English, as it would be more beneficial to them in the South African environment. This is especially the feeling among young parents, who nevertheless feel a sentimental attachment to Urdu, but are not " ... willing to sacrifice the practical benefits of English for the 'sentimental satisfaction' of an Indian language (Urdu included)" (Aziz 1988:58).

In her study of Welsh, Lewis (1975:107) also found that: " ... the relation of the child's language to that of the family is naturally determined to a considerable extent by expressed or revealed competence of the parents." Furthermore, she indicates that, in certain instances, where both the parents are bilingual, there is a high degree of English monolingualism (among the children); two English monolingual parents can often result in bilingual children.

In his study of language shift in the USA, Veltman (1983:42ff) also focuses on the influence which parents have on the language usage of the children.

Language retention is greatest when both parents are foreign born. Language shift tends to be accelerated in instances where parents are foreign born, but the children are native born. The shift tends to be even more detectable when one of the parents is native born (Veltman 1983:108.) Between-group differences of retention among children, is due to the nativity of the parents. Parental language use can therefore

help to explain the children's language usage. The mother plays the greatest role in the retention of the mother tongue. When both parents speak the minority language, children usually retain the minority language. If, however, one parent does not speak the mother tongue (e.g. speaks English), the children will also speak English. Women tend, in general, to have more retentive patterns than men (Veltman 1983:114). Parents also tend to use the mother tongue more with each other than with the children.

Veltman (1983:118) therefore suggests that the language characteristics of the children are largely a result of the language characteristics of the parents and their role or influence. The language, nativity, socio-economic position/status, education and place of birth of the parents are the most prominent factors influencing the language characteristics of the children.

3.2.11 Age

Age can also play an important role in language shift (cf. 3.1.3), as it can influence both attitudes to and preference for a language(s). In her study of Welsh, Lewis (1975:107) found that, " ... bilingualism where the first language is Welsh declines with age." She furthermore indicates that " ... the disparity between Welsh and English attitudes is increased as the students grow older." The mother tongue is also used more by the older members of the community, whereas the younger members are more bilingual (with less use of the mother tongue). This is indicated by Thompson (1974:14, 15) with regard to Mexican-Americans, and the use of Spanish.

Neville's (1987:156) study of minority languages in France also shows that age is important for language preference: " ... regional languages being the factor of older speakers while the young favour French. Younger users of regional languages tend to be 'militants' or people who have consciously decided to use regional languages. Among the young, however, the trend is to give preference to French."

Veltman's (1983:23) study of language shift in the USA also highlights that age can determine or influence language shift, e.g. young children may use the mother tongue in the home. However, there will be a shift once they enter the wider sphere, education, and later the work environment or leave home. Adolescence is seen as a very important stage or phase for the process of language shift, as this is when language shift is most likely to start or accelerate. It is estimated that this linguistic emigration is usually complete by the age of 30-35. What differs, however, is the

extent of the language shift. Linguistic emigration, therefore, increases in the teenage years (especially 14-17 years); levels off at 30-35; decreases as age increases.

Hence, the sociological theory, as mentioned by Veltman (1983:89), namely, that language shift is anchored in the maturational process of the child, is reflected in the abovementioned discussion, with regard to the influence of age on language shift.

3.2.12 Media

The media can greatly facilitate language maintenance, as discussed earlier (§ 2.2.4) It can also contribute to the process of language shift, as discussed by Young (1988:325), especially when there is government support for the use of a particular language in the media, e.g. television.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter examined the process of language shift. The term **language shift** refers to an immigrant or minority group's decreased use of the mother tongue, and a corresponding increase in the use of the language(s) of the host society. This process occurs (or is necessitated) primarily, due to a multilingual situation which exists in many countries or areas.

The main point of contention is that the actual process by which language shift occurs is not fully understood. The most prominent explanation is that language shift is socially related and motivated (i.e. societal factors determine, to a large extent, language choice and use).

There are certain factors which work against efforts or attempts to maintain the mother tongue of a minority group within a host society. Employment, government policy, generation, access, social factors, intermarriage, SES, family, age, integrative and instrumental motivation and competition were identified as factors which can cause shift.

This chapter therefore discussed the factors which exert a "subtractive influence" (Aziz 1988:40) on the mother tongue. In Chapters 5 and 6 the effect of these factors on the Portuguese community of Johannesburg will be discussed.

Chapter 4

Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises three sections, namely:

- A description of the methodology employed to obtain the data for this study.
- An overview of the results of the research obtained from Section A of the questionnaire which provides the background of the interviewees.
- A summary of the results from Section B of the questionnaire which provides a sociolinguistic profile of the Johannesburg Portuguese community.

4.2 Methodology

The aim of the study was to determine the present state and use of the Portuguese mother tongue within the Johannesburg Portuguese community. The researcher wanted to determine or establish which factors are assisting with the maintenance of, and which factors are causing a shift from the mother tongue, to the language(s) of the host community, i.e. English and/or Afrikaans. In order to obtain this information and determine the state of the mother tongue, a questionnaire (see Appendix III) was designed, which attempted to encompass and examine domains which could facilitate the maintenance of, or shift from the mother tongue.

The study was limited to the Johannesburg area, and more specifically, Johannesburg-South, where a large number of Portuguese are resident (see Appendix II).

Various methods exist which can be employed to select the interviewees used in a study. In this study, a networking approach (cf. Milroy 1987a:20) was employed. A total of 54 people were interviewed. In an attempt to obtain a truly representative sample of the speech community being studied, school pupils (Std 6 - 10), university students, and employees were interviewed.

The school respondents interviewed were all from the two high schools (The Hill High School and Forest High School) in the Johannesburg-South area, which both have a large number of Portuguese pupils. The adults (non-school respondents)

interviewed, were all randomly selected from a list of friends of the researcher, and also from a list of parents of pupils at the Hill High School. (The interviewees were randomly selected in the sense that they were not selected because of any specific prerequisites, e.g. educational qualifications; socio-economic status, etc.)

The direct method of conducting research was employed, i.e. personal interviews were conducted with the interviewees, in which the researcher posed the questions (of the questionnaire) to the interviewees. Interviewees were also allowed to wander off the topic and to talk freely, in order to obtain a broad, general data base. Information obtained was therefore of a qualitative rather than a quantitative nature.

Interviews were conducted in the non-school respondents' homes, and the school children, were interviewed at their respective schools. Prominent figures and organizations within the Portuguese community were also approached, appointments set up, and personal interviews conducted. The aim of this study and the interview was always explained to the interviewees. The respondents' anonymity was always guaranteed.

In the following sections of this chapter, the data obtained from the interviews will be presented. However, one cannot gain a comprehensive interpretation and understanding of the data and the community merely from the statistical information as this could lead to narrow, inaccurate interpretations and perceptions. An intimate knowledge of the life and lifestyles of the informants is important. Labov (in Milroy 1987b:60) indicates that the best possible results can be obtained by maximizing the anthropological technique of participant observation or "immersion into a social world."

Labov's observation (namely, that the researcher must be immersed into a social world) is of vital importance as one cannot study a community successfully without an intimate knowledge and intuitive feeling for the community. Only an overall view of the macro-social and sociolinguistic factors at work in the community will lead to a better understanding and comprehensive interpretations of the results obtained. My own personal "immersion" into the Portuguese community (with the assistance of friends, pupils and parents), facilitated my understanding of the community, and plays an important role in the interpretation of the data.

4.3 Results (Section A)

The results presented below, were obtained from the use of Section A on the questionnaire (see Appendix III), and provide information pertaining to the background of the research group, 54 in total. The numbers given in brackets correspond to the question numbers on the questionnaire. Information from questions 1, 6 and 7 (i.e. personal details of the respondents) is not provided, in order to preserve the anonymity of the respondents.

Non-school Respondents (Female)

(2) This part of the research group consisted of 18 female respondents.

(3) **Marital status:**

Married	:	8
Engaged	:	1
Single	:	8
Divorced	:	1

(4) The average age of the respondents was 30,2 years of age.

(5) **Residence:** The respondents were all resident in the Johannesburg Central area or Southern suburbs:

Regents Park	:	4
Rosettenville	:	3
Elandspark	:	1
Linmeyer	:	3
Kibler Park	:	1
Braamfontein	:	1
Townsvew	:	1
Rewlatch	:	2
Hill Extension	:	1
Observatory	:	1

(8) **Generation:**

The generation of the respondents can be indicated as follows:

First generation	:	2 (11,1%)
Second generation	:	16 (88,8%)

(9) Religious Denomination

All 18 respondents (100%) are Catholic.

(10) "Nationality"

According to their origin, Portuguese immigrants (from Europe) to South Africa, can be divided into two groups, namely: Portuguese and Madeiran. The Portuguese community make this distinction, but the difference between Portuguese and Madeirans does not, however, have any real implications or consequences. Generally, the Portuguese will always display solidarity with or comradeship toward the Madeirans. The difference is, as Toffoli (1989:36) indicates: " ... superficial, nothing more than regionalism ... is no different from calling yourself a Vrystater." Immigrants from Mozambique and Angola are generally regarded as Portuguese.

The "nationality" (or origin) of the respondents can be indicated as follows:

Portuguese	:	15 (83,3%)
Madeiran	:	3 (16,6%)

(11) Country of Birth

The respondents were born in the following countries:

Portugal	:	5 (27,7%)
Mozambique	:	8 (44,4%)
South Africa	:	5 (27,7%)

The foreign born respondents have resided in South Africa for an average of 24,3 years.

(12) Country of birth of the respondents' parents:

Both parents born in Portugal	:	13 (72,2%)
Both parents born in Madeira	:	1 (5,5%)
Mother and father born in different countries	:	4 (22,2%)

(13) **Reasons provided by the respondents for immigrating to South Africa**

(Respondents did not necessarily immigrate "independently", but came with their parents, when they were much younger, therefore the reasons given for immigration are often those of their parents.)

Financial	:	9 (50%)
Political	:	4 (22,2%)
Educational	:	1 (5,5%)
A combination of two reasons	:	4 (22,2%)

(14) **Respondents' future intentions with regard to staying in South Africa**

The respondents were asked to indicate their future intentions, with regard to staying in South Africa, or possibly emigrating. The following responses were obtained:

Staying permanently	:	7 (38,8%)
Staying temporarily	:	1 (5,5%)
Not sure	:	10 (55,5%)

The following reasons were given by each group, respectively

Staying permanently	Staying temporarily	Not sure
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This is my country - Feel at home in Africa - This is my home - Like the country - only leave if I have to - Dependant, however, on political situation - Dependant, however, on political situation - Like the country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political situation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Study overseas; travel - Political situation - Political and social reasons - Husband wants to retire overseas - Social (family overseas)

Table 1

It can therefore be seen that the overriding reason for possible emigration is due to the present political situation in South Africa (i.e. the transitional phase in South African history and politics, February 1990 - April 1994).

(15) Educational qualifications

The respondents indicated their educational qualifications according to three main groupings or divisions:

Tertiary Education	:	9 (50%)
Standard 10 (Matric)	:	7 (38,8%)
Less than Standard 10	:	2 (11,1%)

(16) Educational qualifications of the respondents' parents

The educational qualifications of the respondents' parents are indicated in the following table:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Diploma - Accountancy and Management	Secretarial course
2	Std 8	Std 5
3	Std 5	Std 5
4	Quarta classe	Quarta classe
5	Std 8	Quarta classe
6	Std 6	4 years schooling & technical school apprenticeship
7	Quarta classe	Quarta classe
8	Quarta classe	Quarta classe
9	Quarta classe	Quarta classe
10	Std 10 (Technical)	Std 7
11	Bookkeeping course	Std 8
12	Std 7/8	Std 6
13	Quarta classe	Quarta classe
14	Illiterate	Illiterate
15	Std 10 & apprenticeship	Quarta classe
16	Quarta classe	Unknown
17	Std 5	Std 5
18	Quarta classe	Decimo primeiro

Table 2

The approximate South African equivalents of the Portuguese educational qualifications (before 1975), are as follows:

Primary school	
Pre-primary schooling	= Grade 1
Primeira classe	= Gr. 2
Segunda classe	= Std 1
Terceira classe	= Std 2
Quarta classe	= Std 3

High school	
Primeiro Ano	= Std 4
Segundo Ano	= Std 5
Terceiro Ano	= Std 6
Quarto Ano	= Std 7
Quinto Ano	= Std 8
Sexto Ano	= Std 9
Sétimo Ano	= Std 10

The approximate South African equivalents of the new Portuguese educational qualifications (as from 1990), are as follows:

Primary school	
Pre-primary school	= Grade 1
Primeiro ano	= Grade 2
Segundo ano	= Std 1
Terceiro ano	= Std 2
Quarto ano	= Std 3
Preparatory school	
Quinto ano	= Std 4
Sexto ano	= Std 5
High school	
Setimo ano	= Std 6
Oitavo ano	= Std 7
Nono ano	= Std 8
Decimo ano	= Std 9
Decimo primeiro ano	= Std 10
Decimo segundo ano	= only for university entrance

(17) Occupation

The respondent's occupations are as follows:

Air hostess
 Clerical worker
 Training/work-study officer
 Import-Export business
 Student
 Lecturer (x 2)
 Bookkeeper (x 2)
 Travel Agent
 Teacher (x 2)
 Computer Systems Analyst
 Beautician

Secretary (x 2)
 Computer related work
 Public Relations Officer

(18) **Occupations of the respondents' parents**

The occupations of the respondents' parents, are indicated in the following table:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Assistant Accountant	Secretary
2	Retired	Housewife
3	Builder/construction	Housewife
4	Mechanic	Housewife
5	Self-employed (engineering)	Housewife
6	Panelbeater	Housewife
7	Builder	Housewife
8	Mechanic	Housewife
9	Boilermaker	Dressmaker
10	Fitter & turner	Housewife
11	Bookkeeper (self-employed)	Teacher
12	Shopfitter	Housewife
13	Foreman (construction)	Housewife
14	Carpenter	Housewife
15	Welder	Laboratory/medical assistant
16	Sales representative	Housewife
17	Greengrocer	Housewife
18	Transport/import	Saleslady

Table 3

This table reflects the findings of other research (see § 3.2.1) namely, that most women in immigrant communities stay at home (housewives), and only the men go out to work. This trend is, however, very rapidly changing due to economic pressures, and younger people (generations) who are continually more career-orientated. (See: Occupations of school children's parents, tables 9 and 12.)

Non-school respondents (Male)

(2) This part of the research group consisted of 12 respondents.

(3) **Marital status:**

Married	:	9
Single	:	3

(4) The **average age** of the respondents was 34 years of age.

(5) **Residence:** The respondents are all resident in the Johannesburg Central area or Southern suburbs:

Linmeyer	:	3
Elandspark	:	1
Regents Park	:	3
Kibler Park	:	1
Rewlacth	:	1
Hill Extension	:	1
Observatory	:	1
Southdale	:	1

8. **Generation:** The generation of the respondents can be indicated as follows:

First Generation	:	3 (25%)
Second Generation	:	8 (66,6%)
Third Generation	:	1 (8,3%)

(9) **Religious Denomination**

All 12 respondents (100%) are Catholic.

(10) **"Nationality"**

The nationality of the respondents is as follows:

Portuguese	:	8 (66,6%)
Madeiran	:	4 (33,3%)

(11) **Country of birth**

The respondents were born in the following countries:

Portugal	:	7 (58,3%)
South Africa	:	5 (41,6%)

The foreign born respondents have resided in South Africa for an average of 24,7 years.

(12) Country of birth of the respondents' parents:

Both parents born in Portugal	:	8 (66,6%)
Both parents born in Madeira	:	3 (25%)
Mother and father born in different countries	:	1 (8,3%)

(13) Reasons provided by the respondents for immigrating to South Africa:

Financial	:	8 (66,6%)
Social	:	3 (25%)
Other	:	1 (8,3%)

(14) Respondents' future intentions with regard to staying in South Africa

The respondents were asked to indicate their future intentions, with regard to staying in South Africa, or possibly emigrating. The following responses were obtained:

Staying permanently	:	4 (33,3%)
Staying temporarily	:	3 (25%)
Not sure	:	5 (41,6%)

The following reasons were given by each group, respectively:

Staying permanently	Staying temporarily	Not sure
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Did National service here: part of the country - Standard of living in South Africa - Established here and also due to business/employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Study overseas - Political situation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Future of the country and have family overseas - Political situation - Political/economic future

Table 4

Once again it is evident that the political situation in South Africa is a primary reason or motivation for possible emigration.

(15) Educational qualifications

The respondents indicated their educational qualifications according to three main groupings or divisions:

Tertiary	:	4 (33,3%)
Std 10 (Matric)	:	4 (33,3%)
Less than Std 10	:	4 (33,3%)

(16) Educational qualifications of the respondents' parents

The educational qualifications of the respondents' parents, are indicated in the following table:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Std 8	Std 8
2	Std 8	Std 6
3	Quarta classe	Quarta classe
4	Std 8	Quarta classe
5	Quarta classe	Quarta classe
6	Std 4	Std 6
7	Illiterate	Illiterate
8	Std 5	Std 5
9	Quarta classe	Quarta classe
10	Terceiro classe	Illiterate
11	Quarta classe	Unknown
12	Unknown	Unknown

Table 5

(17) Occupation

The respondents' occupations are as follows:

Shop-owner
 Technologist
 Buyer
 Student
 Psychologist/Lecturer
 Panelbeater (self-employed)
 Hairdresser
 Garage-owner (self-employed)
 Builder
 Mechanic
 Sales Representative
 Photographer (self-employed)

(18) **Occupations of the respondents' parents**

The occupations of the respondents' parents are indicated in the following table:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Shop-owner	Shop-owner
2	Tiler	Housewife
3	Fitter & turner	Housewife
4	Self-employed (engineer)	Housewife
5	Retired	Retired
6	Panelbeater	Housewife
7	Labourer/farmer	Housewife
8	Manager	Housewife
9	Builder	Housewife
10	Builder	Housewife
11	Sales representative	Housewife
12	Self-employed (photographer)	Self-employed (photographer)

Table 6

The above table indicates the trend in many immigrant communities (cf. § 3.2.1), of men going out to work, and the women staying at home.

School children (Female)

- (2) This part of the research group consisted of 12 female respondents, ranging from Std 6 to Std 10:
- (4) The average age of the respondents was 15,9 years of age.
- (5) **Residence:** The respondents were all resident in the Johannesburg Central area or Southern suburbs:

Rosettenville	:	3
Kenilworth	:	3
Turffontein	:	3
Tulisa Park	:	1
Roseacre	:	1
The Hill	:	1

(8) Generation

The generation of the respondents can be indicated as follows:

Second Generation	:	6 (50%)
Third Generation	:	6 (50%)

(9) Religious Denomination

The respondents are followers of the following religious denominations:

Catholic	:	11 (91,6%)
Jehovah's witness	:	1 (8,3%)

(10) "Nationality"

The nationality of the respondents can be indicated as follows:

Portuguese	:	9 (75%)
Madeiran	:	3 (25%)

(11) Country of birth

The respondents' country of birth can be indicated as follows:

Portugal	:	2 (16,6%)
Angola	:	1 (8,3%)
South Africa	:	9 (75%)

The foreign born respondents have resided in South Africa for an average of 7,6 years.

(12) The country of birth of the respondents' parents:

Both parents born in Portugal	:	7 (58,3%)
Both parents born in Madeira	:	3 (25%)
Mother and father born in different countries	:	2 (16,6%)

(13) Reasons provided by the respondents for their families immigrating to South Africa

Financial	:	3 (25%)
Social	:	4 (33,3%)
Political	:	2 (16,6%)
No particular reason	:	2 (16,6%)
A combination of two reasons	:	1 (8,3%)

(14) **Respondents' further intentions with regard to staying in South Africa:**

Staying permanently	:	3 (25%)
Staying temporarily	:	1 (8,3%)
Not sure	:	8 (66,6%)

The following reasons were given by each group, indicated in the table below:

Staying permanently	Staying temporarily	Not sure
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - My country - born here, stay here - Don't like Portugal - Been here my whole life & like it here 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political situation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prefer Portugal - Parents want to go back to Portugal - Respondent & brother want to stay - Political situation The family stays overseas

Table 7

(16) **Educational qualifications**

The educational qualifications of the respondents' parents are given in the following table:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Quarta classe	Std 10
2	Std 10	Std 10
3	Quarta classe	Sexto Ano
4	Unknown	Unknown
5	Segundo ano	Segundo ano
6	Unknown	Unknown
7	University qualification	University qualification
8	Unkown	Unknown
9	Std 8	Std 8
10	Unknown	Std 8
11	Technicon qualification	Unknown
12	Quarta classe	Sexto Ano

Table 8

(18) Occupation

The occupations of the respondents' parents are given in the following table:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Boilermaker	Teacher
2	Self-employed	Self-employed
3	Shopfitter	Supervisor
4	Mechanic	Housewife
5	Barman	Dressmaker
6	Shop-owner	Shop-owner
7	Self-employed: construction	Laboratory assistant
8	Shop-owner	Employed in a factory
9	Shop-owner	Saleslady
10	Mechanic	Housewife
11	Panelbeater	Housewife
12	Blacksmith	Housewife

Table 9

School children (Male)

- (2) This part of the research group consisted of 12 male respondents, ranging from Std 6 to Std 10:
- (4) The **average age** of the respondents was 16,3 years of age.
- (5) **Residence:** The respondents were all resident in the Johannesburg Central area or Southern suburbs:

La Rochelle	:	3
Oakdene	:	1
Regents Park	:	3
Rosettenville	:	1
Mulbarton	:	1
Glenesk	:	1
Turffontein	:	2

(8) Generation

The generation of the respondents can be indicated as follows:

Second generation	:	8 (66,6%)
Third generation	:	4 (33,3%)

(9) Religious Denomination

The respondents are followers of the following religious denominations:

Catholic	:	11 (91,6%)
Protestant	:	1 (8,3%)

(10) "Nationality"

The nationality of the respondents can be indicated as follows:

Portuguese	:	10 (83,3%)
Madeiran	:	2 (16,6%)

(11) Country of birth

The respondents' country of birth can be indicated as follows:

Portugal	:	4 (33,3%)
Mozambique	:	1 (8,3%)
Rhodesia	:	1 (8,3%)
South Africa	:	6 (50%)

The foreign born respondents have resided in South Africa for an average of 9 years.

(12) The country of birth of the respondents' parents:

Both parents born in Portugal	:	8 (66,6%)
Both parents born in Madeira	:	1 (8,3%)
Mother and father born in different countries	:	3 (25%)

(13) Reasons provided by the respondents for their families immigrating to South Africa:

Financial	:	4 (33,3%)
Social	:	4 (33,3%)
Political	:	1 (8,3%)
A combination of two reasons	:	3 (25%)

(14) Respondents' further intentions with regard to staying in South Africa

Staying permanently	:	3 (25%)
Staying temporarily	:	4 (33,3%)
Not sure	:	5 (41,6%)

The following reasons (indicated in the table below) were given by each group respectively:

Staying permanently	Staying temporarily	Not sure
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No family overseas/ study here/ do not speak Portuguese very well - Not much work in Portugal - Parents not keen to go back to Portugal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political situation - Parents want to go back to Portugal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents are going overseas - Political situation - Like both countries - Parents want to go back to Portugal

Table 10

(16) Educational qualifications

The educational qualifications of the respondents' parents are given in the following table:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Quarta classe	Quarta classe
2	Std 8	Std 10
3	Std 8	Secretarial Diploma
4	Std 10	Std 10
5	Quinto ano	Quinto ano
6	Studied in a monastery in Portugal	Unknown
7	Unknown	Unknown
8	Unknown	Unknown
9	Unknown	Std 8
10	Std 8	Std 10
11	Quinto ano	Quinto ano
12	Unknown	Unknown

Table 11

(18) Occupation

The occupations of the respondents' parents are given in the following table:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Pipefitter	Clerk
2	Boilermaker	Pharmacy assistant
3	Mechanic	Secretary
4	Butcher	Housewife
5	General foreman	Housewife
6	Architect	Housewife
7	Bricklayer	Nursery school assistant
8	Builder	Housewife
9	Electrician	Hairdresser
10	Travel agent	Housewife
11	Manager	Unknown
12	Manager	Clerk

Table 12

4.4 Results (Section B)

The results reflected in this section, were obtained from the use of Section B of the questionnaire, (see Appendix III: Questionnaire). The numbers in brackets correspond with those on the questionnaire.

(1) Education

(1.1) Is Portuguese offered at your school?

(1.2) If so, do you take the subject?

The responses of the school children to the above questions are presented in Table 13 below:

School children (Std 6 - 10)

	Response	Male	Female	Total
(1.1)	Yes	10 (83,3%)	10 (83,3%)	20 (83,3%)
	No	2 (16,6%)	2 (16,6%)	4 (16,6%)
(1.2)	Yes	4 (40%)	2 (20%)	6 (30%)
	No	6 (60%)	8 (80%)	14 (70%)

Table 13

The school children interviewed were from two high schools in the Johannesburg-South area, both of which have a very high percentage of Portuguese pupils (approximately 50% or more). The one school offers Portuguese as a subject, the other one does not (see Appendix IV). Hence, from the 24 school respondents, only the responses of the 20 respondents who have the opportunity to take the subject were taken into account. The reasons for pupils not taking the subject are indicated in Table 14 below. No substantial difference is noted between male and female responses:

(1.3) If you do not take Portuguese at school, why not?

The responses of the school children to the above question is presented in Table 14 below:

Male	Female
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - not offered at the time of subject choice - doing technical subjects - not interested - go to Portuguese school - would rather learn another language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - does not fit into subject set - not necessary for future/occupation - go to Portuguese school, hence literate in the subject - go to private school for Portuguese - taking French instead of Portuguese - already fully literate in the language - parents say level of Portuguese at school is not very high

Table 14

The above responses need to be seen against the following background:

1. The introduction of Portuguese as a subject is a fairly recent development at Forest High School (see Appendix IV). Hence, the subject was not offered at the time when the senior respondents (Std 9 and 10) had to make subject choices at the end of Std 7. Some pupils, however, changed their subject choices at a later stage, when the subject was introduced. Most of the respondents have the opportunity to study Portuguese at this school, but only 30% of the respondents actually take the subject.
2. Forest High School is both an academic and a technical high school. Therefore, pupils who want to take Portuguese as a subject, but are doing a technical course, are not able to do so, as technical and academic subjects are rarely combined into a single subject set.
3. Another reason for not taking Portuguese at school, is that some take it after school (i.e. at Portuguese school).

4. Many of the other reasons for not taking the subject given in Table 14 are the same as those generally indicated in the literature (see § 3.2.3, 3.2.10 & 3.2.11) as leading to language shift, e.g. a decreased interest with age or generation, a preference for studying another language, not forced by parents.

(1.4) Do you attend Portuguese school (i.e. in the afternoon)?

Response	Male	Female	Total
Yes	3 (25%)	2 (16,6%)	5 (20,8%)
No	5 (41,6%)	3 (25%)	8 (33,3%)
Used to	4 (33,3%)	7 (58,3%)	11 (45,8%)

Table 15

The responses of the schoolchildren to the above question are presented in Table 15 indicates that a large majority of respondents have, at some stage, had formal instruction or education in the mother tongue (16 = 66,6%).

The reasons for pupils not attending Portuguese school are indicated in Table 16 below, once again with no significant difference noted between male and female.

(1.5) If you do not attend Portuguese school, why not?

Male	Female
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no time - not interested/lost interest - parents do not force me to go - already know the language - don't enjoy it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - not interested - don't like it - not necessary - do Portuguese at school - teach unnecessary things at Portuguese school (e.g. history). One only needs to know how to read and write Portuguese - have already attended Portuguese school when in primary school

Table 16

The above responses therefore indicate that the main reason for pupils not attending Portuguese school is a lack of interest or time. Time constitutes a major problem. As pupils progress in high school, so it is more difficult to attend Portuguese school, and still have to study for Portuguese school in the afternoons. A further conflict arises when pupils want to participate in extra-mural activities at English (TED) school, after which they are not motivated to (or cannot) still attend Portuguese school. These reasons could cause a lack of interest in Portuguese school. Some pupils also, sometimes, regard themselves as literate in the mother tongue, even though they have only had the minimum instruction in the mother tongue.

(1.6) How much time do you devote to doing homework from Portuguese school?

	Male	Female
School respondents:	Average: 1½ hours week	Average: 1 hour a day - 4 hours per week
Non-school respondents:	Average: ± 5 hours per week	Average: 1 hour a day - 2 hours per week

Table 17

The responses to question 1.6, as set out in Table 17 above, indicate that pupils do not spend a large amount of time on homework from Portuguese school: at the most one hour a day is spent on this homework. An interview with the deputy principal of College Verney (see Appendix IV), also confirmed that teachers try to give a minimum amount of homework to pupils, in order to avoid a conflict with English (TED) school.

(1.7) What are your average marks for Portuguese (i.e. the subject done at English (TED) school)/Portuguese School?

	Male	Female
Portuguese at English (TED) School	60%	50%
Portuguese School	63,5%	65%

Table 18

The average marks for Portuguese obtained by the respondents are set out in Table 18. The average marks obtained for Portuguese at English (TED/Government school) and at Portuguese school tend to correlate. The only marked difference is the marks obtained by the female respondents for Portuguese at English school.

(1.8) If you went to university, would you take Portuguese as a subject?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	6 (50%)	8 (66,6%)	14 (58,3%)	6 (50%)	16 (88,8%)	22 (73,3%)	36 (66,6%)
No	5 (41,6%)	4 (33,3%)	9 (37,5%)	6 (50%)	2 (11,1%)	8 (26,6%)	17 (31,4%)
Undecided	1 (8,3%)	-	1 (4,1%)	-	-	-	1 (1,8%)

Table 19

The responses to the above question, as presented in Table 19, indicate a definite interest in studying, and thereby improving, the mother tongue, in both categories, school and non-school respondents. The respondents not interested in furthering their knowledge of their mother tongue, are clearly in the minority, among both school and non-school respondents.

The most prominent and recurring reasons provided by the respondents for wanting to, or not wanting to study the mother tongue on a tertiary level are set out below.

Reasons for wanting to study Portuguese on a tertiary level**School respondents**

- To improve one's literacy in the language - reading and writing skills.
- Would help with obtaining credits towards a degree.
- Already know the language.
- For career purposes.
- To learn more about the history of the language and the people.
- Enjoy the language.
- To ensure a career overseas - should one emigrate to Portugal.

Non-school respondents

- To improve one's literacy in the mother tongue.
- Already know the language. Therefore, easier than to start with another culture.
- Supplement studies - credits towards a degree. Only if in context, i.e. in line with the degree being studied for.
- Because it is the mother tongue. Enjoy the language and studying it. Part of one's heritage.
- Possible emigration to Portugal.
- Parental influence.

Reasons for not wanting to study Portuguese on a tertiary level

School respondents

- More competent in English.
- Would not cope: not very good in Portuguese.
- Not interested/not necessary.
- Don't enjoy the language or studying it.
- Never did the subject up to Std 10.
- Would rather do French, already know Portuguese.
- Have already studied the language at Portuguese school.

Non-school respondents

- Other subjects would be more beneficial for a career/Not applicable to a career.
- Already studied the language.
- Too difficult.
- Already know the language, therefore, would rather learn something new instead.
- No particular reason.

Examining the responses indicated by the respondents who would study the mother tongue on a tertiary level, the most prominent reason provided is that of furthering literacy in the mother tongue. This can be seen against the background that the majority of people in the community may have a reasonably good command of the spoken language, but not a poor command of the written language. This is due to the fact that afternoon school did not exist before 1975, and that the subject is not offered in many high schools which have a large majority of Portuguese pupils.

Another less prominent response was that people would study the language merely because it is their mother tongue, and for pure enjoyment (because of an inherent positive attitude toward the language).

When examining the reasons why respondents would not study the mother tongue on a tertiary level, it was clear that certain respondents showed a general lack of interest in the mother tongue, felt it unnecessary to study the language further, or improve their literacy in the language. There are also those who regarded the language as "too difficult", and therefore felt that they would not cope with the language on a tertiary level. Certain respondents felt it would be more beneficial to further their studies in a language they already had learnt (e.g. French) or a new language, as they would be learning something new. Many who had already studied the language at school or Portuguese school felt that this was sufficient education or instruction in

the mother tongue. A few respondents also indicated that other subjects would be more beneficial for a future career.

Comparing the responses of the school respondents, and the non-school respondents, one can detect no noticeable difference in the responses. In general, very similar responses were provided by both groups of respondents.

(1.9) Have you ever learned a third or fourth language?

	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
Responses	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	4 (33,3%)	6 (50%)	10 (41,6%)	4 (33,3%)	13 (72,2%)	17 (56,6%)	27 (50%)
No	8 (66,6%)	6 (50%)	14 (58,3%)	8 (66,6%)	5 (27,7%)	13 (43,3%)	27 (50%)

Table 20

The responses to question 1.9, as reflected in Table 20, indicate that exactly half of all the respondents (and therefore a substantial number of respondents) have, at some stage, learnt a third or fourth language. It also appears that more non-school respondents, in comparison to school pupils, have learnt a third or fourth language.

(1.10) Do you find the learning of a third or fourth language easier than Portuguese?

	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
Responses	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	1 (25%)	1 (16,6%)	2 (20%)	-	5 (38,4%)	5 (29,4%)	7 (25,9%)
No	3 (75%)	3 (50%)	6 (60%)	3 (75%)	8 (61,5%)	11 (64,7%)	17 (62,9%)
<u>± same</u>	-	2 (33,3%)	2 (20%)	1 (25%)	-	1 (5,8%)	3 (17,6%)

Table 21

Of the respondents who have, at some stage, learnt a third or fourth language, it is clearly evident from the responses (reflected in Table 21) that most respondents found it more difficult to learn a new language, than their mother tongue.

Certain respondents indicated, however, that they found French easier to learn than Portuguese; another respondent indicated that Afrikaans was easier to learn than Portuguese, while another indicated that European languages are more or less the same to learn.

(1.11) In which language do you count?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
English	4 (33,3%)	3 (25%)	7 (29,1%)	4 (33,3%)	11 (61,1%)	15 (50%)	22 (40,7%)
Portuguese	2 (16,6%)	-	2 (8,3%)	1 (8,3%)	1 (5,5%)	2 (6,6%)	4 (7,4%)
Both	6 (50%)	9 (75%)	15 (62,5%)	7 (58,3%)	6 (33,3%)	13 (43,3%)	28 (51,8%)

Table 22

The above table clearly indicates that the greater majority of school respondents count in both English and Portuguese. It is significant to note that in comparison, however, that the majority (half) of non-school respondents count in English only. This seems strange because the older respondents usually speak the mother tongue more frequently and more fluently. This could, however, be ascribed to Anglicization in this domain over a long period of time.

The overall results seem to indicate a shift to the use of English in this domain, with 51,8%, of the respondents counting in both English and Portuguese, and 40,7% of the respondents counting in English only. Only 7,4% of the respondents count in Portuguese only. Language shift in this area could possibly be due both to schooling, and the fact that figures are used to a great extent in businesses, which is largely conducted in English.

(2) **Cultural/Social involvement**(2.1) **Have you ever been involved in any Portuguese cultural activities?**

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	3 (25%)	6 (50%)	9 (37,5%)	10 (83,3%)	13 (72,2%)	23 (76,6%)	32 (59,2%)
No	9 (75%)	6 (50%)	15 (62,5%)	2 (16,6%)	5 (27,7%)	7 (23,3%)	22 (40,7%)

Table 23

The above table clearly indicates a greater involvement in cultural activities of the community by the non-school respondents, i.e. the older members of the community (mostly first and second generation).

Activities in which the respondents participate, are the following:

- **Youth groups.** There are numerous youth groups to which young people can belong. Many are affiliated to the Church, e.g. St Patrick's Catholic Church (La Rochelle). The groups meet for religious and/or social meetings. Clubs can also have established youth groups, or facilitate youth gatherings, e.g. União.
- **Lusitoland.** Lusito is a school for Portuguese children who are mentally handicapped. Once a year (April/May), the school holds a fund-raiser at Wemmer Pan in La Rochelle in order to raise money for the school. The fund-raiser is a very big festival, and usually lasts for approximately 5 days. It is run on a similar basis to a fleamarket. Members of the community do volunteer work at the festival.
- **Rancho.** This is Portuguese folk dancing. There are also many groups, either affiliated to a club, or run privately. There are both Portuguese and Madeiran groups, having similar dress and dances. The groups dance at different clubs or functions, either charging a minimal fee, or free of charge. These groups also perform, at times, a **Marcha** (march). This is a dance taking on a particular form and sequence, usually being performed at important religious celebrations, e.g. celebrating saint days. The most

important or prominent of these saint days is that of Saint John (São João), celebrated in June.

- **Sport.** Many clubs in the community have sports teams, which people can join. The most important club is União. Sports teams which can be joined are, for example, basketball, soccer, hockey, roller hockey.
- **Wits Portuguese Society.** This is an academic, social and cultural organization on the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand. Every year a new committee is elected, which has to raise funds during the year. The Society also aims to unite Portuguese students both on campus and in the community. Furthermore, they aim to establish links with Portuguese students at other university and technicon campuses.
- **Welfare.** The welfare organization takes care of welfare problems within the community. The Debutantes raise money for this organization. Certainly one of the largest projects run by this organization welfare is the Portuguese Old Aged Home (*Lar da Terceira Idade da Comunidade Portuguesa*).
- **Debutantes.** Every year debutantes (age 16) raise money for welfare.
- **AJEPP (*Associação de Jovens Empresários e Profissionais Portugueses*).** This is a society for young entrepreneurs and professionals. It is also a social and cultural society, aiming to bring Portuguese business people together, and to promote business amongst each other. The society also tries to establish business links with Mozambique and Angola, where possible. Occasionally the society may receive funds from the Portuguese Government.
- **Academia do Bacalhau.** This is a society for older, established businessmen.
- **School-related activities.** Schools may have various functions for Portuguese pupils and parents. The Hill High School has a Portuguese Committee, organizing both school and cultural activities to raise money. At the end of the year, the money is used to have an Annual Ball. Forest High School also has a Portuguese club, which organizes fund-raising events, e.g. Portuguese food stalls on sports days.

(2.2) Do you attend Portuguese Clubs?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Regularly	5 (41,6%)	2 (16,6%)	7 (29,1%)	2 (16,6%)	3 (16,6%)	5 (16,6%)	12 (22,2%)
Occasionally	2 (16,6%)	3 (25%)	5 (20,8%)	3 (25%)	6 (33,3%)	9 (30%)	14 (25,9%)
Seldom	4 (33,3%)	5 (41,6%)	9 (37,5%)	5 (41,6%)	5 (27,7%)	10 (33,3%)	19 (35,1%)
Never	1 (8,3%)	2 (16,6%)	3 (12,5%)	2 (16,6%)	4 (22,2%)	6 (20%)	9 (16,6%)

Table 24

The above table clearly indicates that the various clubs do play a role in the community. An overwhelming number of people do attend the various clubs, even if only seldom. Of the school respondents 87,5% (21 out of 24) do attend the various clubs while 80% (24 out of 30) of the non-school respondents attend clubs.

(3) Media

The responses to the questions on the media, reflected in Table 25 below, indicate that, at present, the media has a limited (indeed marginal) effect on language maintenance within the community, due to the fact that many aspects of the media are not fully utilized by a large number of respondents. At present, it appears that primarily newspapers and/or magazines and the television are utilized. The situation with regard to the radio station is explained in § 5.4.1. The media does, however, have great potential to play a leading role in language maintenance (as discussed in § 2.2.4 and § 5.4).

MEDIA

Responses	Regularly		Occasionally		Rarely		Never	
	School resp.	Non-school resp.	School resp.	Non-school resp.	School resp.	Non-school resp.	School resp.	Non-school resp.
Do you read Portuguese newspapers/magazines	6 = 25%	13 = 43,3%	7 = 29,1%	12 = 40%	1 = 4,1%	5 = 16,6%	10 = 41,6%	0
Do you listen to Radio Cidade?	1 = 4,1%	0	3 = 12,5%	0	0	1 = 3,3%	20 = 83,3%	29 = 96,6%
Do you watch Canal Português on M-Net?	11 = 45,8%	12 = 40%	5 = 20,8%	8 = 26,6%	1 = 4,1%	5 = 16,6%	7 = 29,1%	5 = 16,6%
Do you read Portuguese literature?	8 = 33,3%	4 = 13,3%	6 = 25%	4 = 13,3%	0	7 = 23,3%	10 = 41,6%	15 = 50%
Do you go to Portuguese films/plays?	0	1 = 3,3%	3 = 12,5%	2 = 6,6%	1 = 4,1%	3 = 10%	20 = 83,3%	24 = 80%
Do you watch Portuguese videos?	7 = 29,1%	3 = 10%	7 = 29,1%	8 = 26,6%	2 = 8,3%	4 = 13,3%	8 = 33,3%	15 = 50%

Table 25

(4) Religion**(4.1) In which language do you prefer church services?**

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
English	5 (41,6%)	5 (41,6%)	10 (41,6%)	5 (41,6%)	13 (72,2%)	18 (60%)	28 (51,8%)
Portuguese	4 (33,3%)	5 (41,6%)	9 (37,5%)	2 (16,6%)	1 (5,5%)	3 (10%)	12 (22,2%)
Both	3 (25%)	2 (16,6%)	5 (20,8%)	5 (41,6%)	4 (22,2%)	9 (30%)	14 (25,9%)

Table 26

The above table indicates a preference for non-mother tongue services. Amongst both school and non-school respondents there is a definite preference for church services either in English or bilingual church services; the number of respondents attending church services conducted in Portuguese only, is minimal.

The reasons provided for the language preference for church services, are set out below:

English-only church services**School respondents**

- Services are shorter.
- English is easier to understand. Portuguese is more difficult to understand.
- Portuguese priest speaks too fast.
- Less boring.

Non-school respondents

- Understand English better.
- Portuguese services are tedious, singing is pretentious; people gossip.
- Portuguese services are longer.
- Difficult to understand Portuguese religious jargon/English is easier to understand.
- English priest is more expressive.
- Portuguese services are tedious; pretentious. Emphasis on singing, and less on the actual service.
- Don't enjoy Portuguese services.
- Always have attended English services.
- Only know how to pray in English.

Portuguese-only church services

School respondents

- Understand Portuguese better/sounds better.
- More lively/expressive.
- Don't understand English very well.
- Very different the way the priest speaks.
- Understand Portuguese better: grew up in the Portuguese tradition; always have attended Portuguese mass.

Non-school respondents

- Understand Portuguese better.
- No real difference, but prefer church services in my own language, my mother tongue.

Bilingual church services

School respondents

- Very much the same; doesn't matter. Interesting listening to both.
- Mother is English.
- Mother prefers Portuguese and English singing.

Non-school respondents

- Doesn't matter, understand both.
- Did Catechism in Portuguese, therefore doctrine makes more sense.
- Portuguese services can be boring; English services are different.

The reasons provided by the respondents for this shift (with regard to church services), were also all very similar. There is a definite preference, firstly, for short, concise and enjoyable church services. These preferences are satisfied by the English church services, which are also not/or less, tedious. It is also easier to understand and follow a church service conducted in English, especially when one has grown up in that tradition. This not being the case, Portuguese liturgy can be very difficult to follow and understand for South African Portuguese; consequently, this is made more difficult if the priest speaks very fast in Portuguese.

There are also a small number of respondents who still prefer church services in Portuguese (mother tongue). Many of these respondents are either recent immigrants; live in a predominantly Portuguese environment, have not yet mastered English, or grew up attending Portuguese mass or church services. Understandably, therefore, there is a preference for attending Portuguese or mother tongue church services.

A small percentage of respondents have no real preference for the type of service they attend.

(4.2) In which language do you pray?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
English	4 (33,3%)	4 (33,3%)	8 (33,3%)	4 (33,3%)	11 (61,1%)	15 (50%)	23 (42,5%)
Portuguese	2 (16,6%)	2 (16,6%)	4 (16,6%)	5 (41,6%)	2 (11,1%)	7 (23,3%)	11 (20,3%)
Both	6 (50%)	6 (50%)	12 (50%)	2 (16,6%)	4 (22,2%)	6 (20%)	18 (33,3%)
N/A	-	-		1 (8,3%)	1 (5,5%)	2 (6,6%)	2 (3,7%)

Table 27

The above table indicates a preference for non-mother tongue usage, to using English only, or bilingual language usage when praying. A total of 20 (83,3%) school respondents pray either in English only, or both English and Portuguese.

Similarly, an overwhelming majority of non-school respondents, 21 (70%) pray either in English only or both English and Portuguese. A shift from mother tongue usage in the domain of religion is therefore evident.

(5) Migration/visits to and contact with family/friends overseas**(5.1) How often do you go overseas?**

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Every year	2 (16,6%)	1 (8,3%)	3 (12,5%)	4 (33,3%)	6 (33,3%)	10 (33,3%)	13 (24%)
Often (every 2 - 3 years)	1 (8,3%)	3 (25%)	4 (16,6%)	3 (25%)	2 (11,1%)	5 (16,6%)	9 (16,6%)
Occasionally no set pattern	1 (8,3%)	1 (8,3%)	2 (8,3%)	3 (25%)	5 (27,7%)	8 (26,6%)	10 (18,5%)
Seldom	6 (50%)	5 (41,6%)	11 (45,8%)	2 (16,6%)	5 (27,7%)	7 (23,3%)	18 (33,3%)
Never	2 (16,6%)	2 (16,6%)	4 (16,6%)	-	-	-	4 (7,4%)

Table 28

The above table indicates that there is a definite link or contact with the mother country: Most respondents have visited Portugal on a fairly regular basis, and a fair proportion visit the country on a fairly regular basis. Respondents who have never been to the mother country are marginal. The majority of non-school respondents visit Portugal annually.

(5.2) How often do you have visitors from overseas?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Every year	3 (25%)	3 (25%)	6 (25%)	2 (16,6%)	1 (5,5%)	3 (10%)	9 (16,6%)
Often (every 2 - 3 years)	1 (8,3%)	1 (8,3%)	2 (8,3%)	1 (8,3%)	1 (5,5%)	2 (6,6%)	4 (7,4%)
Occasionally/ no set pattern	-	1 (8,3%)	1 (4,1%)	1 (8,3%)	1 (5,5%)	2 (6,6%)	3 (5,5%)
Seldom	7 (58,3%)	4 (33,3%)	11 (45,8%)	5 (41,6%)	12 (66,6%)	17 (56,6%)	28 (51,8%)
Never	1 (8,3%)	3 (25%)	4 (16,6%)	3 (25%)	3 (16,6%)	6 (20%)	10 (18,5%)

Table 29

The above table clearly indicates that most respondents seldom have visitors from Portugal. Certain respondents also indicated that they very seldom have visitors from overseas, as they usually go there. This is a general trend within the community: people in South Africa generally go to Portugal to visit family and friends, and not vice-versa.

(5.3) Do you keep in close contact with friends/family overseas?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	11 (91,6%)	9 (75%)	20 (83,3%)	8 (66,6%)	16 (88,8%)	24 (80%)	44 (81,4%)
No	1 (8,3%)	2 (16,6%)	3 (12,5%)	4 (33,3%)	1 (5,5%)	5 (16,6%)	8 (14,8%)
No - parents do	-	1 (8,3%)	1 (4,1%)	-	1 (5,5%)	1 (3,3%)	2 (3,7%)

Table 30

The above table indicates that the majority of both school and non-school respondents keep in close contact with friends and family overseas - an important factor for language maintenance. The next table reflects the language used for correspondence with these friends and/or family:

(5.3) (cont.) Do you communicate in English, Portuguese or both?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
English	-	1 (8,3%)	1 (4,1%)	-	-	-	1 (1,8%)
Portuguese	10 (83,3%)	8 (66,6%)	18 (75%)	8 (66,6%)	12 (66,6%)	20 (66,6%)	38 (70,3%)
Both	1 (8,3%)	1 (8,3%)	2 (8,3%)	1 (8,3%)	6 (33,3%)	7 (23,3%)	9 (16,6%)
N/A	1 (8,3%)	2 (16,6%)	3 (12,5%)	3 (25%)	-	3 (10%)	6 (11,1%)

Table 31

From the above table it can be seen that an overwhelming majority of respondents who do keep in contact with friends and family overseas, do so through the medium

of Portuguese, i.e. the mother tongue. This factor could therefore play a very important role in language maintenance.

(6) Contact situations

(6.1) What language do you speak to your friends?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
English	1 (8,3%)	-	1 (4,1%)	2 (16,6%)	1 (5,5%)	3 (10%)	4 (7,4%)
Portuguese	-	-	-	1 (8,3%)	1 (5,5%)	2 (6,6%)	2 (3,7%)
Both	11 (91,6%)	12 (100%)	23 (95,8%)	9 (75%)	16 (88,8%)	25 (83,3%)	48 (88,8%)

Table 32

The above table indicates definite preference for bilingual communication in situations of contact with South African Portuguese friends. It can be noted that none of the school respondents (mostly third generation) employ solely the mother tongue, when conversing with friends. Use of the mother tongue by the non-school respondents is also absolutely minimal. Both groups therefore show a preference for the use of both English and Portuguese (bilingualism) in situations of contact with friends.

(6.2) Under which circumstances do you speak to your friends in Portuguese?

School Respondents		Non-school respondents	
Male	Female	Male	Female
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exclusivity (x 5) - Depends on the topic under discussion - Swearing - Slang - Code-switching (x 4) - Socializing - When asking/questioning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exclusivity (x 10) - Code-switching (x 6) - Socializing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exclusivity (x 5) - Code-switching (x 3) - Socializing - Joking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exclusivity (x 10) - Context/subject of discussion - Swearing - Code-switching (x 8) - Better pronunciation - If something sounds better in Portuguese - Joking - Professional/work-related

Table 33

From the responses to question 6.2 it appeared that one of the most important functions played by the mother tongue in communication with friends is that of "exclusivity", i.e. speaking the mother tongue in the presence of people who do not understand the language.

Portuguese appeared to be used largely in code-switching situations and the use of Portuguese was very much topic or context dependant.

(6.3) How well does your mother/father speak English?

Responses	Mother		Father	
	School Respondents	Non-school Respondents	School Respondents	Non-school Respondents
Very fluently	8 (33,3%)	1 (3,3%)	6 (25%)	3 (10%)
Fairly fluently	7 (29,1%)	6 (20%)	8 (33,3%)	14 (46,6%)
A little	5 (20,8%)	16 (53,3%)	9 (37,5%)	8 (26,6%)
Not at all	4 (16,6%)	7 (23,3%)	1 (4,1%)	4 (13,3%)
				1 deceased (3,3%)

Table 34

Examining the responses in the table above, it can be seen that there are still a fair number of people (of the older generations) who are not very fluent in English. The group who, by far, demonstrate the least fluency or proficiency in English are the mothers of the non-school respondents. The fathers of these respondents, in contrast, are, generally, "fairly fluent" in English. This is probably because the women (of the older generation) usually stayed at home, while only the men went out to work. As such, the men came into daily contact with English (or had to learn English), while the women did not have this contact with English, or any real need to learn it. The parents of the school respondents (i.e. a younger generation), are generally more fluent in English, fewer not being very fluent in English.

(6.4) In which language do you speak to your mother/father/brother-sister/husband-wife?

Responses	Mother		Father		Brothers/sisters		Spouse (Non-school Resp.) 8 married couples
	School Resp.	Non-school Resp.	School Resp.	Non-school Resp.	School Resp.	Non-school Resp.	
Mostly Portuguese	11 (45,8%)	28 (93,3%)	15 (62,5%)	25 (83,3%)	1 (4,3%)	3 (10,3%)	-
Both English and Portuguese	11 (45,8%)	1 (3,3%)	7 (29,1%)	4 (13,3%)	11 (47,8%)	13 (44,8%)	9 (56,2%)
Mostly English	2 (8,3%)	1 (3,3%)	2 (8,3%)	1 (3,3%)	11 (47,8%)	13 (44,8%)	7 (43,7%)

Table 35

From the above table it is clearly evident that the majority of respondents communicate with their parents in Portuguese. A marked difference is observable when examining the languages used in communicating with brothers/sisters. There is a distinct increase in bilingualism or the use of English only. Language shift is therefore clearly evident, even more so when examining the language(s) used by married couples who were interviewed - none communicate in Portuguese only.

(6.5) Do you have Portuguese neighbours?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	10 (83,3%)	7 (58,3%)	17 (70,8%)	6 (50%)	11 (61,1%)	17 (56,6%)	34 (62,9%)
No	2 (16,6%)	5 (41,6%)	7 (29,1%)	6 (50%)	7 (38,8%)	13 (43,3%)	20 (37%)

Table 36

The above table indicates that Portuguese immigrants tend to live in "language islands" (§ 2.2.7(b)), namely, that people of the same ethnic background, minority groups or immigrant communities tend to stay together in the same areas. This is evident from the large number of respondents who have Portuguese neighbours.

(6.5) (cont.) What language do you speak to your neighbours?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
English	-	-	-	-	1 (9%)	1 (5,8%)	1 (2,9%)
Portuguese	3 (30%)	2 (28,5%)	5 (29,4%)	3 (50%)	1 (9%)	4 (23,5%)	9 (26,4%)
Both	7 (70%)	5 (71,4%)	12 (70,5%)	2 (33,3%)	7 (63,6%)	9 (52,9%)	21 (61,7%)
No contact				1 (16,6%)	2 (18,1%)	3 (17,6%)	3 (8,8%)

Table 37

The above table once again indicates a clear preference for the use of both the mother tongue and English (bilingualism) by both groups of respondents. Use of the mother tongue (Portuguese) or English only, remains minimal.

(6.6) Do you speak to Portuguese strangers (e.g. shop-owners) in English, Portuguese or both languages?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
English	2 (16,6%)	1 (8,3%)	3 (12,5%)	1 (8,3%)	4 (22,2%)	5 (16,6%)	8 (14,8%)
Portuguese	6 (50%)	7 (58,3%)	13 (54,1%)	5 (41,6%)	9 (50%)	14 (46,6%)	27 (50%)
Both	4 (33,3%)	4 (33,3%)	8 (33,3%)	6 (50%)	5 (27,7%)	11 (36,6%)	19 (35,1%)

Table 38

From the above table it can be noted that there is more use of the mother tongue (Portuguese) with strangers, than with friends or neighbours, as discussed earlier. There is also fairly frequent use of both English and Portuguese.

A possible explanation for the considerable use of the mother tongue (Portuguese) with strangers, is that a large number of people in business (or owning a business) at present, are usually first or second generation immigrants. They therefore usually speak predominantly Portuguese. Contact with these people would therefore, nearly always be in the mother tongue.

(6.7) Are there Portuguese people or friends at your work/college/university?

	Non-school Respondents		TOTAL
Responses	Male	Female	
Work			
YES	9 (75%)	14 (77,7%)	23 (76,6%)
NO	3 (25%)	4 (22,2%)	7 (23,3%)
College/ University			
YES	5 (41,6%)	8 (44,4%)	13 (43,3%)
NO	-	-	-

Table 39

The above table indicates that a large number of respondents (especially the non-school respondents) come into daily contact with other Portuguese people in their work or university/college environment.

(6.8) Do you speak to the Portuguese people at work, university/college in English, Portuguese or both languages?

		Non-school Respondents		TOTAL
Responses		Male	Female	
Work	English	-	1 (7,1%)	1 (4,3%)
	Portuguese	5 (55,5%)	-	5 (21,7%)
	Both	4 (44,4%)	13 (92,8%)	17 (73,9%)
College/ University	English	-	1 (12,5%)	1 (7,6%)
	Portuguese	-	-	-
	Both	5 (100%)	7 (87,5%)	12 (92,3%)

Table 40

The above table, once again, clearly indicates a language shift in progress. In communicating with other Portuguese people in the work or university/college environment, using both English and Portuguese (bilingualism) is the primary means of communication.

(7) Attitudes/Language loyalty**(7.1) Do you consider Portuguese literature interesting?**

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	8 (66,6%)	7 (58,3%)	15 (62,5%)	7 (58,3%)	11 (61,1%)	18 (60%)	33 (61,1%)
No	3 (25%)	1 (8,3%)	4 (16,6%)	1 (8,3%)	-	1 (3,3%)	5 (9,2%)
Undecided	1 (8,3%)	4 (33,3%)	5 (20,8%)	4 (33,3%)	7 (38,8%)	11 (36,6%)	16 (29,6%)

Table 41

From the above table one can detect positive attitude, in general, toward Portuguese literature, by both groups of respondents. A possible explanation for respondents being 'undecided' is that these respondents may possibly never have received formal instruction in the mother tongue, or only received a minimal level of education in the mother tongue. Their knowledge of and contact with the literature would therefore be minimal or nothing at all.

(7.2) Do you think Portuguese authors are as good as authors of other languages?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	7 (58,3%)	8 (66,6%)	15 (62,5%)	9 (75%)	13 (72,2%)	22 (73,3%)	37 (68,5%)
No	2 (16,6%)	2 (16,6%)	4 (16,6%)	-	-	-	4 (7,4%)
Undecided	2 (16,6%)	2 (16,6%)	4 (16,6%)	3 (25%)	5 (27,7%)	8 (26,6%)	12 (22,2%)
Better	1 (8,3%)	-	1 (4,1%)	-	-	-	1 (1,8%)

Table 42

It is further evident that a large majority of respondents, in both groups of respondents, consider Portuguese authors to be as good as those of other languages. This could also possibly be indicative of a positive attitude towards the language, in general. The same explanation provided above for respondents who indicated being 'undecided' (Table 41), could also apply to these respondents who indicated being 'undecided' on this issue.

Language loyalty**(7.3) Do you consider the Portuguese language beautiful?**

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	11 (91,6%)	12 (100%)	23 (95,8%)	11 (91,6%)	15 (83,3%)	26 (86,6%)	49 (90,7%)
No	1 (8,3%)	-	1 (4,1%)	-	2 (11,1%)	2 (6,6%)	3 (5,5%)
Undecided	-	-	-	1 (8,3%)	1 (8,3%)	2 (6,6%)	2 (3,7%)

Table 43

It can be seen from the above that the respondents are, without any doubt, proud of their language. Interviews and contact with the community will reveal that they do not only regard it as something beautiful, but also as something special.

(7.4) If you could choose between speaking another European language perfectly, and speaking Portuguese perfectly, what would you choose?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Portuguese	8 (66,6%)	7 (58,3%)	15 (62,5%)	5 (41,6%)	9 (50%)	14 (46,6%)	29 (53,7%)
Another European language	4 (33,3%)	5 (41,6%)	9 (37,5%)	7 (58,3%)	8 (44,4%)	15 (50%)	24 (44,4%)
Both	-	-	-	-	1 (5,5%)	1 (3,3%)	1 (1,8%)

Table 44

It is interesting to note the difference between the school and non-school respondents: more school children would prefer to perfect their Portuguese, whereas a greater number of non-school respondents, especially the male respondents, would prefer to speak another European language perfectly. Seen overall, however, most respondents would prefer to speak Portuguese perfectly.

(7.5) Do you consider Portuguese to be as good as any European language?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
As good as any European language	10 (83,3%)	10 (83,3%)	20 (83,3%)	12 (100%)	17 (94,4%)	29 (96,6%)	49 (90,7%)
An inferior language	1 (8,3%)	-	1 (4,1%)	-	-	-	1 (1,8%)
Undecided	-	2 (16,6%)	2 (8,3%)	-	1 (5,5%)	1 (3,3%)	3 (5,5%)
Better	1 (8,3%)	-	1 (4,1%)	-	-	-	1 (1,8%)

Table 45

The above table once again clearly indicates the very positive attitudes and feelings of the respondents, toward their mother tongue, also when compared to other European languages.

(7.6) Do you feel it is important to be fully conversant in your mother tongue?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Yes	11 (91,6%)	12 (100%)	23 (95,8%)	12 (100%)	17 (94,4%)	29 (96,6%)	52 (96,2%)
No	1 (8,3%)	-	1 (4,1%)	-	1 (5,5%)	1 (3,3%)	2 (3,7%)

Table 46

Once again, the above table indicates a very positive attitude toward the mother tongue, and more specifically, proficiency in the mother tongue. Virtually all respondents answered positively.

The reasons provided by the respondents for feeling it is important to be proficient in the mother tongue, are set out below:

Reasons for feeling it is important to be proficient in the mother tongue

School respondents

- In order to maintain the heritage and culture.
- To communicate with others - especially if one goes overseas one can read and write: important if one intends emigrating.
- To continue the tradition and language.
- To communicate with family and/or friends who do not speak English, and communicate with friends and family overseas.
- Because it is my mother tongue.
- It is passed on by one's parents - parents speak it, therefore one should continue to speak it and teach it to one's children.

Non-school respondents

- It is an inherent part of one, therefore one should never forget it. It is important to know one's origins. It helps maintain contact with the culture of one's origin/roots. It also enhances one's culture and upbringing: one can draw on a Latin culture.
- For communication with family who are not fluent in English, and with family overseas.
- It is part of one's heritage. Provides links with the past/tradition(s). It provides a sense of belonging or identity and the Portuguese have a proud background.
- For contact and/or dealings overseas.
- It is one's home language, one is brought up that way. One cannot be very Portuguese if not conversant in the language. It is a rich language and one of the oldest in the world.
- One can feel more educated - a sense of achievement.
- It is an advantage - to have an added language. One can benefit from being fluent in it. It assists in understanding Latin terminology, therefore, one is more "knowledgeable".
- It is one's home language/mother tongue - it is important to continue with one's mother tongue and to know it. One cannot be considered truly Portuguese if not conversant in one's mother tongue.
- It is important for the future (if one wanted to return to Portugal).

(7.7) Do you feel proud or ashamed of being Portuguese?

Responses	School Respondents			Non-School Respondents			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Proud	12 (100%)	11 (91,6%)	23 (95,8%)	12 (100%)	18 (100%)	30 (100%)	53 (98,1%)
Ashamed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Both	-	1 (8,3%)	1 (4,1%)	-	-	-	1 (1,8%)

Table 47

Clearly, from the above table, the respondents (and in general), are very proud of being Portuguese, for various reasons (indicated below). Pride in being Portuguese is, generally because of notions or characteristics associated with, or attributed to the Portuguese.

Reasons why respondents felt proud of being Portuguese

School respondents

- They are a good nation.
- They have had many achievements.
- Because of the culture.
- Because of the history and the people they are.
- Descendant from many generations.
- The Portuguese are known for good things.
- They are a friendly nation.
- It is an inherent feeling.
- There is no reason to be ashamed - there are many other Portuguese around, therefore it is all right to be Portuguese.
- One should be proud of what you are.
- One can be proud of the language - it is unique.
- The ability to speak another language - allows one to feel good.
- Take after parents, and they are Portuguese.

Non-School Respondents

- Because of the background. Proud of the heritage of the nation
- Proud of the maritime history and the achievements.
- The people are good.
- It is an inherent feeling, like religion: you don't see it, but believe it.
- The culture is different from that of South Africans and the way they think.
- It is also a sense of identity - one is different from the rest of the population.
- Because of the language/mother tongue - it is a good language.
- Brought up in that way, the family are very proud of being Portuguese. Live in a very Portuguese home.
- Born in Portugal: Portugal is my country and I am proud of my country.
- It is important to be patriotic.

Reasons why Portuguese felt both proud and ashamed of being Portuguese

School Respondents

- Ashamed because Portuguese women can be embarrassing: they speak loudly and live in the past.

Non-School Respondents

- Feel proud of being Portuguese, but have been educated in South Africa and South Africa has been better to me.

Table 48 below summarizes the responses to Section (8) of the questionnaire. It gives an indication of the language attitudes within the community.

From the responses to the questions it appears that the older generation (1st and/or 2nd generation definitely prefer their children to speak Portuguese at home. Some children are forced to speak Portuguese because it is the parents' decision that only Portuguese is spoken in the home; others do not really have a choice as the parents cannot speak English. Although first or second generation respondents may not object strongly to English being used (e.g. between brothers and sisters), they would definitely prefer the use of Portuguese in the home.

From the responses of the younger generation it appears that they too indicated that they would like their children to speak Portuguese (at home), although they were far more accepting of their children not using Portuguese in the home. The majority indicated that they would not object strongly to their children using or speaking English at home: a minority would enforce the use of their mother tongue. Nevertheless, an overall majority would prefer the use of the mother tongue (in comparison to the use of English) at home. Thus, there is still a case for maintenance of the mother tongue, because of the general positive attitudes of the younger respondents, for their children to speak the language (cf. "Would you like your children to speak Portuguese at home?" and "Would you prefer your children to speak Portuguese rather than English at home?").

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Responses	Strongly yes		Yes		No		Do not care		No response	
	School resp.	Non-school resp.	School resp.	Non-school resp.	School resp.	Non-school resp.	School resp.	Non-school resp.	School resp.	Non-school resp.
Do your parents like you to speak Portuguese?	12 = 50%	13 = 43,3%	11 = 45,8%	15 = 50%	-	-	1 = 4,1%	2 = 6,6%	-	-
Are you ever forced to speak Portuguese at home?	-	3 = 10%	3 = 12,5%	12 = 40%	21 = 87,5%	15 = 50%	-	-	-	-
Do your parents mind if you speak English at home?	-	1 = 3,3%	3 = 12,5%	11 = 36,6%	21 = 87,5%	18 = 60%	-	-	-	-
Do your parents prefer you to speak Portuguese rather than English at home?	9 = 37,5%	8 = 26,6%	5 = 20,8%	16 = 53,3%	8 = 33,3%	3 = 10%	2 = 8,3%	3 = 10%	-	-
Would you like your children to speak Portuguese at home?	7 = 29,1%	7 = 23,3%	17 = 70,8%	21 = 70%	-	1 = 3,3%	-	1 = 3,3%	-	-
Would you force your children to speak Portuguese at home?	-	3 = 10%	1 = 4,1%	7 = 23,3%	22 = 91,6%	20 = 66,6%	1 = 4,1%	-	-	-
Would you mind if your children speak English at home?	-	1 = 3,3%	1 = 4,1%	3 = 10%	23 = 95,8%	26 = 86,6%	-	-	-	-
Would you prefer your children to speak Portuguese rather than English at home?	4 = 16,6%	3 = 10%	12 = 50%	13 = 43,3%	8 = 33,3%	13 = 43,3%	-	1 = 3,3%	-	-

Table 48

Chapter 5

Discussion of results

5.1 Introduction

In this section, the results obtained from the interviews (as set out in § 4.4), will be discussed, with reference to the literature on maintenance and shift, which was discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, respectively. The researcher will attempt to establish what factors are facilitating maintenance of the mother tongue (Portuguese) and what factors are facilitating shift from the mother tongue to English, in the context of the Johannesburg Portuguese community.

5.2 Education

Education is undoubtedly one of the most important domains for language maintenance, and certainly has the greatest potential for influencing language maintenance (e.g. Mougeon 1985:476; Campbell and Schnell 1987:180). It should also be borne in mind, however, that education also has great potential to facilitate a language shift away from the mother tongue: in many instances (and also in the South African Portuguese community), immigrant children have to be proficient in the language of the host society in order to obtain an education. Instruction in their own language, or as a subject in the school curriculum, is often not available. This aspect will be discussed later in this chapter.

The following discussion is related to Table 13 (Chapter 4), which highlights one of the most important issues in education, namely, whether Portuguese is offered as a school subject, or not. The importance of this issue lies in the fact that studying the subject at school will enhance maintenance of and literacy in the mother tongue.

The literature on the domain of education reveals a number of important reasons for studying the mother tongue at school. Firstly, it leads to an improved or positive status of the language (Kalantzis 1985:173). This is important in the South African context, as the Portuguese, and all things associated with them, are often viewed or regarded as inferior or "peasant" by many South Africans. This attitude could be detected among many people, when conducting interviews or questioning them on the issue.

Simon *et al.* (1984:92) detect a similar finding in their research on Portuguese high school pupils, also in the Johannesburg South area:

Many students perceived the disadvantages of being Portuguese as being related to hurtful comments ... sometimes directed to them from members of the host culture. These comments created feelings of being left out.

Simon *et al.* (1984:93) indicate that these comments are also sometimes, however of a jocular nature. In the research conducted by Simon *et al.* (1984:92), the Portuguese pupils indicated that they did, on certain occasions, feel ashamed of being Portuguese: in situations where the host culture or society was in the majority, and in which "outsiders" did not feel welcome or needed. The condescending attitude of many South Africans towards immigrants, in general, is outlined and discussed in an article in detail by De Bruin (1987:38-41). The official status and acceptance of a language in such a context is therefore important as it can serve as a barrier against immigrant status embarrassment (Kalantzis 1985:173).

The inclusion of the mother tongue in the school and university curriculum can therefore also lead to an improved or enhanced view of the language by the speakers themselves. This is revealed in Tamis's (1990:498) study of Greek in Australia:

... the introduction of MG (mother tongue Greek) as an examinable subject for tertiary entrance requirements in 1973 and its teaching in certain Australian Universities and Colleges of Education ... further increased not only the functional value of the mother tongue, but also stipulated the acceptability of MG in the Greek community.

The importance of schooling in the mother tongue is also highlighted by Mougeon (1985:476), who indicates that immigrant children will lose the mother tongue (partially or totally), when constantly exposed to the dominant language only at school. This could lead to a loss for the country in which they reside, as immigrant children are an important language resource for the host society. Refusing children the opportunity to study their mother tongue in schools, in a sense, is undermining the important role of bilinguals in a country in areas such as foreign trade, the diplomatic core, translating, etc. where knowledge of more than one language is of vital importance, or even a prerequisite. It is then ironic that people might later in life have to study their mother tongue at public expense. This issue is highlighted by Campbell and Schnell (1987:180).

In the South African situation there is a very limited opportunity for Portuguese (and many other immigrant) children to study their mother tongue in government schools.

Forest High School, for example, is the only TED High School in Johannesburg which offers Portuguese. Primary schools (especially those in predominantly Portuguese areas) also do not offer Portuguese, either as a subject of study, or in terms of initial mother tongue education (cf. the detailed study of Grobbelaar 1990 in Chapter 2, § 2.2.1(c)). School pupils therefore have to be fluent in the language of the host society (English or Afrikaans) in order to obtain an education, as the medium of instruction is either English or Afrikaans. Hence, it should be noted that the *submersion approach* of bilingual education (see § 2.2.1(a)(i)) tends to be followed in South Africa, i.e. children are placed in mainstream classrooms, and taught only in the language of the host society. There is no additional assistance for pupils whose mother tongue is not that of the host society (i.e. English or Afrikaans), as does exist in terms of the bilingual education programmes in the USA (see § 2.2.1(a)).

Leal, who was the head of the department of Portuguese at the University of the Witwatersrand (1979 - 1989), comments on the unavailability of Portuguese as a subject of study in predominantly Portuguese schools, thereby denying these children the opportunity to study their mother tongue:

High school principals in suburbs with a large Portuguese population are resisting the introduction of Portuguese into the curriculum ... 'one would have expected principals of schools at which there was a large number of Portuguese-speaking pupils - between 40 and 80 percent of the school population' - to recognise the need to get these pupils in contact with their language. But some of them have taken the attitude that this would change the 'English' character of their schools and have resisted' (in Vendeiro 1987).

Leal (in Vendeiro 1987) raises a further very important issue, that other South Africans are denied the opportunity to learn Portuguese:

These principals were not only ignoring the needs of the Portuguese community but were denying other South African children the opportunity of studying a language that appeared to be more viable than, say, Latin or French.

This should be seen in the light that Portuguese is spoken not only by a significant number of immigrants in South Africa, but also by two of South Africa's neighbours (Mozambique and Angola), and also by 159 million people worldwide.

At the outset of this discussion, two important reasons were indicated for studying the mother tongue, namely (1) it leads to an improved status of the language; (2) it could be of importance for national needs, i.e. the needs or requirements of the host country. A further very important (and underlying) reason for studying the mother tongue, proposed by Leal (in Vendeiro 1987), is that a knowledge of one's origins and

background leads to enhanced citizenship. Furthermore, one also has a sense of identity, and an understanding of one's parents and their environment:

Immigrant children need to learn and respect the language, history and culture of their forefathers to become well-adjusted citizens ... It gives them a strong sense of identity and also contributes to a better understanding between them, their parents and their environment.

One other issue which needs to be addressed in this discussion, is the availability of teachers for Portuguese. Once again, we are faced with a catch-22 situation: universities turn out fully qualified teachers in the subject. Schools, however, do not offer the subject, resulting in these teachers not being able to be employed as teachers, and therefore entering another career. When, at a later stage, schools might have considered introducing the subject, teachers are then not available. There are also times, however, when schools have qualified Portuguese teachers, teaching other subjects. If schools were to adopt a standard policy or approach to having Portuguese taught in the school, this could eliminate the problem of a "teacher-shortage."

It is important to bear in mind that only two high schools were used in this study, one of which offers Portuguese as a subject (Table 13, Chapter 4). Therefore, the chance or opportunity for pupils to study their mother tongue is minimal. Of the 20 pupils who have the opportunity to study the mother tongue, only 6 (30%) take the subject. The reasons for so few pupils taking the subject are indicated in Table 14, and the discussion which follows Table 14. The principal reasons for (initially) not taking the subject are:

- The subject has only been introduced recently.
- Pupils taking technical subjects cannot take academic subjects simultaneously, as they are rarely combined into a single subject set.
- Some pupils attend (or have attended) Portuguese school in the afternoons.

Further insights for not taking the subject (when possible), are also indicated by the Portuguese teacher at the school (personal communication, Miss Z. Pereira, Forest High School). Firstly, the teacher indicated that many pupils regard themselves as fluent and literate in the mother tongue, because they speak the language at home. They therefore do not feel it necessary to take the subject at school. Secondly, many pupils still tend to regard French (or other European languages) as an elitist

language, in comparison to Portuguese, which they regard as a 'peasant', or a second grade, language. Many Portuguese, and non-Portuguese pupils, would therefore rather study another European language, should they have a choice.

Subsequent to the introduction of Portuguese, there has, however, been an increased and constant number of pupils taking the subjects. There is also an increasing number of pupils studying Portuguese as a sixth or seventh subject for matric. Pupils have to go to Portuguese teachers or schools in their area, in order to do this, however (personal communication, Miss Z. Pereira, Forest High School).

A further issue which needs to be addressed, is the issue of "fear", with regard to introducing Portuguese into the school curriculum (see Appendix IV). Some high schools in question fear an influx of Portuguese pupils (and thereby "disturbing" the ratio of Portuguese pupils to other pupils. They also fear that the Portuguese pupils would not integrate with the other pupils). In contrast to these "fears", Leal (in Vendeiro 1987) feels that the introduction of Portuguese into schools, and thereby also making it available to other South African pupils, would bridge the gap between pupils and lead to a better understanding between them:

... integrating Portuguese into the curriculum and making it available to other South Africans would break down the feeling of 'us and them' and promote understanding.

However, attempts to introduce Portuguese into the school curriculum, have met with resistance on all fronts.

Tamis (1990:499) highlights the benefits of bilingual education: "... improve family cohesion ... cultivate self-esteem ... generate balanced bilinguals." This can only support the arguments put forward by Leal (in Vendeiro 1987) for introducing Portuguese into the school curriculum: "Immigrant children need to learn and respect the language, history and culture of their forefathers to become *well-adjusted citizens* ... It gives them a strong sense of *identity and* also contributes to a better *understanding* between them, their parents and their environment" (own emphasis).

In § 2.2.1(b) the different types of ethnic/afternoon schools which are (usually) available within immigrant communities were discussed (cf. Fishman 1966:92ff). In the Johannesburg Portuguese community, the most prominent type of schooling is that of weekly afternoon schools (see Table 15, Chapter 4 & Appendix IV). The results as reflected in Table 16 also tend to indicate that pupils who attend afternoon schools, usually do not take the subject at TED schools (even when it is offered).

Hence, at present there is not a strong back-up for their Portuguese. If pupils were encouraged to do both, it could only lead to a greater proficiency of and literacy in the mother tongue.

One of the major problems which pupils face, when attending afternoon school, is that of time. When pupils are in primary school, it is easier to attend a Portuguese school. However, as pupils progress in high school, so it is more difficult to cope with two schools, and two sets of homework. This difficulty is also reflected in the minimum amount of time devoted to homework from the Portuguese school (Table 17, Chapter 4).

Once again, many children do not attend the Portuguese (afternoon) school, as they regard themselves as competent in the language, simply because they speak the language. They do not regard literacy in Portuguese as being important. They therefore do not feel it necessary to study the language, formally. This attitude, also leads to many pupils writing the TED matric examinations, without prior formal instruction in the language, leading to very low matric results being obtained (see Appendix V).

The problems associated with afternoon schools are also highlighted and discussed by Leal (in Vendeiro 1987):

The children ... often developed a negative attitude towards their mother tongue because of their (in many cases unwilling) attendance of afternoon schools.

As they attended school all day, they were prevented from taking part in other activities such as sports and from socializing, 'which is an important part of growing up'.

They were also burdened with extra homework and study demands, in many cases duplicating the subjects studied at normal schools, such as maths.

Unqualified teachers and sub-standard facilities created an image of 'garage' schools, which did the children's self-image no good.

An article by Almeida (1992:6) reveals certain facts, with regard to Portuguese education in South Africa (i.e. ethnic or afternoon schools):

The Portuguese Government in Lisbon spends approximately R1,3 million on the teaching of Portuguese in South Africa, annually. In comparison to South Africa's 2 000 students in Portuguese, France caters for 30 000 students; South Africa has 26 teachers, compared with 202 in France. Statistics for South Africa also reveal that an increase in the students' age, leads to a corresponding decrease in the language

(mother tongue). Portuguese authorities are also concerned that parents are not providing their children with sufficient (Portuguese) education.

With regard to Portuguese education in South Africa, the following question may be considered: If the Portuguese constitute one of the largest minority or immigrant communities in the country, why do they not have a school of their own, as certain of the other minority or immigrant communities do? (e.g. Germans - the Deutsche Schule; Greeks - SAHETI; Jews - King David).

In an interview with the Deputy Principal of College Verney (Mrs A. Teixeira), three prominent factors, which are deterrents in the establishment of a Portuguese School, were identified:

(i) *Disunity within the Portuguese community*

The Portuguese are not a united community. (The numerous clubs within the community testifies to this fact. People from different regions or areas in Portugal, prefer their own clubs, representing their particular area of origin and the culture and tradition from that area.)

(ii) *The Portuguese government policy*

The Portuguese government is displaying a greater interest in maintaining Portuguese in the former colonies (e.g. Mozambique), rather than in the Portuguese communities in foreign countries. Establishing a Portuguese school in South Africa (or in Portuguese communities), would mean that the government in Portugal would have to send teachers from Portugal. This is a great expense, and the money could rather be utilized in the government's attempts to retain the Portuguese language in the former colonies.

(iii) *Parents' attitudes to education*

In general, people tend to display different priorities. A trend displayed by many people in the Portuguese community is that it is of greater importance to either send money overseas on a regular basis, or to save enough money to build or buy a house or property in Portugal. Some people may therefore not be prepared to pay the fees for a private school.

The establishment of a Portuguese school, therefore, initially (or superficially), appears to be a rather important and obvious notion. However, the abovementioned obstacles first need to be dealt with and overcome, in order to achieve the creation and establishment of one of the most important factors in the maintenance and preservation of the Portuguese language and culture.

Turning to the issue of tertiary education, Zentella (1986:35), commenting on the situation in the USA, has put forward the following:

Of immediate concern is the lack of courses for native speakers in many colleges and universities, including well-endowed institutions, that serve ... a significant number of language minority students.

This statement seems to be very relevant to Portuguese in South Africa - a language spoken by approximately 600 000 people in South Africa, and yet not easily available as a subject at many South African universities. The situation at present, is as follows:

- Portuguese is offered at Unisa. (Introduced as a subject in 1964.)(See Appendix VI.)
- Portuguese is in the process of being phased out at the University of the Witwatersrand, due to rationalization, even though the majority of Portuguese university students, who are resident in the PWV area, attend this university. (Portuguese was introduced in approximately 1923.)(See Appendix VII.)
- Portuguese has already been phased out at the University of Cape Town (July 1985 - January 1991).

The results yielded, with regard to the attitude towards studying Portuguese on a tertiary level, were very positive (Table 19, Chapter 4) - many respondents showing an interest in studying the language on a tertiary level. Many, however, who indicated that they were not interested in studying the mother tongue at a tertiary level, felt that because they spoke the language, it was sufficient, or that they were thereby automatically literate in the language also. Similarly, the same response is also indicated by many school children for not taking Portuguese at school, or for not attending Portuguese school in the afternoons.

A further possible reason for students not studying the subject on a tertiary level is the general lack of awareness of subject content. During interviews, a general lack of knowledge regarding tertiary education, and more specifically Portuguese, could be detected. Pupils are "afraid" or wary of Portuguese on a tertiary level, especially those who have had no formal instruction in the language. They are not aware that there is an introductory or beginner's course for the language: they are under the impression that they will have to start immediately with advanced language and literary studies. This was also the case with the one school respondent who was "undecided", with regard to tertiary education in Portuguese. The potential effectiveness which these courses could have for maintenance of the mother tongue, is therefore not optimized.

It can therefore be seen that the education system in South Africa (as in many countries) presents a catch-22 situation: immigrant children will first have to learn the language of the host society in order to obtain an education, their mother tongue very often being completely neglected. Hence, the ambivalent nature of education: it fulfills a vital role in the maintenance of the mother tongue. However, if it is not available as a subject in schools and/or at tertiary institutions, the shift from the mother tongue and the related consequences (e.g. not being literate in the mother tongue, increased assimilation into the host society) is greater.

5.3 Socio-cultural involvement

There are many clubs (both Portuguese and Madeiran, the most prominent being: União, Poveiros and Casa da Madeira), spread throughout the community, therefore easily geographically accessible to as many people in the community as possible. This accessibility is a very important feature, as these clubs are an important factor for maintenance (Fishman and Nahirny 1966:156).

The clubs also host a variety of functions, catering for a wide range of ages and interests. Most clubs host functions to correspond with different festivities, especially, for example, the Portuguese National Day and New Year. At the clubs one can usually have light meals and drinks. Many of the clubs are open on Sunday evenings. There are many bands within the community, and they rotate, i.e. a different band will play at a different club, every Sunday evening. The band plays either only Portuguese music, or both Portuguese and English music. People therefore also have the opportunity to hear, and dance to, traditional music.

People go to the clubs on a Sunday evening and this is usually a family outing, i.e. an entire family can go together (parents, children, grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, godparents). Ironically, however, it is for this very reason that young adolescents indicate that they are often slightly hesitant to attend the clubs, even though they generally do enjoy them (Table 24, Chapter 4). From interviews it was apparent that many boys feel that parents are continually watching them, and girls feel that they are being scrutinized (in terms of dress and behaviour), which usually leads to gossip within the community. It should also be borne in mind, however, that it is characteristic of teenagers, generally, to want to socialize within their own age group and on their own, away from their parents. The effect of this type of "family-outing" therefore, is that adolescents do not attend the clubs as often or as regularly as is possible. Unfortunately, by implication, the role which the clubs can play in language maintenance is thereby decreased.

The fact that there is therefore a greater involvement in cultural activities by the older members of the community, in comparison to the younger generation (Table 23, Chapter 4), could indicate a possible trend: a loss of interest in participating in the cultural activities (or Portuguese culture) of the Portuguese community, which could imply a simultaneous shift away from the language. Clearly the older members of the community (parents and grandparents), will have to motivate their children and grandchildren, to become more involved in the various cultural activities within the community and to attend Portuguese clubs, in an attempt to retain and revitalize the culture, and the mother tongue. There are many activities in which people can participate, covering a wide scope, thereby catering for nearly all interests (Chapter 4, § 2.1). Therefore, there is something for everyone. These organizations then too, need to promote themselves, in order to attract additional members, thereby obtaining more involvement.

One also needs to examine the leaders (or presidents) of the clubs operating within the community, as well as their policy/policies regarding language (maintenance) Fishman and Nahirny (1965:315) suggest that leaders of clubs or organizations within the community should, preferably:

- be foreign born, as opposed to native born. This could result in a greater use of the mother tongue;
- display an interest in cultural aspects (e.g. literature, art, music);

- be utilized within the organization, in a position or portfolio, similar to his/her occupational status, e.g. an accountant being the treasurer of the club; a secretary being the secretary for the club, etc.

The South African Portuguese clubs have no set policy, or follow no set policy regarding language maintenance (or language, *per se*). They are merely social and/or sports clubs. Some of the clubs have their own ranchos (folk dancing groups) and sometimes other artists (singers) who appear at the clubs (either from within the community, or visiting from overseas). The leaders or presidents of these various clubs are merely members of the specific clubs, who are elected to the office of a president. They are therefore employed on a part-time basis. There are also no set requirements, e.g. that a leader or president should be foreign born, as opposed to native born. Furthermore, these presidents (or leaders) have not always necessarily had formal education in Portuguese.

One of the most prominent factors in language maintenance discussed by Fishman and Nahirny (1966:162) is that of recent immigrants. New immigrants within a host society might attend the social clubs regularly, in an attempt to meet new people, and also to become more acquainted with their new environment. Language maintenance is therefore more likely to take place and be promoted by and within an organization of recent immigrants. In South Africa, however, since 1974/75, there has not been a strong or increased influx of Portuguese immigrants into the country. These clubs, therefore, have had no real language maintenance function, or need for language maintenance. A set language policy has therefore also not been essential or a prerequisite. Many of the clubs may also have been established due to human sentiment, and their main functions can then be seen to be "... to keep alive the local customs and precious personal memories of their ancestral homes" (Fishman and Nahirny 1965:315). This trend can be detected in the South African Portuguese community: certain clubs have been established by people who come from different areas in Portugal (i.e. due to regionalism). These clubs are therefore representative of different areas in Portugal, and as such can be seen to maintain the traditions and customs from that particular area in Portugal. The establishment of clubs due to regionalism, can lead to the creation of (a certain amount of) nostalgia. The maintenance of the Portuguese language is therefore not their primary function, although they do play a role in such.

Fishman (1972a:49) suggests that cultural organizations are more important than the press or broadcasting for language maintenance, and play a very important role in

both language and cultural maintenance, in the USA. These clubs therefore have tremendous potential to influence the maintenance of language and culture, which is not being utilized to the full in South Africa for the maintenance or promotion of Portuguese.

5.4 The Media

5.4.1 Radio

One of the most important influences on the Portuguese language could be that of the Portuguese radio station, Radio Cidade (see Appendix X). For many years (and still at present), the radio station could only broadcast on SW (short wave), and usually only in the mornings. Therefore, it was predominantly seen as a "housewives" radio station. This explains the low percentage of listenership, indicated in Table 25, (Chapter 4). (The interviews were conducted prior to the de-regularization of broadcasting). However, with the start of the de-regularization of broadcasting (approximately April 1993), the radio station has had opportunities to broadcast on FM for certain periods of time. It is reasonable to assume that listenership in the community, among all ages, has therefore increased (see Statistics, Appendix X). This could possibly lead to a revival of interest in Portuguese, and in the radio station.

The operating or functioning of the radio station can also be seen to display certain similarities with other immigrant radio stations (broadcasting), as discussed in § 2.2.4(b) (cf. Clyne 1988:78). The main problem at this stage is that of scheduling, or as Clyne (1988:78) refers to it, "... the struggle for public radio time."

In an interview, the co-owner of the radio station, Mr D. Bettencourt, said that the radio station had two main aims. Firstly, the main aim of the radio station is to cater for the needs and interests of the entire community. This aim is clearly reflected in the format or content of the programmes (when broadcasting on FM):

- (a) Morning programmes: directed at housewives;
- (b) After 14:00: 50% English, 50% Portuguese is spoken, and 50% English music and 50% Portuguese music is played. (This time-slot is directed at the younger, and especially, school-going generation.)

- (c) After 18:00: Basically a talk-radio format is followed (including phone-ins).

Secondly, the radio station aims at the maintenance and revival of both Portuguese culture (which includes traditional music) and language. Bilingual broadcasts, aimed mainly at the younger generation, assist in this respect. Without these bilingual broadcasts, the radio station might not enjoy the support or back-up (especially from the younger generation), which it has at present.

Mr Bettencourt indicated further that the radio station attempts to bridge the gap (for listeners), between South African and Portuguese culture. Many young Portuguese have indicated a dramatic improvement in their Portuguese, due to listening to the radio station. Many South Africans, on the other hand, also listen to the radio station, thereby receiving some insight into the Portuguese culture and way of life. The radio station therefore seems to have addressed many of the problems (or potential problems) which can be experienced by FLB (see § 2.2.4(b)).

At present, the radio station has 15 personnel members. Sponsorship comes mainly from within the community. Portuguese businesses, in many instances, support the advertising structures within the community.

When South Africa was facing a very challenging time in its history (1994), the radio station played a very important role in informing (and also to an extent having a calming effect on) the community about political happenings, and the elections (April 1994). At that crucial moment in time, the radio station was taken off air (i.e. off FM) and returned to SW broadcasts only. A further consequence was that LUSAP (the Luso-South African Party - see Appendix XI), therefore did not have an important channel available to it anymore, in order to reach and inform the community. Being a smaller political party, this exposure was of great importance in order to inform people about the party. The party also received a limited amount of exposure on television. In contrast, major political parties (e.g. ANC, Inkatha) are widely known. Being the major contestants in the election, they thereby received greater exposure on the radio and television, directly or indirectly.

The other Portuguese radio service (channel Africa) is that of the SABC, which broadcasts on SW for one hour a day to Africa. The content is primarily informative. This service presents no challenge or competition to Radio Cidade, whatsoever, and probably has very little influence on the maintenance of the Portuguese language.

5.4.2 Other aspects of the media

Portuguese reading material is easily available within the Portuguese community. The weekly newspaper, *O Século de Joanesburgo* (see Appendix XII), is sold in nearly every shop or café in the areas where there is a concentration of Portuguese people. There are also Portuguese bookshops (Moderna) situated at central points within the community (e.g. La Rochelle, Johannesburg City Centre), which sell Portuguese magazines, books, newspapers, records, tapes, greeting cards, etc. Unfortunately, books imported from Portugal, and sold in these shops, are sold at very high prices, due to import duty and the rand exchange rate, e.g. a novel can cost up to R185,00. Libraries in predominantly Portuguese areas also have Portuguese books available (see Appendix XIII).

From the results in Table 25 (Chapter 4), it can be seen that a large number of school respondents seldom read Portuguese newspapers or magazines. This could be ascribed to a decline in literacy in the mother tongue, i.e. the younger generation can speak the language, but cannot read or write it. This could also explain the small percentage of school pupils who read Portuguese literature.

The low level of literacy in the mother tongue can also explain the large number of non-school respondents, who do not read Portuguese literature. Many respondents were educated in South Africa (and not having the opportunity to study the mother tongue), have become anglicized (or nearly fully anglicized); or simply do not have time or find it necessary to learn Portuguese formally, as it is not required for career or employment purposes in South Africa.

Portuguese films and plays are also a rarity within the Portuguese community. Occasionally there is a Portuguese film festival, but only very seldom (see Table 25, Chapter 4).

At present, the television and videos have a marginal effect on the maintenance of the mother tongue (Table 25). Their potential in the maintenance of the mother tongue is almost unlimited, however, as they are popular forms of entertainment among all age groups but they need to be promoted and exposed on a far greater scale within the community, the newspaper and radio station playing a leading role in this process of promotion and exposure.

When considering the media, it is interesting to note that although it has great potential to maintain the mother tongue, a large number of respondents indicated

'never' coming into contact with various aspects of the media. Clearly then, the media has a marginal effect on maintaining Portuguese in South Africa.

5.5 Religion

Sridhar (1988:80) emphasizes the vital role played by religion in language maintenance:

Religion, usually one of the strongest bastions of the ethnic tongue ...

Fishman (1972a:67), however, suggests that the role played by religion (in an immigrant community, after emigration) is not sufficient for language maintenance.

Although attendance of church services and activities may be important for language maintenance, the influence of religion as a factor in maintaining Portuguese, nevertheless, appears to be decreasing. Examining the results (Table 26, Chapter 4), it would appear that there is a definite shift from the mother tongue to the English or bilingual church services. With regard to the school respondents, a total of 62,5% attend either English or bilingual church services, while a total of 90% of the non-school respondents attend either English or bilingual church services. It is clear that a large majority of both groups do not attend Portuguese-only church services. A possible explanation for the difference between the two groups, is that the school children are possibly still forced by parents to attend Portuguese church services. These statistics are therefore not necessarily an indication that the younger generation are going back to Portuguese.

The reasons provided by the respondents for not attending Portuguese-only (monolingual) services, were all very similar. There is a definite preference, firstly, for short, concise and enjoyable church services. This preference is satisfied by the English church services, which are less "tedious". It is also easier to understand and follow a church service conducted in English, especially when one has grown up attending English church services. The Portuguese liturgy is generally perceived as very difficult to follow and understand for South African Portuguese. It is made even more difficult if the priest speaks very fast in Portuguese.

There are a small number of respondents who still prefer church services in Portuguese. Many of these respondents are either recent immigrants; live in a predominantly Portuguese environment (e.g. home environment); have not yet mastered English, or grew up attending Portuguese mass or church services.

Understandably, therefore, there is a preference for attending Portuguese or mother tongue church services.

The language used for prayer (Table 27, Chapter 4) also reflects a decrease in the use of the mother tongue. Whereas a total of 20 school respondents (83,3%) pray in English only or English and Portuguese; a total of 21 non-school respondents (70%) pray in English only or in English and Portuguese. These figures therefore represent a total of 41 out of the 54 respondents (75,9%) who use either only English or both English and Portuguese when praying. These figures are indicative of language shift.

Sridhar (1988:80) indicates that if the same language is used for both ritual and prayer in religion, the impact on maintenance of the mother tongue could be even greater. In the South African Portuguese situation, neither liturgy nor prayer language are predominantly mother tongue.

The role of the priest or pastor, who is able to speak the mother tongue, is vital in an immigrant community for the maintenance of the mother tongue. Saloutos (1973:397) indicates that a pastor who is foreign born will therefore be fluent in the mother tongue, and up to date with customs and traditions of the parishioners. In the Johannesburg Portuguese community, it is very seldom that there are foreign born priests in the Catholic church. In certain instances, priests have learned the language, if in a predominantly Portuguese environment (e.g. at St. Patrick's in La Rochelle, there is a priest who speaks Portuguese). Usually, only at unilingual parishes (e.g. St Anthony's - see Appendix XIV), will one find Portuguese, or foreign born priests. There are only 4 parishes which are unilingual, in South Africa. From the research conducted, and the responses gained, one can safely assume that attendances at these monolingual parishes would also be limited to those individuals competent in the mother tongue (e.g. members of the older generation) or to those attending with parents or certain functions (e.g. weddings). The important role which these monolingual parishes could therefore play in maintaining the mother tongue, is reduced.

Although a large majority of respondents indicated attending church services at least once a week, a decrease in attending church services can be detected. Some people only attend church services for special occasions (e.g. weddings and Christmas). This trend is also noted in Steinberg's (1978) study, where he indicates a decrease in church attendance by Greeks and Portuguese in Cape Town, in contrast to church attendance in the country of origin.

Parishes or churches attended by many Portuguese (with the exception of those which are Portuguese only), are also heterogeneous due to factors such as intermarriage or the influx (or presence) of other members (cf. Fishman 1966:135). Due to the fact that Catholicism in South Africa functions primarily in English, Catholicism is "available" to people of different linguistic backgrounds. This heterogeneity therefore has a negative effect on language maintenance.

The problem encountered by Saloutos (1973:395) that Greek children born in the USA regard themselves as Greek-Americans, could have bearing on this study. The Greek Orthodox Church in the USA attempted to play a role in the retention of the Greek national identity, but "the irresistible pull of the American environment" (Saloutos 1973:395), made this a difficult, and virtually impossible task. The majority of Portuguese children also regard themselves as Portuguese South Africans. The problem of maintaining a specific religion is not so great as the Portuguese are (overwhelmingly) Catholic, therefore, belonging to a universal church, and not a specific national (nation and language related) church (such as the Greek Orthodox Church). Although Catholicism, nevertheless, is seen as part of the Portuguese identity, it does not help much in language maintenance because Catholicism is not specifically related to a particular language or language group.

Although religion can play an important role in the language maintenance of an immigrant community (cf. Smolicz 1985:26 and Clyne 1988:79), religion is more of a core value within the Greek community (belonging to one, national/ethnic church), and to a lesser extent within the Portuguese community (as they belong to a universal church), and many people are becoming members of other churches or denominations, e.g. Rhema. Religion is therefore a decreasing core value in the Portuguese community, unlike in the Greek community.

Three distinct trends can be identified with regard to religion, namely, a decrease in church attendance, a preference for English or bilingual church services and, to a lesser extent the attending of other churches (denominations). All three factors facilitate a language shift. On the other hand, certain churches (parishes) may operate or function in Portuguese in predominantly Portuguese areas, thus playing a limited role in language maintenance.

The general decrease in church attendance could result in the church losing its influence over the community. This, in turn, will mean that the church once again will have a decreased effect on maintaining Portuguese. This will also be the case,

should people attend other churches, where there are not many Portuguese members, and/or Portuguese is not spoken.

The fact that Catholicism is (also) primarily "available" in English only, in multilingual countries such as South Africa and the USA, and does not necessarily cater for immigrant groups (in terms of their mother tongue), also leads to a situation where the church cannot play its full role in language maintenance. People not very fluent in their mother tongue, therefore have the option to rather attend English services, and are not forced to attend monolingual services or parishes. Hence, the link or relation with the Portuguese church (i.e. a monolingual parish) is also broken down.

Assimilation over the years, therefore, seems to have taken its toll (the *parish effect*, as discussed by Demos 1988:70), whereby shift (owing to factors such as ethnic intermarriage and the presence of only a few people speaking the mother tongue, or foreign born persons, within an area) is becoming increasingly evident within the Portuguese community. The important role which the church could play in maintaining Portuguese, is being minimized and rapidly decreasing.

5.6 Migration/Overseas visits

This factor plays an important role in language maintenance, as the majority of interviewees visit overseas (Portugal) on a regular basis (Table 28), and furthermore, keep in contact with friends and/or family overseas by means of the mother tongue (Table 31). The mother tongue is therefore actively utilized on a regular basis in this particular domain. The importance of geographic mobility is therefore evident, as indicated by Demos (1988:64) in his study of Greek Orthodox Americans.

5.6.1 Overseas visits

Table 28 (Chapter 4) indicates regular contact with the mother country, which plays an important role in language maintenance. That this is a general trend within the community is born out by an interview with Mr C. Rego (Rego Travel Agency), in which he indicated that approximately 100 000 people per year, buy return air tickets to Portugal. A return air ticket costs approximately R2 500,00 - R3 500,00. Annually, the amount for air tickets to Portugal totals to approximately R6 million.

The non-school respondents visit the mother country more frequently; many visit Portugal annually. This could be ascribed to certain factors:

- (i) These respondents are economically active, and can therefore pay for their own trips to the mother country.
- (ii) The interest of non-school respondents in the mother country could be greater or more appreciative, for various reasons:
 - aesthetic value;
 - family are more important for older people, therefore they would spend a holiday overseas with family;
 - these respondents also, in many instances, own property (e.g. a house or flat), or possibly a business in Portugal. Hence, contact with the mother country is essential and/or more frequent;
 - the present political climate in South Africa has caused contact with the mother country to escalate. Many people in the community (especially those who are from Mozambique or Angola), fear a repetition of the events, which they experienced in those countries, in South Africa (see § 1.6.5). The greater majority of these people are either retired or close to retirement. They feel that they cannot risk losing everything for a second time, as they will not be able to replace everything at this stage of their lives. Hence, many people have been going overseas either to take money overseas, or to organize containers. During the election period in South Africa (April 1994), approximately 300 000 Portuguese (mostly women and children) went to Portugal. Approximately 100 000 people have returned to South Africa, and many more people are still returning (personal communication, Mr C. Rego, Rego Travel Agency).

In contrast, the school respondents do not earn their own salaries or are not financially independent, and are therefore dependant on their parents to go overseas. Contact is therefore generally limited to written and/or telephonic communication.

A decreased interest in the mother country can, nevertheless, be detected among many young South African-born Portuguese (with regard to staying permanently in Portugal). Many prefer to stay in South Africa. This aspect was also detected and confirmed in a study of a group of Portuguese high school pupils by Simon *et al.* (1984:93): 93,8% of the Portuguese children claimed to be happy in South Africa. They are of the opinion that Portugal is fine for a holiday, but not for staying permanently, due to the differences in life-style, and the difficulty therefore of adapting to a new country, and to being accepted by the people. Many do not know friends or family overseas very well - close friends and family are here in South Africa. In some instances where parents have returned to Portugal, the children have stayed behind, some with friends or family (some until completing matric, and then joining their parents in Portugal), as they prefer to stay in South Africa, and feel more settled here. The younger generation do not like the big difference between the two countries.

The importance of these visits to the mother country is substantiated by Demos (1988:64), who indicates that these visits assist with the improvement, retention and renewal of the mother tongue. This is relatively evident, especially in a country such as Portugal - which has only one official language, namely Portuguese. When visiting the mother country, one is therefore surrounded by the mother tongue in all spheres of life - i.e. home, media, entertainment, etc. One is therefore "forced" into hearing, reading and using the mother tongue continually. This would therefore lead to an improvement or enhancement of the mother tongue; even more so if the mother country is visited annually or very often.

5.6.2 Visitors from overseas

As mentioned earlier, the general trend is for people in South Africa to visit Portugal, and it is not very often that people from overseas visit South Africa. (An interview with Mr C. Rego (Rego Travel Agency) revealed that Portuguese visiting South Africa, account for 17% of the tourists visiting South Africa, annually.) This is an unfortunate situation, because as indicated in § 2.2.8, an influx of people at a steady level or pace, leads to maintenance, or helps maintain the mother tongue and slows down the process of language shift.

A possible explanation for this trend (namely, few visitors from overseas), is the negative view of South Africa, as presented in the media (with special reference to

the election period, and shortly before the elections, April 1994). Many of the respondents (and people in the community in general), indicated that contact with friends and family overseas is characterized by an intense concern for personal safety of friends and family in South Africa. Events in South Africa are perceived by people overseas, as similar to those in Mozambique and Angola, especially in their transitional phases. The price of air tickets is also a deterrent in people visiting South Africa from Portugal. Whereas return airfare from South Africa is approximately R2 500,00 - R3 500,00; the return airfare from Portugal can be as much as R5 000,00 (Personal Communication, Mr C. Rego, Rego Travel Agency.)

5.6.3 New immigrants

In South Africa, the mass influx of Portuguese refugees from Mozambique and Angola during the 1970's, undoubtedly would most certainly have had an effect on the language situation of the Portuguese community in South Africa. It most certainly must have had an effect on people in the Johannesburg areas, as the majority of Portuguese settled there; and one should bear in mind that they brought no other language with them, except Portuguese. The Portuguese language would therefore have experienced increased usage in all spheres of daily life in the seventies. Although this influx of Portuguese speakers from Mozambique and Angola undoubtedly had a revitalizing effect on the Portuguese language in South Africa, there have been no subsequent waves of immigration (or an influx of immigration) to maintain this revitalization process.

5.6.4 Contact with friends and/or family overseas

From Table 30 it is evident that the large majority of respondents (and people in the community in general), maintain contact with friends and family overseas. Communication occurs mainly by means of postal communication. Telephonic communication is generally limited to festive occasions, e.g. Christmas, New Year, birthdays, etc. Friends and family overseas also tend to phone in times of concern for the personal safety of friends or family in South Africa (because of the negative image projected of South Africa in the media). This contact with Portugal is of great importance to language maintenance, only if the mother tongue is the primary means of contact, however.

When examining the language used for communication with friends or family overseas (Table 31), it would appear that the clear majority make use of the mother

tongue - because of the fact that Portugal is a unilingual country, few people speak another language. Communication in both English and Portuguese is more likely to occur amongst the younger generation: English can be studied by the younger generation overseas, and therefore younger people in South Africa can often communicate in English, if they are not fluent in Portuguese. It could also be that many friends or family members have emigrated from South Africa (returned to Portugal), and are therefore literate in English. The second and third generation of Portuguese in South Africa are not always fluent or literate in Portuguese, and would therefore communicate in English, if friends or family overseas understand English. This weakens the case for maintenance.

On the other hand, the case for maintenance is strengthened by the findings of Holmes *et al.* (1993:12): The older generation maintain the mother tongue to a great extent, as they usually want to return to the mother country (e.g. when retired). Even the younger generation of parents have these intentions, because of the political situation in South Africa (see Tables 1 and 4, Chapter 4) and therefore some of them send their children to Portuguese school, in order to become literate in the mother tongue (see Appendix IV). This motive for attending Portuguese school is also supported by the findings of Simon *et al.* (1984:93) in a study of a group of Portuguese high school pupils:

... if Portuguese children did not want to stay in South Africa, then they were relatively more keen on going to Portuguese schools.

The second and subsequent generations aim at maintaining the mother tongue (Table 46 and 48, Chapter 4), for communication with and visits to the mother country. As mentioned earlier, Portugal is a unilingual country, and therefore knowledge of the mother tongue is essential for communication with and visits to the mother country. The possibility of returning to the mother country also provides a strong motivation for learning and maintaining the mother tongue.

5.7 Contact situations

5.7.1 Contact with friends

When examining the various contact situations, it is evident that there is an inter-play between a number of factors, influencing the use of the mother tongue in various situations or domains.

Firstly, if one examines the contact with friends (Table 32, Chapter 4), it can be noted that, of all the respondents, 88,8% use both English and Portuguese when conversing with friends. This is a considerable percentage, and a definite indicator of language shift. Only 3,7% of all the respondents use solely Portuguese when communicating with friends. Hence, there is an increase in bilingual language usage in the contact with friends, especially among the younger generations.

A slightly higher percentage of school respondents use both English and Portuguese in contact with friends, as opposed to the non-school respondents. This could probably be due to growing up and being educated in a predominantly English environment. There is also more exposure to English (e.g. media). This would therefore result in the natural use of English, as opposed to the mother tongue.

An overall explanation for the increased use of both English and Portuguese in contact with friends, for both school and non-school respondents, could be the same as that mentioned above. Living in a multilingual environment, will result in the need for and use of a lingua franca for everyday communication. In South Africa, this lingua franca (in most instances) is English. The most commonly used language in areas or domains of daily usage (e.g. education, media) is English for the Johannesburg Portuguese community. Such overwhelming exposure to English, has therefore caused a shift towards English from the mother tongue. There is therefore a bilingual situation where English is replacing the mother tongue in certain domains.

One should note, however, that this shift to English occurs in communication with people of the same generation. Communicating with someone from an older generation, might necessitate the use of the mother tongue only (to be discussed later). These figures nevertheless indicate to us, (as mentioned in § 3.2.3), that there is a language shift taking place over successive generations (Young, 1988:323). This is also in agreement with Lopez's (1978:267) observation that the second and succeeding generations in immigrant communities are not passing on the mother tongue.

This situation could also be seen in light of the integrative and instrumental motivation for learning a language. There is both an instrumental and integrative motivation to use English. It could indicate that the younger generation of Portuguese immigrants feel a strong need for integration into the host society. This integration, in turn, should also be linked to identity (or social factors): people use a certain language, depending on who they want to be identified with. Hence, it can be

said that the younger generation of Portuguese use English, in an attempt to identify with, and be accepted by, South Africans. Many respondents did indicate that they do regard themselves as South African, and therefore would like to be part of a broader South African community.

Furthermore, from the instrumental perspective, the extensive use of the lingua franca (English), can also be seen as the language of access (cf. Cartwright 1987:204, § 3.2.4). The Portuguese realize there is a need to speak English, in order to have access to important areas of daily life, e.g. shopping, employment (i.e. access to goods or services) or residential areas.

On the other hand, when examining the circumstances under which people speak Portuguese (the mother tongue) to friends, it is interesting to note that exclusivity, as a reason, heads the list. It can also safely be assumed that confidentiality is an important motivation for using the mother tongue, when speaking to friends (Table 33, Chapter 4).

Many people indicate that certain topics (or aspects of a topic) warrant discussion in Portuguese as it either "sounds better", or one can explain or express oneself better in Portuguese when discussing a particular topic. Many respondents also indicate that code-switching, in many instances, occurs spontaneously during a conversation, i.e. it is not done deliberately, or for any specific reason.

Code-switching in the Portuguese community is an interesting phenomenon, which occurs frequently and warrants closer observation. Crystal (1987:363) provides important insights into this language phenomenon. Firstly one should note that code-switching occurs primarily in informal speech, and not in formal speech situations, or when speaking to strangers. Crystal (1989:363) indicates that in informal speech, code-switching " ... is a natural and powerful communicative feature of bilingual interaction ..." . In many instances, speakers may not even be aware of the extent of their code-switching, in a conversation.

Various reasons for code-switching are postulated, some of which are fairly evident, others are underlying reasons, of which the speaker may not always be aware:

- As mentioned previously, a speaker may not be able to express himself/herself very well in a particular language, and therefore switches to another language, which allows him/her to do so. This switching may also

occur "when the speaker is upset, tired, or otherwise distracted" (Crystal 1987:363).

- A switch in language may also be to indicate or express solidarity or identity with a social group. The switch in language can be an indicator of the speakers' backgrounds: should the listener continue in the same language (or make the same language switch), a rapport is established. This type of switch may also, as mentioned previously, exclude other people from the conversation, who do not speak the language.
- A change in language in a conversation, can also be indicative of the speaker's attitude towards the listener, e.g. friendly, irritated or create distance. Furthermore, this change in language can also be employed for purposes of emphasis, or to indicate disagreement.
- A further underlying function of code-switching is to increase or decrease social distance.
- The formality of the conversation can also influence the use of one language, as opposed to another language. The person addressed (e.g. friend or superiors), and the social setting (e.g. the home or at the office), will determine which language is used.

This use of the mother tongue for exclusivity should, however, not be seen as something exclusive to the Portuguese community. Daily observation will reveal that this phenomenon is something which can be found in all immigrant communities. Exclusivity should not be seen in a negative light (i.e. it is not always gossip), but could also be due to a number of other reasons (e.g. confidentiality).

Therefore, in general, the mother tongue can be viewed as a language of intimacy, confidentiality, solidarity, group membership and/or group identity. Contact with friends is therefore, to an extent, a factor in the maintenance of the mother tongue, the use of which would otherwise decrease at an even faster rate.

5.7.2 Contact with family members

Before examining the communication between parents and children (in the home environment), we firstly need to look at the parents' ability to speak English (Table 34, Chapter 4), before drawing conclusions about the parents' possible effect on

language shift or maintenance. An examination of responses could indicate to what degree the parents are assisting in the maintenance process of the mother tongue.

An overall glance at Table 34 reveals a difference in fluency (in English) between males and females. The men tend to be more fluent in English. This is in agreement with general trends in immigrant communities (see §3.2.1), for reasons of employment, it is necessary for males to learn the language of the host society (Lieberson 1966:276), while females tend to stay at home. One should note, however, the dramatic difference in the fluency (in English, Table 34) between mothers of school and non-school respondents. This difference can be explained in terms of generation. The younger generation of Portuguese women are no longer "house-bound" and restricted in terms of education. They are more career-orientated, thus explaining their greater fluency and literacy in English. Hence, from this table (34) on English fluency, it can be seen that although the number of parents who cannot speak English ("not at all") are marginal; those who demonstrate a greater proficiency in the spoken language ("very fluent") are also not in the majority (except, perhaps, in the case of the school respondents' mothers). It would therefore appear that the parents generally do not promote the process of language shift (or at least not consciously or purposefully). This conclusion could also be supported by the fact that a large majority of Portuguese fathers (especially of the older generation) insist that Portuguese is spoken in the home, and no other language, (despite the fact that the father may have to speak English in the work environment). Many respondents indicated that their fathers were adamant that only Portuguese was to be spoken in the home.

We can now turn our attention to the actual pattern of communication (between family members) in the home environment. Firstly, one should bear in mind the extremely important role which the home environment, especially the mother-child relationship can play in language maintenance (Barnes 1989:145). The role played by the mother in maintaining the mother tongue is also indicated in Wherritt's (1985:437) study of Portuguese in Goa, when she indicates that women maintain the language of the family and religion more than men. In Tamis' (1990:490) study of Greek in Australia, parents are asked " ... to exert their influence and encourage their children at home ..." in the use of the mother tongue. It must be borne in mind that although the family is extremely important for language maintenance, it does not guarantee the maintenance of the mother tongue (Jamieson 1989:107).

Examining Table 35 (Chapter 4), the extensive use of the mother tongue with parents is immediately evident. Use of both English and Portuguese or English only, is absolutely marginal, when compared to the use of Portuguese only. Only in the case of the school respondents' communication with their mothers is there an equal spread of Portuguese only and bilingual communication (both English and Portuguese). This could be explained in the light of these parents being a younger generation, therefore speaking English more fluently, and possibly more frequently.

These findings are in direct opposition to the patterns of communication between brothers and sisters. Here there is an equal spread between the use of bilingual communication (both English and Portuguese) and English only. The use of Portuguese only, in this instance, is minimal, in fact almost non-existent. Very much the same pattern is reflected in the communication between spouses (i.e. husbands and wives), where the sole use of Portuguese for communication is non-existent.

Hence, as mentioned in § 3.2.3 (cf. Campbell and Schnell 1987:178), one can observe that immigrant children up to the age of 5 or 6 acquire the mother tongue for use in all spheres of daily life. Parents of the older generation who are literate and fluent in the mother tongue (and to a far lesser degree in English the language of the host society), have the opportunity to carry over the knowledge of the mother tongue to their children. However, the predominantly English environment in South Africa has taken its toll, with children growing up and becoming very anglicized. This anglicization has a strong counter-effect on the home environment's role in language maintenance.

The pattern of communication between siblings and between spouses seems to indicate that there is even less chance of transmitting the mother tongue to future generations. This is in accordance with the findings mentioned by Young (1988:323) that shift occurs over succeeding generations, as well as Lopez (1978:267) who points out that the second and successive generations do not pass on the mother tongue.

While examining the role played by the family in language maintenance, the vital importance of grandparents should not be forgotten. This aspect was, unfortunately, not included in the questionnaire. Nevertheless, it seems that grandparents in the Johannesburg Portuguese community exercise a stabilizing influence on use and maintenance of the mother tongue. From general observation it appears that the large majority of grandparents speak little more than a few words of English, and in many cases none at all. (This is due to many grandparents having come from

Portugal, Madeira, Angola or Mozambique, and never having had the need to learn English. Many grandparents also stay overseas, and therefore communication with them in the mother tongue is essential.)

Other trends mentioned in the literature, can also be found within the Portuguese community, for example, younger people having to translate for the older generations (Holmes, *et al.* 1993:9); and the younger children using the mother tongue primarily as an instrument for receiving information from the older generation, while using English amongst each other (Sridhar 1988:82-83). Furthermore, the use of one language in the home (the mother tongue), and another (the language(s) of the host society) outside the home, is common practice in the Johannesburg Portuguese community (cf. Cartwright 1987:193; Gräbe 1992:156).

5.7.3 Contact with neighbours

From the statistics presented in Table 36 (Chapter 4), the existence of "language islands" (Jamieson 1989:102) or "self-reproducing speech communities" (Rigsby 1987:369), within the Johannesburg Portuguese community is evident from the fact that the majority of respondents (62,9%) indicated having Portuguese neighbours. These areas are predominantly in the Johannesburg South and Central areas (e.g. La Rochelle, Rosettenville, Regent's Park, Forest Hill, Kenilworth, Turffontein, Kensington, Bezuidenhout Valley and Malvern - see Appendix II). These areas were also characterized by features mentioned in the literature (see paragraph 2.2.7(b)), e.g. concentrated settlement and continued immigration, primarily due to the influx of refugees in the 1970's (see § 1.6.5), the majority of whom came to settle in these areas. This would have resulted in a solid neighbourhood core, leading to an increased use of and exposure to the Portuguese mother tongue; an important factor for language maintenance.

More school respondents indicated having Portuguese neighbours (70,8%), in comparison to non-school respondents (56,6%). An explanation for this difference, is that many of the younger generation, when setting up a home, are doing so in various new areas or suburbs, and not necessarily within a predominantly Portuguese area or suburb, as many of the older generation would do.

When examining the statistics for contact with (Portuguese) neighbours (Table 37, Chapter 4), it is once again clear that there is a definite language shift in progress. While the use of English or Portuguese only (by both groups of respondents - and

surprisingly the non-school or older-generation respondents also) is marginal. The alternate use of both languages in conversations, is virtually the only method of communication employed by the respondents. In the instances where only the mother tongue (Portuguese) is employed, it can very safely be assumed that this is communication with an older generation (e.g. grandparents or first and second generation persons), whose literacy and proficiency in English is minimal or non-existent. A very clear language shift is in progress in this area: the whole community is shifting towards a situation of bilingual communication in this domain.

5.7.4 Contact with Portuguese strangers

When examining the contact with Portuguese strangers (e.g. shopkeepers), it is interesting to note an increased or greater use of the mother tongue (50%), in contrast to the previous instances of communication, i.e. with friends and neighbours.

A possible explanation for the extensive use of the mother tongue with strangers, is that a large majority of Portuguese people in business (or who own their own business), are usually first or second generation immigrants. They therefore speak only, or predominantly, Portuguese. Contact with these people would, therefore, generally be in the mother tongue. The use of both English and Portuguese, as indicated in Table 38 (Chapter 4)(contact with strangers), also tends to indicate a gradual increase in language shift in this area.

General observation of contact between people discussing or negotiating business (or a business deal) has produced an interesting phenomenon: people may be speaking in English or both English and Portuguese. However, once there is an indication that a speaker wants to discuss business, or changes the discussion in that direction, there is an immediate language switch, and Portuguese is employed as the only language of communication. This type of language switch could be indicative of solidarity, group identity, or perhaps "striking a better deal" with a fellow countryman. This phenomenon, once again, is prevalent among, or with, older members of the community.

5.7.5 Language used in work/university/college environment

This contact area examined the language used by the respondents with Portuguese colleagues or friends at the university or college (Table 39, Chapter 4). The influence of the predominantly English working environment and that of universities and

colleges, on many young Portuguese and the consequent anglicization, is clearly evident from Table 40.

The extensive use of both English and Portuguese by the majority of respondents points to a definite language shift occurring among the younger generations, in this domain of language usage.

Working within a Portuguese environment could, however, have an effect on improving and strengthening the maintenance of Portuguese, as the mother tongue would then be used on a daily basis. The number of such working environments is, however, limited (e.g. Bank of Lisbon, TAP (and other Portuguese travel agents), bakeries and various other shops and business).

5.8 Attitudes and language loyalty

In this section, responses to questions 7 and 8 of the questionnaire (Appendix III) will be examined in some detail. By asking these questions, the researcher attempted to examine the attitudes or feelings of the respondents toward certain issues, which were considered important for this particular study. Because the issues dealt with in this particular section are important (they pertain to the essence of Portuguese identity), the responses can be seen as an indicator of a deeper, underlying attitude toward language maintenance or language shift. Certain questions aimed at the feelings of the respondents tended to elicit a positive and sincere response. The seriousness with which respondents usually responded to these issues, testifies to the importance or sensitivity which characterizes these issues.

Respondents were asked to indicate their feelings about Portuguese literature (Table 41). Despite the low level of literacy of many people in the community, and general lack of formal instruction in their mother tongue, 61,1% of the respondents indicated that they considered Portuguese literature interesting. The number of respondents who indicated that they did not consider the literature interesting was marginal. An overall positive attitude was therefore, once again, clearly evident. This positive attitude was further reflected by the majority of respondents (68,5%), who felt that Portuguese authors were as good as those of other languages (Table 42). Hence, a very positive attitude toward, and pride in, the literary-cultural aspect of the language is also clearly evident.

The question of whether the respondents considered the Portuguese language beautiful, elicited an overwhelmingly positive response: 90,7% of the respondents regard the mother tongue as a beautiful language (Table 43, Chapter 4). This positive response would seem to indicate pride in the language.

Respondents then had to indicate how they felt their own mother tongue compares to (or ranks amongst) other European languages (i.e. languages spoken in countries surrounding the mother country); they then had to indicate whether they would rather be fluent in their own mother tongue, or that of another (surrounding) European country. A total of 90,7% of the respondents indicated that Portuguese is as good as any European language (Table 45). This response therefore indicates not only a further positive attitude toward the mother tongue, but also a feeling that Portuguese is of the same stature as other European languages.

When the respondents were asked to indicate whether they would prefer to speak another European language fluently, or speak Portuguese fluently, 53,7% of the respondents indicated that they would prefer to speak Portuguese fluently (Table 44, Chapter 4). It is noticeable that 62,5% of the school respondents indicated a preference for fluency in the mother tongue, in comparison to 46,6% of the non-school respondents. This is a possible manifestation of the phenomenon discussed by Li (1982:112)(§ 3.2.3), namely: the returning grandsons (third generation) wish to revive what the fleeing son's (second generation) wished to forget.

A large number of respondents (44,4%), primarily non-school respondents, indicated a preference to be fluent in another European language, rather than in Portuguese. This could possibly be ascribed to abovementioned factors, e.g. many people who already speak Portuguese regard themselves as literate in the language, and as such do not feel it essential to further their knowledge of and literacy in the language. Many therefore feel that they would benefit more, by learning a new language. Many people also regard certain European languages (e.g. French and Italian) as being more superior and elitist. Fluency and proficiency in such languages is seen as a status symbol or of greater benefit. Nevertheless, an overall positive attitude toward proficiency in Portuguese and also in comparison to other European languages, is clearly evident.

This positive attitude toward the Portuguese language is further illustrated by the respondents' attitude toward proficiency in the mother tongue. 96,2% feel it is important to be fully conversant in the mother tongue (Table 46, Chapter 4).

The last question (Are you proud or ashamed of being Portuguese?) is directed at the very heart of the individual: It asks more than appears on the surface. It implies: Are you proud or ashamed of what you are; your descent; all that the nationality stands for, and all that is associated with it? It is therefore a very deep question, which we will return to later in the discussion.

The responses reflected in Table 47 (Chapter 4) are indicative of a strong feeling of pride towards their nationality. These responses must also be seen in conjunction with the aspect of group identity, as discussed in § 2.2.3. It could also be possible that people may, for certain reasons (e.g. self-fulfilling prophecy), feel ashamed of being Portuguese, but may not admit it (see, for example, Simon 1984:92, § 5.2).

Within the Portuguese community, identity with, loyalty toward and pride in all things Portuguese (people, country, sport, etc.) are very unmistakable and striking features. The identification with Portuguese culture, and pride being Portuguese is also confirmed in the study by Simon *et al* (1984:93): he indicates that 82,3% of the respondents indicated that they were never ashamed of being Portuguese.

The link between the mother tongue and identity is very important, as also revealed in the literature (§ 2.2.3). The mother tongue identifies and yet distinguishes the people as a distinct group. This is also substantiated by Rohra (1986:46-47) when she indicates that the mother tongue is a marker of group affiliation. The responses reflected in Table 33 (Chapter 4)(the extent to which the mother tongue is used for exclusivity purposes) bear witness to the importance of the mother tongue in distinguishing and unifying and identifying people into a particular group. So much so that it would, on many occasions, appear that there is a stronger case for group, as opposed to language, maintenance (Fishman 1972a:49ff.). This possibility would therefore be in agreement within Clyne's (1988:71) view that identification with and not use of a language could be a more prominent feature, within an immigrant community.

Hidalgo's (1986:257) finding with regard to Mexicans on the USA border is fully applicable to the Portuguese in South Africa. She indicates that " ... when claiming attitudinal loyalty to Mexican Spanish, the simple assertion 'I'm Mexican' was more important than SES, education, bilingualism, sex, age, or local identity." The same can be said of many Portuguese: the simple assertion "I'm Portuguese" (or, more commonly among the younger generation, "I'm/we're Porra") basically "says it all."

Rohra's (1986:46-47) view that the mother tongue is a marker of group affiliation, can also be tied up with Ramat's (1979:145-146) notion of social value. People choose a certain language (or linguistic variety) because it pertains to (or contains) certain aspects of social value, e.g. group membership or association with a certain culture.

Many of the same factors mentioned by Saloutos (1978:402) in his study of Greeks in the USA, as being important for the maintenance of identity (e.g. visits to the mother country, dancing, singing groups, films, etc.), are also applicable to the revival and maintenance of Portuguese identity.

Table 48 (Chapter 4) then indicates a clear difference between the attitudes of parents, as opposed to the attitudes of the respondents, i.e. a younger generation. The table therefore indicates differences in attitudes between two different generations, namely: parents and children. (One should also bear in mind that these are not the parents' direct responses, but rather the respondents' perceptions of their parents attitudes.)

When examining the responses of Table 48 (Chapter 4) (of parents and respondents, i.e. of two different generations), there is not a significant difference between the responses of the interviewees and their parents. The general trend therefore seems to indicate that although people are not always forced to speak Portuguese at home, and that it is acceptable to speak English at home, both parents and respondents would still want (or prefer) their children to be able to speak the mother tongue (cf. "Do your parents like you to speak Portuguese?" and "Would you like you children to speak Portuguese?"). This is also indicated in the study by Simon *et al.* (1984:93).

The only noticeable difference lies in the preference of the language spoken in the home (cf. "Do your parents prefer you to speak Portuguese rather than English at home?" and "Would you prefer your children to speak Portuguese rather than English at home?"), of non-school respondents (i.e. 10% (of the 1st or 2nd generation) indicating "No" as opposed to 43,3% of the non-school respondents indicating "No"). Possibly, these respondents realize the importance and necessity for their children to speak the language of the host society for various obvious reasons (e.g. education/schooling, socializing, etc.). This situation of bilingualism in the home could initiate and/or facilitate in the process of shift from the mother tongue to that of the host society, leading to bilingualism and ultimately monolingualism. The case for maintenance is thus weakened.

Thompson (1974:7) indicates that immigrant languages are often endangered "because they do not transfer from one generation to the next." In the case of the Portuguese community in South Africa one could conclude on the basis of these results that the transfer of the mother tongue from one generation to the next is weakening, as younger generation parents are more tolerant of the use of English in the home.

Preliminarily, when taking a synopsis of the results for this particular section (Sections 7 and 8 of the questionnaire), one cannot help but note that the responses for this particular section are indicative of an exceptionally positive attitude towards Portuguese. The respondents see Portuguese as a beautiful language; proficiency in the mother tongue as being important; the mother tongue as comparing favourably to other European languages, and have a definite preference to be proficient in the mother tongue; moreover, there is a strong desire to maintain the mother tongue, and most noticeably, respondents were generally very proud of being Portuguese.

It is not easy to interpret these results. Despite the very positive attitudes displayed towards the mother tongue, there is a clear shift away from the use of Portuguese in practically all domains. If Portuguese is seen in such a positive light by the respondents, and there appears to be a genuine desire to revive and maintain the mother tongue, why is there such a strong shift in progress? The loyalty which the Portuguese display (or say they do display) towards their mother language, and the simultaneous shift which is in progress, is clearly a contradictory situation. Theoretically, it is possible to ascribe this phenomenon to the classical *Observer's Paradox* (i.e. people in a formal interview situation, tend to provide the researcher with the "correct" information; the information they think the researcher wants to hear, or what is expected of them, e.g. how the community (other people) or social network expects them to respond). However, personal and continued contact with various members of the community reveals that this is not really the case. Generally, there is a definite and genuine pride in being Portuguese, and in the language.

The researcher believes that the crux of this matter is revealed by Paulston (1987:43) when she suggests that language is related either to nationality or ethnicity. Whereas ethnicity emphasizes a shared past, nationality tends to lay emphasis on the political aspect of a people or nation and an independent statehood (Paulston 1987:40). The former leading to language shift; the latter leading to language maintenance.

Because the Portuguese do not constitute an entire and unified nation within the South African borders, but are only one of many minority groups within a broader, cosmopolitan society (e.g. Germans, Greeks, Italians, Jews, etc.), language maintenance is so much harder to achieve. Because they are an ethnic group (due to sharing a common historical and biological past), the results must be seen in terms of ethnicity, and not nationalism. Constituting a minority group, they also do not have political power, and also do not have an independent state. As such, language maintenance is more difficult to achieve.

To explain or understand this positiveness toward the Portuguese nationality, one should take into consideration the inevitable tie and interplay which exists between a language (or mother tongue), and the corresponding culture. This relation (and the inter-relatedness of the two) is emphasized in the literature (cf. Aziz 1988:134; Rohra 1986:46-47; Prabhakaran 1992:171). The positive feelings displayed toward the mother tongue, could result in the pride demonstrated toward one's nationality, and vice-versa. Christopherson (1986:519) espouses the view that the mother tongue is part of one's innermost being as a member of a nation. Hence, there is a sense of identity bound up with the mother tongue. The essence of this phenomenon is captured in Parekh's (in Aziz 1988:18) apt statement: "A mother tongue is the necessary basis of self-esteem and self-respect."

Smolicz (1987:17) identified family life, language and religion as important ethnic core values in his study of Greek-Australians. The very positive attitudes displayed towards the Portuguese language would certainly indicate that the mother tongue can be regarded as an important ethnic core value, within the Portuguese community. The other two domains of family life and religion are also important within the Portuguese community. However, although one does not necessarily risk exclusion from the group, if not conforming to these core values, as suggested by Clyne (1988:70) with reference to a Greek community, there is the possibility that one could feel excluded from the group.

Fishman's (in Smolicz 1987:27) distinction can also be considered here between ethnic groups who preserve their language and core values, and those who retain only certain aspects such as food, culture and folklore. Although there are many agencies which attempted to sustain the language within the Portuguese community (e.g. afternoon schools, press, radio station), it is not really a strong enough drive. There tends to be a greater maintenance of culture, food and folklore. Nevertheless, the

culture tends to maintain the mother tongue as there is a very strong connection between language and culture, as suggested by Rohra (1986:46-47), for example.

The positive attitudes toward, and the underlying desires by the respondents to maintain the mother tongue, can also be understood within the context of the domain of social value. In this regard, Paulston (1987:46) raises the very important issue of association, namely: with what do people associate their language: modernity and opportunity or shame? The results of this survey certainly do not indicate the presence of feelings of shame toward the mother tongue in the Portuguese community. Instead, the positive responses, and especially those indicating that Portuguese is on a equal par with, or has the same status as other European languages, would indicate that the language can be regarded as modern, and as providing opportunities (employment, travel, emigration, etc.).

On the other hand, the situation in which the Portuguese community find themselves language shift almost inevitable. In the South African society, a knowledge of English and/or Afrikaans is necessary for daily communication, employment, access to goods and services, recreation, etc. The South African context or environment and daily urban activities necessitate knowledge of English, and to a lesser extent, Afrikaans. The instrumental value of English in the South African context is therefore dictated by these factors, resulting in gradual and continuous language shift from the mother tongue to English and/or Afrikaans; the functional domains of the mother tongue decreasing. The language shift from Portuguese to English and/or Afrikaans, in the South African society, is a very apt example of De Vries's (in Fase, *et al.* 1992:214) observation that, "... many immigrants, refugees and sojourners *have no alternative* in this matter ... such people will have to change their habitual language use to that of the surrounding community" (own emphasis).

The non-linguistic variables that were earlier postulated as possible causes of language shift can now be identified. There are basically two such variables: the instrumental value of the language and the integrative value of a language. Gal's (1979:17) study of bilingualism in Austria, indicated that German was the language associated with employment opportunities (the language of work); Hungarian was viewed, or associated, with peasant labour and status. In this case German has a high *instrumental value* and this can be seen as an important cause for the language shift from Hungarian towards German. Similarly, the younger Portuguese in South Africa may see English as the language providing the best employment opportunities; Portuguese being associated with menial employment, e.g. building or carpentry.

This instrumental value could, therefore, be seen as an important cause for the shift towards English.

In Chapter 1 it was indicated that the historical background of people, and more specifically a minority group in a host society, can influence and determine their language choice, usage and shift. Against the background of the Portuguese in South Africa (cf. § 1.6.5), it was indicated that the reduction in socio-economic and political status of the people (from ruling power to refugees), led to a decreased or loss of self-image, which in turn can result in the loss, or reduced use of the mother tongue. Being a minority group in a host or dominant society, can have further, underlying consequences: minority groups can be the victims of negative stereotypes and prejudices, resulting in inferiority complexes. These negative stereotypes could, over a period of time, result in the so-called *self-fulfilling prophecy* (i.e. people begin to believe what others say about them). The negativity which, in some instances, can be detected toward the Portuguese in South Africa is discussed in the articles of De Bruin (1987) and Simon *et al.* (1984:92-93). It could therefore be that, subconsciously, many Portuguese believe themselves and their language to be inferior, in comparison to the South African society and the English and/or Afrikaans languages.

Under such circumstances, languages take on certain values (symbolic and expressive), and/or associations (cf. prestige and stigma factors discussed in § 3.2.9). People feel it necessary to learn the language(s) of the host society, which are now regarded as a prestige language(s), in order to "improve" themselves (or the "presentation of the self"); the mother tongue now becoming increasingly stigmatized. Attempting to identify with members of the host society, in an attempt to be accepted by them, and also to be rid of a stigma or negative stereotype, people will use the language(s) of the host society. For the Portuguese in South African context English (and to a lesser extent Afrikaans) therefore also has an *integrative value*. This integrative value of English can be seen as the second variable that causes shift towards English.

This integration of the Portuguese into the South African host society is also witnessed by Simon *et al.* (1984:92), in their study of a group of Portuguese high school pupils. They found that pupils formed groups due to friendship, and not due to ethnic identity. During the observations and interviews, they also indicate that no Portuguese was spoken with their friends, which therefore confirms the integration process:

Now this is of some importance because language is surely a valid indicator of the acceptance of another culture.

The importance of integration into the host society by a minority group, is confirmed by Jamieson's (1980:109) study of language loss in New Zealand:

... particularly on the part of the younger generation, to become as much like New Zealanders as possible, in order not to share the disadvantages, as they see them, that their parents and grandparents experienced.

The complexity of the language shift process is therefore clearly evident: not only a result of rather obvious or evident causes or reasons, but also numerous deeper, underlying and (sometimes) subconscious reasons which play an important role in the language shift process. On the one hand, the younger generation of Portuguese speakers have a strong desire (and need) to integrate with their host society. On the other hand, there is a loyalty towards their ethnic group background. Whether this loyalty is sufficient to maintain the Portuguese language in South Africa is a question which is open to debate.

5.9 Conclusion

Examining the results in closer detail, they are clearly indicative of a language shift in progress within the Johannesburg Portuguese community. There is a definite shift from the use of the mother tongue, to an increasing use of English, or both English and Portuguese (bilingualism), in nearly all spheres of daily language use and communication.

Although education has the greatest potential to play a leading role in literacy and maintenance of the Portuguese mother tongue, its effects to date, have been limited. There is no initial mother tongue instruction; the language is not taught in primary or secondary schools (with the exception of one high school in Johannesburg South). The language has also been phased out at many universities. It is therefore only the afternoon schools and private lessons which are playing a significant role in the domain of education in maintaining the mother tongue.

A fair amount of involvement in cultural and social organizations within the community is evident. It could be said that these organizations are playing a role in maintaining culture, traditions and to some extent, the language.

Books and magazines have a very marginal effect on the maintenance of the mother tongue, primarily due to the low level of literacy in the community. The Portuguese radio station in Johannesburg does not appear to have had a great influence on the maintenance of Portuguese, to date. However, now developments in this area (e.g. the de-regularization of broadcasting in South Africa), could yield positive results in terms of maintaining the Portuguese language.

When examining the role of religion in language maintenance in the Portuguese community, two important factors need to be taken into consideration. Unlike the Greeks, who are members of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Portuguese are, overwhelmingly, Catholic. They do not therefore, belong to a specific nation and language related church or denomination. Secondly, the number of unilingual (Portuguese only) parishes to be found within the Portuguese community, are minimal. Many people therefore attend English or bilingual church services. Due to a general preference for the format of English church services, and a better comprehension of the English liturgy, attendance at Portuguese-only church services are minimal. Religion, in the Portuguese community, cannot therefore exert a strong effect on language maintenance. Its effect should therefore be seen as minimal.

Many people visit Portugal on a fairly regular basis. Contact with friends and/or family in Portugal also occurs, predominantly, by means of the mother tongue. Visits to and contact with the mother country therefore play an important role in maintaining the use of the mother tongue.

Although, in communication with parents, Portuguese is generally used, in other contact situations (with siblings and spouses and friends), it is clear that a shift towards bilingual communication is taking place. On the other hand the attitudes to both the language and ethnic background are characterized extremely positive. These positive attitudes could therefore play an important role in the maintenance of the language, culture and traditions (cf. Bamgbose 1993:19).

It is evident that in the domains of education, cultural organizations, contact with friends and/or family overseas and communication with parents, Portuguese is being maintained in varying degrees. In most other domains the Portuguese language is losing ground and giving way to bilingual communication patterns. The positive attitudes displayed toward the mother tongue and the nationality, can be seen as factors having a potentially important role to play in maintaining the mother tongue. Organizations and leaders in the community therefore need to examine and exploit the media, and any other avenues, which display potential for maintenance of the

mother tongue, in order to prevent further erosion of the Portuguese language in South Africa.

Chapter 6

Summary and conclusions

6.1 Overview of dissertation

The first chapter set out the hypothesis, the aim and the motivation of the study. It also examined the history and background of the Portuguese community in South Africa, briefly sketching the contributions of the Portuguese to South African society.

The aim of the study was to determine which domains and factors in the host society are promoting or inhibiting the use of the mother tongue (Portuguese), respectively.

The basic hypothesis of the dissertation was:

Despite a noticeable and large scale language shift among the younger generation, away from the mother tongue, to the language(s) of the host society, there are certain agents within the community which are assisting in the maintenance of the mother tongue.

The primary motivation (or reason) for the study was to enhance the existing literature on the community. At present, there is a lack of research and information, regarding the Portuguese community and language in South Africa. Linguistic studies, in particular, are lacking.

Chapter two examined the phenomenon of language maintenance as presented in the literature on the topic. Broadly defined, language maintenance is the attempt by a minority group living within a host society, to retain their mother tongue, from one generation to the next. This is not always a very easy task, as there are many (societal and underlying) factors within a host society which can counteract the effects or attempts to maintain the mother tongue. The various domains which can facilitate or enhance the maintenance process, were identified and discussed in this chapter.

Chapter three focused on the phenomenon and process of language shift. Language shift refers to the decreased use of the mother tongue by an immigrant or minority group, and a corresponding increase in the use of the language of the host society. The language of the host society, then, and not the mother tongue, is passed on from one generation to the next. This process occurs (or is necessitated), primarily, due to the multilingual situation in many countries or areas (i.e. the existence and use of two

or more languages within a country or region). A number of factors which cause or facilitate the shift from the mother tongue, to the language of the host country or region were identified and discussed.

Chapter four comprises three sections:

- (i) A discussion of the methodology which was employed to interview the interviewees in order to obtain the data for the study.
- (ii) Information regarding the background of the research group (or interviewees), in which the social, educational and occupational background of the respondents was provided.
- (iii) A presentation of the results obtained from the interviews.

In chapter five the results obtained from interviews were discussed in the light of the literature on language maintenance and shift. The following aspects were discussed:

1. Education
2. Cultural/Social involvement
3. Media
4. Religion
5. Migration
6. Contact situations
7. Attitudes

6.2 Trends, predictions and suggestions

Certain major trends will be discussed in the next section. The results showed certain trends in the Portuguese community of Johannesburg on which predictions about the future of the language can be based. Predictions are of course by their very nature tentative, as changing circumstances (e.g. in education), could lead to a greater revival of the mother tongue within the Portuguese community. The predictions are made merely on the ground of the present trends within the Portuguese community (as reflected in the results of this particular study), and in the light of trends and predictions in other similar studies in the literature on the topic.

These trends and predictions will now be presented and discussed. Certain suggestions are also presented by the researcher which, if implemented, would assist the maintenance of Portuguese.

6.2.1 Education

Trends

At present there is no provision for initial mother tongue instruction, in primary schools where there are a large number or concentration of Portuguese pupils. There are also no bridging courses, or bilingual education programmes. Furthermore, with regard to primary school education, Portuguese is not offered as a subject, for either mother tongue or non-mother tongue speakers.

With regard to high schools in areas where there is a concentration of Portuguese pupils, only one high school in the Johannesburg South area offers Portuguese as a subject. Subsequent to the introduction of Portuguese, there has been a constant number of pupils taking the subject. More pupils would be interested in taking the subject, but it is not always possible due to the restrictions of certain subject sets (e.g. technical and academic subjects are not combined into a single subject set). In many instances Portuguese is not offered at these high schools, for numerous reasons as set out in § 5.2, e.g. due to the apparent "teacher shortage" (i.e. a shortage of Portuguese teachers).

Despite this poor situation, the afternoon schools play an important role in maintaining the mother tongue, as well as educating pupils in terms of their history, culture and traditions. However, their effect can only be limited, as not all school pupils attend these afternoon schools. The majority of respondents interviewed have, however, attended Portuguese (afternoon) school at some stage of the lives. The general trend is that many people attend for only a few years, but do not always complete the minimum number of years required.

The article by Almeida (1992:6), discussed in § 5.2, also highlighted the concern of the Portuguese authorities, that parents are not providing their children with sufficient Portuguese education. The concern is easily understood and relevant in light of the fact that Portuguese is one of the most spoken languages in the world, and therefore, by implication, a vehicle of communication which opens many doors in countries such as: Angola, Brazil and Mozambique.

Tertiary education can also assist in the process of literacy in and maintenance of the mother tongue. In general, school and non-school respondents were interested in, and realized the importance or value of Portuguese (on a tertiary level), very few

non-school respondents have taken Portuguese courses at university. At present, however, universities, which always did offer Portuguese, are phasing out the subject.

Predictions

The domain of education has, however, the greatest role to play in assisting in the effective maintenance of the Portuguese mother tongue. The important role of education in the maintenance of the mother tongue is also confirmed by Aziz (1988:166) in his study of Urdu in South Africa.

Should Portuguese be introduced at all levels of education (primary, secondary and tertiary), this would greatly assist and contribute towards the maintenance and revival of the Portuguese mother tongue within the community. The TED has made Portuguese available as a subject which can be studied in high school. A change of attitude from the educational authorities (i.e. schools (and not the TED) and universities), is therefore a primary prerequisite, with regard to the instruction of Portuguese, at all levels. Should the present state of Portuguese in education continue, however, the rapid decline in literacy and proficiency of the mother tongue will continue, leading to a shift from the mother tongue to a state of monolingualism or minimal literacy and proficiency in Portuguese. In South Africa, Portuguese children are attending English (or Afrikaans) schools. They are therefore becoming very fluent and proficient in these two languages. There is a decrease in proficiency and literacy in the mother tongue (a language shift), which will increase, unless children attend Portuguese school, or are able to study the language as a school subject.

Suggestions

The following suggestions are made with regard to education:

The implementation and availability of Portuguese in the South African Education system (at all levels: primary, secondary and tertiary) should be seen in the light of the advantages mentioned, for example, by Tamis (1990:499) and Leal (in Vendeiro 1987): improve family cohesion, cultivate self-esteem, generate balanced bilinguals. Added advantages are also mentioned in § 2.2.1 and § 5.2 improving the status of the language; it is of importance for the national needs of the host society.

Portuguese should be more generally available as a subject in both primary and high schools. This will be of benefit to both mother tongue and non-mother tongue

speakers. Mother tongue speakers will become more literate and proficient in their mother tongue, as well as being educated with regard to their history and culture. Non-mother tongue speakers will have the opportunity to learn an international language, and also a language which will benefit them in South Africa, due to the large number of Portuguese in South Africa. This approach will also assist with the integration of pupils, and not lead to segregation, as feared by some schools. The Portuguese community will also need to exert their parental rights. This is an issue which they possibly should be aware of: the new schooling systems in South Africa (models A, B, C and D), allows for greater input from the parents.

Alternatively, a very important issue which the community should address, is the establishment of a Portuguese school, geographically accessible to as many Portuguese pupils as possible. Such a school could also foster an increased image or status of the people and their language, as such private ethnic schools are usually regarded as superior (or as providing a superior quality of education), in comparison to government schools.

Pupils need to be made aware of the added advantage of being able to speak the language, namely, that it could also be of benefit to South Africa, in that it could lead to an enhanced contact with other Lusophone countries, two of which are in very close geographical proximity to South Africa (namely, Mozambique and Angola). This aspect, and the subsequent benefits (e.g. trade), will be mentioned later in this section.

Portuguese school pupils, especially high school pupils, need to be educated in terms of studying their mother tongue. They need to be made aware that their language is not a peasant language, but an international language. Furthermore, they need to be made aware of the importance of being literate and proficient in their mother tongue, in order to maintain the language, and to pass it on to future generations. Pupils also need to be made aware of the fact that if one speaks the language, it does not necessarily mean that one can also read and write the language, i.e. one is not literate in the language.

The environment in which Portuguese pupils find themselves, could possibly contribute to a low self-esteem, and consequently regarding the mother tongue as an inferior language. There should therefore be a general education programme, starting in primary schools already, in which pupils are explained the importance of

studying the mother tongue, and motivated to study the mother tongue at school and also on a tertiary level, if possible (see § 5.2).

Should schools adopt a set policy with regard to the teaching of Portuguese, they would not experience a "teacher shortage". Teachers who qualify to teach Portuguese would be employed in such a capacity, and would not have to find alternative employment, due to schools not teaching Portuguese, but then introducing the subject at a later stage. Consequently, experiencing difficulty in recruiting suitably qualified teachers.

Should Portuguese not be available at school level, pupils should be motivated to attend afternoon schools. Lack of time and (consequently) interest, are the two main reasons for not attending afternoon schools. Perhaps the Portuguese authorities in charge of Portuguese education in South Africa, could introduce a system whereby parents of primary school children are informed of Portuguese schools or teachers in their area, and request that their children attend a minimum number of years at a Portuguese school, in order to reduce total illiteracy in the mother tongue.

High school pupils also need to be better informed and educated with regard to the course content of Portuguese on a tertiary level. This could lead to a possible increase in the enrollment of students studying Portuguese on a tertiary level.

Taking into consideration that the instrumental value of a language is usually the strongest motivational force for learning a language, one could also consider the possibility that if Mozambique and Angola were stabilized, opportunities such as trade and tourism, could result. The need to know Portuguese could lead to a subsequent increase in students attending Portuguese school.

It can therefore be seen that greater opportunities need to be given for the establishment of both private initiatives in education, and freedom within government schools to establish Portuguese programmes to assist in the maintenance of Portuguese.

Further suggestions in the literature (§ 2.2.1) could also be implemented in South Africa, to assist in promoting and maintaining an international language, such as Portuguese: people who learn Portuguese indirectly (e.g. by travelling), could obtain a certificate of basic competency to teach the language. If pupils learn the language outside of school, they could also obtain additional credit. Teachers from overseas should also be allowed to teach Portuguese to pupils wanting to learn the language.

6.2.2 Socio-cultural involvement

Trends

There are many Portuguese clubs spread throughout the community, which are easily accessible to most people. Most of the clubs offer a wide range of sporting and social or cultural activities, thereby attempting to cater for a wide range of interests. The main function or role of these clubs at this stage is primarily social in nature. It is clear that the older members in the community are more involved in the social and cultural activities, in comparison to the school respondents.

Regarding the leadership of these clubs, there is no strict or set requirements for the leaders or presidents, e.g. having to be foreign- as opposed to native born. The clubs also do not have set official language policies.

Predictions

These cultural organizations have great potential to assist in the maintenance of the mother tongue, especially when seen in the context of the strong relationship between language and culture (cf. Aziz 1988:166; Prabhakaran 1992:171).

If these clubs are run or managed well, they will certainly contribute to the process of maintaining the mother tongue. Should they, however, continue to be merely social organizations, or be established merely due to sentiment, it will be a loss of a very strong and influential agent in the maintenance process of the mother tongue, especially when taking into consideration the view of Fishman (1972a:49) that cultural organizations are more important than the press or broadcasting in the process of language maintenance.

Suggestions

Due to the attendance at clubs and participation in activities (e.g. Rancho, sport), the cultural and social organizations should exploit their potential for playing a role in language maintenance.

The clubs should attempt to gain as large a membership or attendance as possible. This could be done by means of advertising campaigns, and also, for example, offering incentives to members, e.g. a membership card, which allows certain benefits. This type of advantage could possibly increase membership. Members should also be kept up to date with events and happenings of the club, to ensure good attendance.

An address list can be used to automatically distribute pamphlets and newsletters, in an attempt to achieve a constant or increased attendance at the clubs.

Providing entertainment of a high standard, and in which the people display an interest (e.g. the bands which play at the clubs are enjoyed very much, especially by the younger generation), will serve to attract, maintain and increase membership. A primary motive or aim being accomplished.

Should this entertainment be in the Portuguese language, it will play a role in the maintenance of the language; the secondary motive or aim being accomplished, in an unobtrusive manner. Younger generations not very fluent in the mother tongue will not be deterred from attending the clubs, as the entertainment, rather than the language issue, will be considered.

A set language policy needs to be adopted and implemented, for example when English or Portuguese will be used. If notices or circulars are sent out to the members, it should also be determined whether English, Portuguese or both languages will be used.

Adopting set requirements for the leaders or presidents of these clubs could also possibly ensure the potential role the clubs have to play in the maintenance of the mother tongue, e.g. that leaders or presidents should be foreign born rather than native born; the foreign born leaders displaying a greater interest in cultural aspects (Fishman and Nahirny 1965:315).

A further suggestion is that these clubs (which are usually very big) could also be used as a venue for education, i.e. making it easy for pupils to attend an afternoon school and learn Portuguese, in the event of an afternoon school not being in a certain area, or inaccessible to people staying in far-out areas.

6.23 Media

Trends

When examining the general trends with regard to the media in the Johannesburg Portuguese community, one can better understand Fishman's (1972a:49) view, when he suggests that cultural organizations can be more important than the press or broadcasting, because a large number of respondents indicate 'never' coming into contact with various aspects of the media.

The newspaper (*O Século de Joanesburgo*) and TV seem to enjoy the most support. The radio station had virtually no support, although the situation has now changed. The radio station already has adopted a more vibrant, "up and coming" image, which is enjoyed very much by the younger generations, and all members in the community in general. The radio station is therefore attempting to meet the needs and requirements of a new, younger generation, and of the community at large. The new image has contributed to increased listenership of the radio station (when broadcasting on FM). The radio station has therefore already had an effect on improving many young peoples' Portuguese (see § 5.4.1).

Not much Portuguese literature is read. Portuguese films (film festivals) and plays are a rarity, although Portuguese videos enjoy a fair amount of support.

Predictions

At present, the media (in general) in the Portuguese community does not play a major role in the maintenance of the mother tongue. It seems to have a very limited, or marginal, effect on the maintenance of the mother tongue. Should the present state of illiteracy or semi-illiteracy in the community continue, the printed media is not likely to have much effect on maintaining the mother tongue.

The electronic media (television and radio), however, has unlimited potential to play a leading role in the maintenance of the mother tongue. If allowed to broadcast on FM permanently, the radio station will undoubtedly have a great impact on the improvement and maintenance of the mother tongue within the community. Portuguese videos and films also have great potential to play a greater role in the maintenance of the mother tongue, as the youth (and younger generations) generally enjoy watching videos and films. If the electronic media is not vigorously promoted, however, the present state of language shift will continue.

Suggestions

The role of the printed media (newspapers, magazines and literature) in maintaining the mother tongue will remain limited, or even decrease, as long as the people are illiterate in their mother tongue. A possible remedy at this stage is for the newspaper to perhaps have a section for the youth (a pull-out or a magazine). This could possibly motivate young people who have attended Portuguese school, or studied Portuguese, to buy the newspaper, and also to read Portuguese.

Due to the fact that television, videos and films are very popular (enduring) forms of entertainment for all age groups, they have great potential to attract large numbers of people, and consequently playing a role in language maintenance. A possible suggestion is that the television station should perhaps make use of more serials or *soaps*, which tend to attract great attention and interest, among all age groups, leading to a possible increase in viewership. Videos (available at Portuguese video shops in predominantly Portuguese areas, e.g. La Rochelle), should perhaps be better advertised (e.g. in the Portuguese newspapers and on the radio station), in order that people may know what is available. With regard to films, it is suggested that important figures within the community should attempt to obtain films from Portugal, and that they should be screened in cinemas in areas where there is a large concentration of Portuguese speakers.

The great potential of the media in maintaining the mother tongue therefore needs to be realized and exploited.

6.2.4 Religion

Trends

At present one can detect a definite preference (and therefore also a shift), for firstly English and secondly bilingual church services. It was shown (§ 4.4.4 and 5.4) that the majority of respondents prefer English or bilingual church services, while only a quarter prefer attending Portuguese-only (monolingual) church services.

Many Portuguese are also attending other churches (e.g. Rhema), located within the community, where services are conducted in Portuguese. These church services could therefore play an important role in reviving and maintaining the mother tongue, especially in the religious domain.

Predictions

Should the Portuguese services continue with their present format, attendance at these services will continue to be minimal or decrease. Furthermore, if children are not educated in the mother tongue, or at least sent to a Portuguese Sunday school or youth group, future generations will continue to have a limited comprehension and understanding of Portuguese liturgical language, resulting in the continued attendance at English or bilingual church services.

The important role which religion can therefore play in maintaining the mother tongue will continue to be minimal or decrease, having no effect on maintaining the mother tongue.

Suggestions

In order for more people to attend Portuguese (monolingual) church services, Portuguese church services will have to adopt the same format as English church services, for which there is a preference, e.g. shorter, more concise and lively.

Although not always possible, the creation of more homogeneous (Portuguese) parishes, whose church services follow the same format as those of English church services, will most certainly contribute to the maintenance of the mother tongue, due to greater contact with the mother tongue.

A further possibility for attracting people to monolingual parishes or services, could be foreign born priests or pastors, because as Salotous (1973:397) indicates - not only do they speak the mother tongue, but are also familiar with the customs and traditions of the mother country.

The domain of religion has great potential in assisting in the maintenance of the mother tongue, but it is suggested that Portuguese services will have to conform and change to the needs and requirements of the people, in order to attract them to Portuguese church services.

6.2.5 Migration/overseas visits/contact with friends and family overseas

Trends

From examining the results (§ 4.4.5 & 5.6), it can be seen that people do go overseas fairly often, or on a regular basis.

The general trend is for people from South Africa to visit family and/or friends in Portugal. It is very seldom that family and/or friends come to South Africa from Portugal. The main reason for this occurrence is the price of air tickets: it is cheaper to go to Portugal, than it is to come to South Africa.

It can also be noted that the majority of respondents keep in contact with friends and/or family overseas. The majority of respondents interviewed also use the

Portuguese mother tongue for communication with their friends and/or family overseas.

Predictions

This particular domain of communication plays a vital role in the usage and maintenance of the mother tongue. Visiting or communicating with friends and/or family overseas, in nearly every instance, necessitates the use of mother tongue. Only in a few instances communication in both English and Portuguese can take place.

Should the present state of visiting and keeping in contact with friends and/or family overseas continue, this domain can play a role in assisting in the maintenance of the mother tongue, even if only to a lesser extent than other domains, or even if only with regard to the spoken language (i.e. telephonic communication).

Suggestions

The most obvious suggestion is that the contact with family and/or friends overseas needs to be maintained (possibly strengthened), as this provides a vital link with the Portuguese language and culture. As such, parents and grandparents should be made aware of assisting children and grandchildren with writing letters to friends and/or family overseas, in an attempt to help the younger generations to become literate in the written language. Establishing a healthy rapport with friends and/or family overseas, will therefore lead to more frequent communication (whether written or telephonic) with friends and/or family, and the mother tongue will therefore have to be employed on a regular basis.

A further possible suggestion is that airlines or travel agencies could provide flights at a reduced rate, possibly receiving funding from the Portuguese Government. This could possibly result in increased tourism: either visits to Portugal, or people from Portugal visiting South Africa. This increased contact with the mother country, or visitors from the country will then also have a positive effect on the maintenance and increased use of the mother tongue (cf. § 2.2 8).

6.2.6 Contact situations

Trends

In this section, the following areas or domains of language usage were examined: the language used with (Portuguese) friends; family (the home environment);

neighbours; (Portuguese) strangers; colleagues at work; and friends at college or university.

A large majority of the respondents indicated using both English and Portuguese when conversing with friends. Quite clearly, the results point to a definite language shift in this area of language usage, and especially among the younger, school respondents who speak only both English and Portuguese when speaking to friends.

The use of Portuguese only when conversing with friends was limited, primarily, to exclusivity, an important aspect of code-switching. It is interesting to note that the younger generation will also, in many instances, resort to the use of mother tongue, for purposes of group identity and/or solidarity (or unity). This factor can then also play a role in language maintenance. Gräbe (1988:197) also identifies group identity as an important binding factor in the maintenance of the language.

When examining the language used in the home domain or environment it was found that communication with parents takes place, by and large, in Portuguese. Parents, therefore, play an important role in maintaining the mother tongue. In instances of inter-marriage, however, Portuguese will not be the home language, except where the non-Portuguese partner has learnt Portuguese, and uses it when communicating with the children.

The communication between siblings, spouses and with Portuguese neighbours is also characterized by an increase in bilingual language usage (English and Portuguese).

Contact with Portuguese strangers tends to play a fair role in eliciting the use of the mother tongue.

When examining the language used with colleagues or friends at work or university, one is once again made aware of the language shift in progress, due to the bilingualism in this area of language usage.

Predictions

Clearly the predominantly English environment into which many young South African Portuguese are born, and in which they are educated, socialize, etc. is taking its toll, as indicated by the level of bilingualism in contact with friends. This bilingualism could only, possibly lead to a situation of English monolingualism, unless other factors (e.g. education, media, religion) start to have a dramatic effect on the

use and maintenance of the mother tongue among the younger generation. The same can also be said to be true for the language used for communication between siblings and spouses.

Van Schalkwyk (1989:82), in her study of Afrikaans in Argentina, indicates that for the continued use of a language, it needs to be used by children, i.e. the following generation. In her study of language shift in Goa, India (a former Portuguese colony), Wherritt (1985:437) found that younger generations do not really use Portuguese. The researcher therefore concludes that " ... with another generation the Portuguese language will remain only through loanwords in Konkani" (1985:437). Taking these two abovementioned studies into cognizance, one can safely predict that if parents do not transmit Portuguese to their children, the use thereof will decrease over a few generations, as is already evident among the younger generations.

Within the home environment, it is only the parents and grandparents who, at this stage, can stem the tide of language shift, bilingualism and eventual monolingualism.

Owing to this predominant English environment in which South African Portuguese find themselves, it can therefore be safely predicted that the language used with neighbours and strangers, in future, will increasingly be both English and Portuguese or English only. This is true, particularly of the younger generations and especially if they are not residing in predominantly Portuguese areas.

The importance of the environment in which people (and especially young children) find themselves, and to which they are exposed, as well as their daily contact with other people in that environment, is also highlighted in the literature, due to the influence (or subsequent influence) which the environment and daily contact with other people, can have on language usage, and especially the establishment of young children's language.

Suggestions

At this stage, it would appear that the community at large, needs to be made aware of the dramatic language shift, taking place within the community and the need to stem the tide of language shift. It can be safely said that many people are not aware of this situation. A large-scale and on-going education programme is therefore imperative at this stage. The media and cultural organizations could play a vital role in this campaign.

Parents and grandparents, particularly, should be made aware of the important role which they could play in their process of revitalizing and maintaining the mother tongue, owing to their strong command of the language - both written and verbal - as well as their strong emotional ties with the language and culture. Parents and grandparents, when with their children and grandchildren, should encourage them to use the mother tongue, when communicating with family, friends, neighbours and strangers. Children should therefore grow up, being accustomed to using the mother tongue, when in the presence of, or communicating with, Portuguese people.

In communicating with friends and family overseas, parents and grandparents could take the opportunity to teach their children and grandchildren how to write in Portuguese, and also assist them in reading correspondence from overseas. These attempts could be important for future literacy in, and maintenance of, the mother tongue (cf. Sridhar 1988:84).

6.2.7 Attitudes

Trends

The extremely positive attitude displayed towards the mother tongue and nationality (i.e. being Portuguese), is very evident. A vast majority of the respondents claim to be proud of being Portuguese. Even although many people have not received a high standard of formal education in their mother tongue, they still indicated considering the Portuguese literature interesting and Portuguese authors as being as good as authors of other languages. The respondents also displayed extreme loyalty toward their mother tongue: Most of the respondents consider the language as beautiful, and as good as any other European language, and also feel it is important to be fully conversant in the mother tongue. This contrasts strongly, however, with their actual use of the language. What is said, and what is done, are two different issues.

Similarly, a fairly new trend can be detected among some urban (-ized) Afrikaners. While protesting their loyalty to Afrikaans their children attend English schools.

Predictions

In the Portuguese community, there is a strong desire for future generations to still be proficient in the mother tongue. This is therefore a strong factor in the maintenance of the mother tongue. Further important factors in favour of maintaining the Portuguese mother tongue, is that Portuguese is an international

language, and is also essential for contact with, and visits to the mother country. These factors, together with the very positive attitudes of the respondents toward their mother tongue, can play an important role in directing the attitudes of the community toward reviving and maintaining their mother tongue.

It should also be noted, however, that negative attitudes (of parents), or the desire by certain respondents that their children should rather be proficient in English than in Portuguese, poses a threat to maintenance factors (cf. Aziz 1988:58; Lewis 1975:120).

Suggestions

Agents and/or organizations within the Portuguese community (who have great potential to maintain the mother tongue), together with prominent (leadership) figures, should take advantage of the positive attitudes displayed by the community, in general, in an attempt to make people aware of the decreasing use of the mother tongue, and the possible solutions to this problem.

In particular, people could be made aware of the great instrumental value of an international language such as Portuguese, which could be an important motivational force for learning and maintaining the language, e.g. if Mozambique and Angola were stabilized, opportunities such as trade and tourism, could result.

6.3 Preliminary conclusion

From the research conducted it is clear that a definite language shift is therefore in progress in the Portuguese community. This language shift also clearly shares features characteristic of language shift, detected among other minority groups in South Africa (e.g. Gräbe's (1988) study of French in the Transvaal; Aziz's (1988) study of Urdu in South Africa).

Education has the greatest potential to facilitate language maintenance. However, in the South African situation, education is facilitating a language shift, as the medium of instruction is either English or Afrikaans. Portuguese as a subject is only offered at some High Schools and there is also no attempt to offer it at primary school level. The Portuguese ethnic/afternoon schools are, however, playing an important role in promoting literacy in the mother tongue.

In the area of daily contact, a language shift is also in progress (e.g. work, school and tertiary institutions, neighbours, siblings, spouses). This area is also characterized by increasing bilingualism.

Portuguese clubs play a role in the maintenance of Portuguese. However there tends to be a greater involvement in these areas by the older as opposed to the younger generation. Hence, the socio-cultural sphere is not reaching its full potential as a maintenance agent.

The media has considerable potential for language maintenance. However, because of restrictions in the electronic media, and a low level of literacy in the mother tongue, the media do not have much impact on language maintenance.

In the domain of religion there is an unmistakable language shift, due to a definite preference for English and/or bilingual church services.

Visits to, and contact with Portugal, have an important role in language maintenance as the mother tongue is also, to a great extent, the sole language employed when communicating with friends and family resident in the mother country.

The home domain has an important stabilizing influence on the language usage situation: basically only Portuguese is used when communicating with parents and grandparents.

The extremely positive attitudes toward the Portuguese language and being Portuguese (Portuguese nationality) are a very important factors for facilitating language maintenance.

Because of the language environment of the host country in which the Portuguese community find themselves, an ongoing language shift seems inevitable. Nevertheless, the following should be borne in mind:

If the Portuguese community were motivated (and mobilized) to become aware of the value of their heritage, and encouraged to take initiatives to maintain the language, a healthy situation of stable bilingualism would be established.

By creating an awareness within the community of the present state of the mother tongue (e.g. low levels of literacy; decreased use) peoples' attitudes towards using and maintaining the mother tongue could be changed. Journalists, the media, Portuguese authorities (e.g. the embassy) and even religious figures can play an

important role in the promotion of cultural and economic exchange between South African and other Portuguese-speaking countries, which would play an important role in language maintenance.

The maintenance of Portuguese in the South African context, therefore, can be achieved. There are many agencies or domains (e.g. schooling, media, religion) which, together with influential and educated leaders within the community could initiate maintenance efforts. The combined efforts of the agencies and leaders have great potential for the maintenance of the Portuguese language. The positive attitudes of the community toward the mother tongue, the pride displayed in being Portuguese, seen in conjunction with Clyne's (1988:68) optimistic observation that Southern and Eastern Europeans tend to maintain their languages more (in contrast to Northern and Western Europeans, respectively), argue well for the future of Portuguese in South Africa.

6.4 The value of maintaining Portuguese in South Africa

In the light of the factors mentioned in Chapter 2 (paragraph 2.3), and the following discussion the researcher feels that there is considerable value in maintaining the Portuguese language in South Africa.

Apart from being a rich cultural heritage which should not be lost, it is a potential economic resource for South Africa. It should be borne in mind that Portuguese is an international language; it fulfills the requirements of an international language (Grobbelaar 1990:111, 112):

- It has scientific and technical terminology.
- It has a variety of rich literature - general and academic.
- It is an important medium of communication with other countries (e.g. Angola, Mozambique, Brazil), and in the many countries where one finds large Portuguese communities, e.g. South Africa and the United States.

Portuguese children, who speak a language other than of the host society, are therefore important language resources for the country (Campbell and Schnell 1987:177; Makin 1992:71). If these children cannot study their mother tongue at school level, this is a loss of a national resource. The state or private companies may be spending money on language courses, unnecessarily, instead of developing these

"natural resources" at school level, which may be required within the host society (South Africa). One can think not only of careers such as translators and interpreters, but furthermore, in the field of business, trade and cultural exchange with Portugal and other Portuguese speaking countries (e.g. Brazil).

The government or state could and should therefore play an active role in the maintenance of minority languages, especially those languages such as Portuguese from which they can benefit. Fennell (in Haugen *et al.* 1981:33ff) highlights the aspect of government support as an important factor for the maintenance of a minority language. Brenzinger (1993:6) also suggests that irrespective of a government's language policy, minority languages " ... should receive special attention since minority languages are a fast - disappearing heritage, a widely neglected cultural legacy."

Furthermore, the possibilities of reviving and maintaining Portuguese are very good, when seen in the light of Schmidt's (1990:10) observation that if a language has 200 to 4 000 speakers, it can be considered a "healthy language." If one then goes according to most statistical figures for the Portuguese community (approximately half a million in South Africa), then Portuguese can definitely be considered a "healthy language." In this respect, Portuguese differs very much from many other minority languages in South Africa, especially those mentioned in this study (e.g. Urdu and Telugu). The number of speakers of these minority languages are far less, and therefore the languages are more vulnerable to influences from within the speech community.

The attempt to revive and/or maintain a minority language, should not be seen in isolation, or as an isolated attempt; it is also not an unusual or exceptional phenomenon. The attempt to revive and maintain minority languages, is a universal and international trend (Aziz 1988:167-169). One could therefore conclude that there is a universal recognition of the need and necessity to maintain minority languages. The maintenance of Portuguese in South Africa could therefore be seen as part of a wider, universal trend in the maintenance of minority languages.

The mother tongue speakers of Portuguese are, potentially, a great language resource for the country. There are also sufficient mother tongue speakers in South Africa, in order to warrant and facilitate the maintenance of the language. The positive attitudes of the older generations, and in the community in general, toward transmitting the language to future generations should be channelled into potentially productive maintenance efforts, thereby being of great benefit to both the Portuguese

community (in the maintenance of culture and traditions), and to the host society (in the maintenance of an important language resource).

6.5 Concluding statement

The hypothesis formulated and stated in chapter one is confirmed by this study: a language shift is in progress within the Johannesburg Portuguese community (especially among the younger, third generation). At the same time, however, certain agents are playing an important role in restraining this language shift.

Exact predictions regarding the future of the minority language are very difficult to make. Language shift, however, is a universal phenomenon, from which no minority language group seems to be immune as indicated by Brenzinger (1993:1,8), in his study of minority languages in Africa:

worldwide we notice an increasing tendency among members of ethno-linguistic minorities to bring up their children in a language other than their mother tongue, thereby abandoning their former ethnic languages" and consequently "The great majority of minority languages, however, will be neglected and finally disappear, the same way minority languages did and still do disappear in other parts of the world.

A situation of a stable bilingual or multilingual situation would assist in slowing down or inhibiting a complete language shift from the minority mother tongue to the language of the host society (cf. Jones in Haugen *et al.* 1981:50).

However, if the correct measures are taken, and motivation and incentives provided, the Portuguese language could be maintained in South Africa. The Portuguese community certainly has enough speakers to make a success of such efforts. Although decreased use of the mother tongue, and increased use of the language of the host society is a common occurrence, it need not necessarily be the rule (cf. Swadesh 1948:234 and James 1973:73-82). Minority groups have to demonstrate a will and desire within themselves, and should take the necessary steps, to maintain their mother tongue, their culture, tradition and way of life. Hence, it could be said that language maintenance is, to a large extent, dependent on the decision of that group, collectively and individually, to maintain the mother tongue.

If the future of Portuguese lies in the hands of the Portuguese community itself, the same could be said of the Portuguese community, as Fennel (1981:39) says of the Afrikaans community in Argentina:

... a shrinking linguistic minority can be saved from extinction **only by itself**, and on condition that it **acquires the will to save itself, and is not prevented from taking appropriate measures but assisted in doing so** (own emphasis).

APPENDIX I

Immigration to South Africa

Statistics of Immigrants and Emigrants from Madeira and Portugal according to country of previous permanent residence for 1961 - 1992 January - August

Immigrants	1961-1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992 JAN-AUG	TOTAL
Portugal	30 091	777	1 006	1 414	757	173	34 218
Madeira	5 905	0	0	0	0	26	5 931
Emigrants	1961-1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992 JAN-AUG	TOTAL
Portugal	2 671	20	18	42	40	45	2 836
Madeira	154	0	0	0	0	0	154

(Information provided by: Department of Statistics, Pretoria)

APPENDIX II

Home language by Suburb
Whites

Suburb		Total	Afrikaans	English	Afrikaans & English	Portuguese
Total	T	538 728	112 079	380 916	4 317	16 605
	M	264 171	54 988	185 853	2 068	8 511
	F	274 557	57 090	195 063	2 249	8 093
Bassonia	T	913	221	620	8	37
	M	476	114	325	6	19
	F	437	107	295	2	18
Bellavista Estate	T	1 644	716	797	6	119
	M	739	342	349	2	43
	F	905	374	448	4	76
Bellavista South	T	762	284	425	6	41
	M	352	135	189	2	22
	F	409	149	236	3	19
Bellevue	T	3 510	153	2 945	20	43
	M	1 714	85	1 421	11	23
	F	1 796	68	1 524	9	20
Bellevue East	T	2 297	161	1 885	13	52
	M	1 100	68	918	6	27
	F	1 197	94	967	7	25
Berea	T	13 127	1 550	9 937	141	326
	M	6 431	796	4 721	65	167
	F	6 697	754	5 216	77	159
Bertrams	T	1 132	350	513	13	223
	M	561	166	246	6	127
	F	570	184	268	7	96

Suburb		Total	Afrikaans	English	Afrikaans & English	Portuguese
Bezuidenhout Valley	T	6 168	506	3 914	52	1 260
	M	3 119	259	1 960	23	650
	F	3 049	247	1 954	29	609
Booyens	T	1 354	441	777	18	65
	M	677	225	388	6	33
	F	677	216	389	12	33
Forest Hill	T	2 842	1 027	1 510	43	235
	M	1 418	493	771	20	119
	F	1 424	534	740	23	116
Glenanda	T	2 192	332	1 713	16	70
	M	1 093	171	848	6	35
	F	1 099	161	866	9	35
Glenesk	T	169	30	118	5	12
	M	80	13	57	3	6
	F	89	16	61	1	6
Glenvista	T	6 879	1 351	5 137	84	102
	M	3 439	676	2 568	40	52
	F	3 439	675	2 569	44	50
Haddon	T	1 548	555	890	11	54
	M	751	269	427	7	29
	F	797	286	463	3	25
Jeppestown	T	3 387	698	1 803	31	752
	M	1 829	360	1 033	16	376
	F	1 558	338	770	15	376
Johannesburg	T	9 023	3 104	4 805	191	263
	M	4 902	1 684	2 556	86	154
	F	4 121	1 420	2 249	105	109
Johannesburg Rest	T	6 866	3 596	2 763	172	174
	M	3 676	1 968	1 425	101	88
	F	3 191	1 629	1 338	71	86
Judiths Paarl	T	660	81	349	0	204
	M	316	40	166	0	96
	F	343	40	183	0	108

Suburb		Total	Afrikaans	English	Afrikaans & English	Portuguese
Kenilworth	T	4 181	689	2 443	75	895
	M	2 090	349	1 201	29	474
	F	2 091	340	1 242	46	421
Kensington	T	11 565	703	9 826	62	487
	M	5 763	363	4 889	28	239
	F	5 803	340	4 937	34	248
Kibler Park	T	4 399	1 615	2 612	71	19
	M	2 195	791	1 326	31	6
	F	2 204	825	1 286	40	13
La Rochelle	T	2 204	276	832	14	1 048
	M	1 172	151	445	7	550
	F	1 032	125	387	7	498
Linmeyer	T	2 498	167	2 109	20	86
	M	1 208	75	1 028	6	43
	F	1 290	91	1 081	14	43
Lorentzville	T	1 239	88	765	22	267
	M	626	39	378	11	144
	F	613	49	387	12	123
Malvern	T	4 357	729	2 606	32	828
	M	2 115	358	1 242	15	413
	F	2 241	371	1 364	18	415
Mulbarton	T	3 956	734	3 055	24	72
	M	1 997	378	1 533	12	37
	F	1 959	356	1 523	12	35
Oakdene	T	2 145	360	1 544	5	179
	M	1 105	181	800	1	89
	F	1 041	179	744	4	90
Observatory	T	3 081	315	2 358	17	53
	M	1 488	93	1 187	11	25
	F	1 593	222	1 170	6	28
Regents Park	T	2 894	592	1 496	29	759
	M	1 489	303	757	14	406
	F	1 405	289	738	15	353
Rewlatch	T	881	149	542	4	158
	M	434	68	272	2	78
	F	447	81	269	1	80

Suburb		Total	Afrikaans	English	Afrikaans & English	Portuguese
Robertsham	T	4 833	1 210	3 112	49	157
	M	2 405	595	1 555	24	76
	F	2 428	616	1 557	25	81
Roseacre	T	1 284	252	739	37	211
	M	635	128	365	20	101
	F	649	124	374	17	109
Rosettenville	T	9 774	1 477	6 312	119	1 684
	M	4 696	698	2 982	59	868
	F	5 078	779	3 331	61	815
South Hills	T	4 959	2 929	1 585	104	285
	M	2 322	1 407	707	53	133
	F	2 636	1 522	879	50	152
South Kensington	T	906	25	761	5	47
	M	456	13	382	1	24
	F	450	12	379	4	23
Southdale	T	534	102	357	14	26
	M	264	48	180	7	13
	F	270	53	178	7	13
The Hill	T	3 690	597	2 663	22	300
	M	1 680	232	1 240	13	143
	F	2 011	365	1 424	8	158
Towerby	T	647	177	436	0	18
	M	318	83	217	0	9
	F	329	94	219	0	10
Townsvlew	T	680	97	534	0	39
	M	322	47	249	0	23
	F	358	50	285	0	16
Troyeville	T	1 609	194	749	6	594
	M	837	106	374	4	322
	F	772	88	375	2	271
Tulisa Park	T	1 253	505	603	14	57
	M	618	236	307	8	30
	F	635	269	296	6	27
Turf Club	T	681	234	357	21	48
	M	336	113	177	8	29
	F	345	121	181	13	20

Suburb		Total	Afrikaans	English	Afrikaans & English	Portuguese
Turffontein	T	6 340	1 922	3 233	125	985
	M	3 192	983	1 605	65	505
	F	3 148	939	1 629	60	481
West Turffontein	T	3 309	1 003	1 918	35	322
	M	1 519	444	879	14	168
	F	1 790	559	1 039	21	154

Central Statistical Service

Population Census 1991, Selected Statistical Region - Johannesburg/Randburg:

Part 1 - Social Characteristics. No. 03-01-16 Pg. 115-138

11(a) Have you stayed in any other country/ies, and if so, for how long? (Please specify country.) _____

11(b) How many years have you been staying in South Africa, if not born here?

12. Where were your parents born? Father: _____

Mother: _____

13. If not born in South Africa, what were your reasons for immigrating?

Financial: _____

Social (e.g. to join family and friends): _____

Political (e.g. circumstances in Portugal,
Angola, Mozambique): _____

Educational (e.g. to attend a South African
school, college, university): _____

No particular reason: _____

Other (please specify): _____

14. Are you considering: Staying permanently: _____

Staying temporarily: _____

Not sure: _____

Please explain why: _____

15. What is your highest educational qualification? _____

16. What are your parents' highest educational qualifications?

Father: _____

Mother: _____

1.8 If you went to university, would you take Portuguese as a subject?

Yes: _____

No: _____

Please motivate: _____

1.9 Have you ever studied a third/fourth language? (e.g. French/German, etc.)

1.10 If so, do you find the learning of a third/fourth language easier than that of Portuguese? _____

1.11 In which language do you count?

English: _____ Portuguese: _____ Both: _____

2. Cultural/Social involvement

2.1 Have you ever been involved in any Portuguese cultural/social activities? (e.g. Rancho, Debutantes, Lusitoland, etc.) Please specify.

2.2 Do you attend Portuguese clubs? (e.g. União, Poveiros, Casa da Madeira)

Regularly: _____

Occasionally: _____

Seldom: _____

Never: _____

3. **Media**

	Regularly	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Do you read Portuguese Newspapers/ Magazines?				
Do you listen to Radio Cidade?				
Do you watch Canal Português?				
Do you read Portuguese literature?				
Do you go to Portuguese films/ plays?				
Do you watch Portuguese videos?				

---oOo---

4. **Religion**

4.1 Do you prefer church services in: English: _____
 Portuguese: _____
 Both: _____

Please motivate: _____

- 4.2 In which language do you pray? English: _____
 Portuguese: _____
 Both: _____

---oOo---

5. **Migration/visits to and contact with family/friends overseas**

- 5.1 How often do you go overseas?

- 5.2 How often do you have visitors from overseas?

How often do friends/family emigrate to South Africa?

- 5.3 Do you keep in close contact with friends/family overseas?

If so, do you communicate with them in:

English: _____ Portuguese: _____ Both: _____

---oOo---

6. **Contact with friends/family/neighbours/strangers**

- 6.1 Are many of your friends Portuguese:

Yes: _____

No: _____

If so, do you speak to them in:

English: _____ Portuguese: _____ Both: _____

6.2 When/under which circumstances do you speak to your friends (at school/college/university) in Portuguese?

6.3 How well does your father speak English?

Very fluently: _____

Fairly fluently: _____

A little: _____

Not at all: _____

How well does your mother speak English?

Very fluently: _____

Fairly fluently: _____

A little: _____

Not at all: _____

6.4 Which language(s) do you speak to your:

	Mostly Portuguese	Mostly English	Both	Other (Specify)
Mother				
Father				
Brothers/ Sisters				
Husband				
Wife				

6.5 Are any of your neighbours Portuguese-speaking?

Yes: _____

No: _____

Do you speak to them in:

English: _____ Portuguese: _____ Both: _____

6.6 Do you speak to strangers (e.g. shop-owners) in:

English: _____ Portuguese: _____ Both: _____

6.7 Are there Portuguese people at your work?

Yes: _____

No: _____

Do you speak to them in:

English: _____ Portuguese: _____ Both: _____

6.8 Do you have Portuguese friends at university/college? (or when you did attend university/college?)

Yes: _____

No: _____

Do you speak to them in:

English: _____ Portuguese: _____ Both: _____

7. Attitudes/Language loyalty

	Yes	No	Undecided
7.1 Do you consider Portuguese interesting?			
7.2 Do you think Portuguese authors, generally speaking, are as good as authors of other languages?			
7.3 Do you consider the Portuguese language as beautiful?			

7.4 If you could choose between speaking another European language fluently, and speaking Portuguese fluently (perfectly), what would you choose?

Another European language: _____

Portuguese: _____

7.5 Do you consider Portuguese to be:

As good as any European language: _____

An inferior language: _____

Undecided: _____

7.6 Do you feel it is important to be fully conversant (speak, read and write) in your mother tongue? Yes: _____

No: _____

Please motivate: _____

7.7 Do you feel proud/ashamed of being Portuguese? _____

Please motivate: _____

8. Attitudes

	Strongly yes	Yes	No	Do not care	No response
Do your parents like you to speak Portuguese?					
Are you ever forced to speak Portuguese at home?					
Do your parents mind if you speak English at home?					
Do your parents prefer you to speak Portuguese rather than English at home?					
Would you like your children to speak Portuguese at home?					
Would you force your children to speak Portuguese at home?					
Would you mind if your children spoke English at home?					
Would you prefer your children to speak Portuguese rather than English at home?					

APPENDIX IV

Additional information on education obtained from personal interviews

1. Ethnic schools: For example: Colégio Verney

Initially, with the influx of people from Mozambique, there was a system of formal education, by people who had to have at least a standard 10. Inspectors were sent from Mozambique to test and examine the pupils.

Colégio Verney was started in South Africa (Rosettenville, Johannesburg-South) in January 1975 by Dr Peliz for the Portuguese Community, who had the same school in Mozambique. Initially, the school was exclusively for Portuguese: an awareness arose of the problems of Portuguese children at the time (i.e. the influx into South Africa, due to political conditions in Mozambique and Angola). At this time (\pm 1975 ff), 90% of Portuguese children were regarded as "retarded". Dr Peliz then applied to the TED to implement the TED-syllabus into the school. In March 1975, the school was fully registered with both the TED and the Portuguese Ministry of Education. Dr Peliz left in 1976, and was succeeded by his wife, Mrs Alves (who at present is the principal).

Initially, there were 35 children following the TED-syllabus and 128 following the Portuguese syllabus (afternoon-school). Children were prepared for special education and children with learning problems were also dealt with. The staff consists of 15 teachers, teaching in both English and Portuguese.

At present, the school has grown to 465 children; a nursery school of approximately 40 children (with 2 teachers), and an after school centre. The TED-syllabus is taught up to Std 5.

Portuguese is taught in the afternoon (Gr 1 to Std 10). Colégio Verney is the only school (and was the first) to be recognized and accepted by the Portuguese Ministry of Education, as well as by Portugal itself. Teachers have to register with the TED, and the Portuguese Ministry of Education. The school sets up its own examination papers, which also go to Portugal for inspection and approval. At the end of the year, pupils write exams in the school.

In the period 1975 - 1980, pupils came to the school willingly and voluntarily. Hence there was a tradition of maintaining the Portuguese language and culture. After

1980, however, there is a new generation, born in South Africa. Many of the parents are workers and have intentions of returning to Portugal, hence, education is not very important for them. There are some parents, however, who do feel that children need the Portuguese language, in order to maintain the traditions. After 1985, however, due to the ever-changing political situation in South Africa, many people wish to return to Portugal (in fear of a repetition of events in Mozambique and Angola). Hence, from 1985, the number of children attending Portuguese school has increased dramatically, as parents want their children to be literate in their mother tongue, should or when they return to Portugal.

Lisbon started checking and investigating teacher qualifications and standards in general, within these ethnic schools in South Africa and by 1988/1989 only three schools survived (i.e. official recognition from Portugal):

1. Van der Bijl Park (now closed)
2. 2 in Johannesburg:
 - (a) Verney (officialized)
 - (b) Malvern (not officialized; non-qualified staff; now closed).

Portuguese is also taught in certain primary schools in the afternoons after school, e.g. Rosettenville Central Primary School. Many of these afternoon classes are also recognized and sponsored by the Portuguese Government. Hence, it is also an attempt to keep the language alive up to standard five.

Within the entire sphere of education, 3 groups, types or systems of ethnic schools can be distinguished:

1. Official established schools, e.g. Colégio Verney officialized
2. Private lessons given by teachers
3. Domestic (i.e. teachers setting up own little "schools", e.g. at their homes or other venues).

Fees: Colégio Verney: R100,00 per month (afternoon school)
 R260,00 per month (all day)
 R200,00 per month (mornings only)
 R40,00 transport.

Domestic schools: R90,00 per month

Portuguese, as a high school subject (started in 1986) can also be taken by pupils, in three various options (if and when offered by high schools):

1. As part of the six subjects, required for a matric certificate.
2. As a seventh subject (i.e. in addition to the six subjects taken for matric).
3. As a sixth subject for matric, in lieu of Afrikaans. This is only for recent immigrant pupils - or those who have not been in the country for five years or more.

Syllabus content for Portuguese School (afternoon-schools)

Up to Std 8: Language, Geography, History and Culture (7th, 8th, 9th class: 1. Philosophy; 2. Politics; 3. Maths or Portuguese or Human Science).

Std 9 and 10: *Compulsory* Portuguese Philosophy and an Introduction to Political Science; Science and Maths.

The majority of pupils only go up to Std 8, as this is the minimum requirement, or is regarded as sufficient for recognition (local and overseas). A Std 8 (9th class) at Portuguese school, in conjunction with a matric certificate (university entrance) will usually provide entrance to university, or receive recognition in Portugal. If a university entrance is not obtained, the pupil would have to get up to 12th class in Portuguese school, in order to apply to a university overseas.

Structure of Portuguese school (Colégio Verney)

Primary school

Grade 1	= pre-primary class
Grade 2	= primeiro ano
Std 1	= segundo ano
Std 2	= terceiro ano
Std 3	= quarto ano

Preparatory school

Std 4	= Quinto ano
Std 5	= Sexto ano

High school (structure of afternoon school)

Std 6	= Setimo ano
Std 7	= Oitavo ano
Std 8	= Nono ano
Std 9	= Decimo ano
Std 10:	= Decimo primeiro ano

Pre-university year 12th class

Decimo segundo ano - only for university entrance

Statistics: pupils attending at Colégio Verney

TED-school (Gr 1 - Std 5)

1975:	51
1976:	48
1977:	31
1978:	18
1979:	23
1980:	33
1981:	107
1982:	51
1983:	66
1984:	56
1985:	48
1986:	64
1987:	55
1988:	49
1989:	51
1990:	154
1991:	186
1992:	173

Portuguese (afternoon) school

1975:	128	
1976:	52	
1977:	102	
1978:	32	
1979:	32	
1980:	86	
1981:	92	
1982:	50	
1983:	34	
1984:	60	
1985:	72	
1986:	42	
1987:	46	
1988:	106	-> NB: Increased numbers due to political changes in South Africa (as mentioned earlier § 4.3)
1989:	92	
1990:	123	
1991:	140	
1992:	243	

(Courtesy: Personal interview, Mrs A. Teixeira.)

2. Government (TED) schools

Interviews conducted with headmasters at two very predominantly Portuguese High Schools Johannesburg (South) revealed the following, with regard to the teaching of Portuguese:

2.1 Forest High School

Portuguese was introduced four years ago (1989 - 1992), hence 1993 will be the first group of matrics. The previous headmaster did not want Portuguese to be taught - he felt that pupils could go to Portuguese School if they wanted to learn the language.

2.2 The Hill High School

Still does not offer Portuguese, despite having a large Portuguese population (\pm 50% of the pupils are Portuguese).

An interview with the previous headmaster revealed the following:

- (a) The school has been offering Zulu and French for a number of years. Therefore, they already have enough languages.
- (b) The two other predominantly Portuguese High Schools in the area, Forest High School and Sir John Adamson were approached by Hill High, and asked also to introduce Portuguese simultaneously. Should the other two schools do this, Hill High would reconsider the matter. This was done, as Hill High "feared" an influx of Portuguese pupils, and therefore upset the pupil balance, i.e. there would be too many Portuguese pupils. Forest High, however, refused to introduce Portuguese. Hill High, had, in the interim, introduced French and Zulu. Should Portuguese be introduced, one of these languages (French or Zulu) would have to be dropped.

It was also felt that having Portuguese at the school, would not facilitate the assimilation of Portuguese and South African children. Departmental policy (after all) encourages children to become South African. Portuguese children might not have conformed to this, and having the subject could have diminished contact with South African children.

(Courtesy: Personal interviews with headmasters, Mr Legg & Mr Tobias, respectively)

APPENDIX V

TED Matric results for Portuguese

1990 HG 29 candidates		1990	SG
1.	Paper 1: Language Average: 57,4%	Number: Average:	34 60,6%
	Failed: 4 Distinction: 2	Failed: Distinction:	4 2
2.	Paper 2: Literature Average: 52%	Number: Average:	33 57%
	Failed: 8 Distinction: 4	Failed: Distinction:	8 6
3.	Oral Average: 53,7%	Number: Average:	27 64,7%
	Failed: 7 Distinction: 4	Failed: Distinction:	3 9
4.	Total Average: 54,8%	Number: Average:	27 58,4%
	Failed: 6 Distinction: 3	Failed: Distinction:	1 0
1991 HG 42/43 candidates		SG	15/16 candidates
1.	Paper 1: Language Average: 54,2%	Average:	52,3%
	Failed: 10 Distinction: 6	Failed: Distinction:	2 1
2.	Paper 2: Literature Average: 35,9%	Average:	48,2%
	Failed: 30 Distinction: 0	Failed: Distinction:	5 0
3.	Oral Average: 56,2%	Average:	67,8%
	Failed: 14 Distinction: 4	Failed: Distinction:	0 4
4.	Total Average: 47,8%	Distinction:	51,4%
	Failed: 14 Distinction: 2	Failed: Distinction:	3 0

(Courtesy: Personal interview. TED: Bureau for Curriculum Development, Mrs de Lange.)

APPENDIX VI

Statistics relating to Portuguese Students

University of South Africa

Year	Course registrations				
	Portuguese Special	Portuguese I	Portuguese II	Portuguese III	TOTAL
1972	0	13	3	0	16
1973	0	14	1	2	17
1974	0	13	7	1	21
1975	32	22	5	2	61
1976	30	19	6	0	55
1977	38	21	6	3	68
1978	35	19	7	3	64
1979	25	23	8	9	65
1980	18	19	7	6	50
1981	15	10	8	4	37
1982	17	13	10	11	51
1983	20	26	5	11	62
1984	28	28	13	4	73
1985	24	31	10	13	78
1986	42	28	18	6	94
1987	35	28	19	11	93
1988	34	34	18	15	101
1989	51	17	13	17	98
1990	32	22	10	6	70
1991	47	32	12	11	102
1992	36	40	16	7	99

APPENDIX VII

Statistics relating to Portuguese Students

University of the Witwatersrand

Year	Course registrations							
	Portuguese IB	Portuguese IA	Portuguese II	Portuguese III	Portuguese Honours	H DIP ED Methodology	Portuguese Trans lation	Total
1985	6	17	9	5	0		0	37
1986	10	25	11	4	0	2	0	52
1987	10	18	9	6	4	4	0	51
1988	19	7	3	1	0	3	0	33
1989	16	15	4	6	2	0	0	43
1990	11	19	6	4	2	2	2	46
1991	10	11	13	4	3	1	4	46
1992	16	15	9	4	0	0	2	46

APPENDIX VIII
LIST OF PORTUGUESE CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS IN
JOHANNESBURG
(Portuguese Consulate)
CONSULADO - GERAL DE PORTUGAL

Lista de Associações, Colectividades e Ranchos Folclóricos da Área Consular de Joanesburgo em 1992

1. Associação dos Antigos Residentes de Moçambique na África do Sul
P O Box 33418 - JEPPESTOWN 2034 - Secretário 614-4821
19 Fuller Street - Bertrams
Presidente: Sr. H. Gonçalves - (s) 435-1190/1
2. Associação da Colónia Portuguesa
17 Gordon Terrace - NEW DOORNFONTEIN 2094
Secretário: 402-7834
Presidente: Sr. Contente - (s) 28-1666 code 200 372
3. Associação da Colónia Portuguesa de Nigel
P O Box 519 - NIGEL 1490
Presidente: Sr. Pereira - Paula (s) 739-5315
4. Associação da Colónia Portuguesa de Rustenburg
P O Box 1841 - RUSTENBURG 0300
Presidente: Sr. A. Mouchoudis - tel (s) (0142) 960461
Fax: 960172 (c) 24563
5. Associação da Colónia Portuguesa de Springs
767 Prince George Avenue - BRAKPAN 1540
Presidente: Sr. Abilio Gouveia - (s) 56-1646
(c) 813-2436
6. Associação da Colónia Portuguesa de Witbank
P O Box 1344 - MIDDELBURG 1050
Presidente: Sr. Luis Bento - (s) (0132) - c) 45-2134
7. Associação de Jovens Empresários e Profissionais Portugueses
P O Box 6862 - JOHANNESBURG 2000
Presidente: Dr A. Gouveia - (s) 938-1701 - (c) 943-1945
Zeza - (w) 970-3574 (c) 873-2990
8. Associação Portuguesa de Bloemfontein
P O Box 28476 - DANHOF - BLOEMFONTEIN 9300
Presidente: Sr. G. Jardim - (s) (051) 31-1650 - (c) (051) 36-6496
9. Associação Académica dos Estudantes do Technikon da Wits
c/o Technikon Witwatersrand
P O Box 57218 - SPRINGFIELD 2167
Presidente: Cristina Pereira/ João Azevedo (h) 616-4769 / (w) 622-4517

10. Associação Portuguesa dos Estudantes do Technikon do Vaal Triangle
c/o Technikon of Vaal Triangle
Private Bag X021 - VANDERBIJLPARK 1900
Presidente: Carla Duarte - (s) (016) 85-2221 (c) (016) 33-4189
11. Associação Portuguesa de Futebol Cultura e Recreio
P O Box 1157 - VANDERBIJLPARK 1900
Presidente: Sr. Francisco Santos - (s) (016) 33-1095 (c) 33-7133
12. Casa do Benfica na África do Sul
P O Box 74562 - TURFFONTEIN 2140
Presidente: Sr. Rudy Galego (s) 331-8411
Sr. J. Mendes 825-7463
13. Casa da Madeira
P O Box 33386 - JEPPESTOWN 2043
Presidente: Sr. Agostinho Macedo - (s) 613-6412
14. Casa dos Poveiros
P O Box 999 - GERMISTON 1400
Presidente: Sr. Nelson Dias - (s) 825-6129 (c) 58-4307
15. Celtic Futebol Clube de Gaia
150B, Jules Street - JEPPESTOWN 2094
Secretário: 614-0134
Presidente: Sr. Couto - (c) 614-8707
16. Clube Recreativo e Desportivo de Klerksdorp
P O Box 1279 - KLERKSDORP 2570
Presidente: Comendador Fernando Lagoa (s) (01846) 27303/21791
(c) (01846) 83383
17. Clube Social de Bez Valley
P O Box 33497 - JEPPESTOWN 2043
Secretário: 614-6867
Presidente: Sr. Teixeira- (s) 29-5341 (c) 58-2411
Culturais: Victor Peleias - (s) 58-2411
Estrela (s) 614-6931
18. Futebol Clube de Troyeville
P O Box 33458 - JEPPESTOWN 2043
Presidente: Sr. Ramiro Oliveira
19. Goldfields Portuguese Club
P O Box 947 - WELKOM 9460
Presidente: Sr. Gaspar (s) (0171) 51940 (c) (0171) 28196
Fax: 51940
20. Grémio dos Empresários Portugueses na África do Sul
P O Box 638 - JOHANNESBURG 2000
2144 Sanlam Centre - Jeppe Street
Tel.: 23-5895; Fax: 23-4220; Telex: 4-85051
Vice Presidente: Comendador Rudolfo Miranda 435-8578
Dr J. Pinto Fernandes 482-2295/6

21. Grupo de Jovens de Apoio á Comunidade Portuguesa
P O Box 39086 - BOOYSENS 2016
Presidente: A. Ribeiro - (c) 869-9837
22. Inter Primrose Club Social e Desportivo
3 Main Reef Road - Primrose - GERMISTON 1401
Secretário: 825-5416
Presidente: Sr. António Santos (c) 58-1600
23. Latinos Futebol Club
P O Box 1361 - VEREENIGING 1930
Secretário: (016) 21-1416
Presidente: Sr. Agostinho Adão - (c) (016) 41778 (s) 284051/4
24. Lusito - Associação Portuguesa de Pais e Amigos de Deficientes Mentais
P O Box 33992 - JEPPESTOWN 2034
Secretário: 614-4735
Presidente: Dr José Nascimento - (s) 337-5976
25. Nucleo de Arte e Cultura
P O Box 74089 - TURFFONTEIN 2140
Presidente: A. Branco (c) 435-5275 (s) 938-2575
26. Nucleo Sportinguista da África do Sul
P O Box 57031 - SPRINGFIELD 2137
Presidente
Presidente: Sr. Silvério Silva - (s) 298426 - 298411/5
Secretário: Sr. Santos Oliveira (c) 434-1648/9
27. 5º Grupo de Escuteiros de Kensington
P O Box 28271 - KENSINGTON 2101
Presidente: Sr. AJC Correia - (c) 614-4759 (s) 864-2744
28. Secção Portuguesa de Rádio Amadores
Filial Bartolomeu Dias
P O Box 444 - ROSETTENVILLE 2197
Presidente: Sr. Almeida - (c) 683-8070 (s) 837-7851
29. Sociedade Portuguesa de Beneficência na África do Sul
P O Box 53405 - TROYEVILLE 2139
Secretário: 614-1816
Presidente: Comendador Giorgio Pagan - (c) 788-4906
30. Tertulia de Artistas
P O Box 98070 SLOANE BRYANSTON 2152
Presidente: Sr. Antero Machado - (c) 793-4722
31. União Cultural Recreativa e Desportiva Portuguesa
4 Eastwood Street - TURFFONTEIN 2190
Secretário: 683-8711
Presidente: Sr. Noel Nunes - (c) 615-4337 (s) 402-1460 ext. 423

32. Victoria Futebol Clube de Germiston
P O Box 13435 - Witfield - BOKSBURG 1460
Secretário: 826-4126
Presidente: Comendador Jaime Margarido- (s) 827-0430 (c) 826-1890
33. Wits Portuguese Society
17 Norris Street, ROSETTENVILLE 2190
Presidente: Domingos Abreu 436-0601
Secretário: Marlene Trigueira 680-7441
34. Academia do Bacalhau
P O Box 638 - JOHANNESBURG 2000
Presidente: A. Leão - (s) 28-5874

= Nao é considerada associação pelos seus Estatutos =
35. Grupo Folclórico da Madeira
62 Troon Road - GREENSIDE 2193
Presidente: Sr. J. Ferreira - (s) 788-8201
36. Grupo Folclórico Terras do Norte
439 Jules Street - MALVERN 2094
Presidente: Sr. Manuel Laje - (c) 615-2870
37. Rancho Folclórico Cantares de Portugal
46 Leo Street - KENILWORTH 2091
Presidente: Sr. J. Araujo (c) 434-2738
38. Grupo Folclórico Portugal dos Pequenos
P O Box 74493 - TURFFONTEIN 2140
Presidente: Sr. António Ribeiro
Secretário: Sr. João Girão - (s) 914-2946 (c) 435-2266
39. Rancho Pérola do Atlântico
P O Box 2170 - WILRO PARK 1731
Presidente: Sr. Carreira - (s) 762-2028 (c) 764-2238

Orgãos de Comunicação Social

1. O Século de Joanesburgo (Director: J. Silva Ramalho)
P O Box 2309 - JOHANNESBURG 2000
Telefone: 836-4511
Telefax: 834-4511
2. M-Net - TV Portuguesa (Director: Viriato Barreto)
P O Box 1440 - HIGHLANDS NORTH 2037
Telefone: 887-2155
Telefax: 887-2267
3. Rádio Paralelo 27 (Director: Dário Bettencourt)
202 Southern Medical Centre, Dias Hall, ROSETTENVILLE 2197
P O Box 15535 - DOORNFONTEIN 2028
Telefone: 435-1446
4. O Luso (Director: Sr. Passos)
403 Hoffman New Yorker - Cnr Quartz & Kapteijn Strs.),
HILLBROW 2001
Telefone: 725-5584
5. Secção Portuguesa da S.A.B.C. (Director: Zito Pereira)
P O Box 91319, AUCKLAND PARK 2206
Telefone: 714-2607
Telefax: 714-4956
6. Delegação Lusa News Agency (Sr. António Mateus)
85 Eloff Street
4th Floor, Royal St. Mary's Building, JOHANNESBURG 2001
Telefone: 333-3151 - Media Services - Tel: 29-8881
Telefax: 333-4619
7. Révista Notícia (Director: J. Duarte)
P O Box 260148, EXCOM 2023
Telefone: 29-4087
(Sr. Mendes) Telephone: (w) 826-9111 (c) 435-7040
8. Representante Jornal "O Público"
Sra. Manuela C. Moura
P O Box 757, MELVILLE 2109
Telefone: 726-7958

APPENDIX IX**MEDIA****M-Net (TV-Portuguesa)**

With its inception in April 1989, the TV-station reached approximately 16% of the entire Portuguese community in South Africa. The station estimates that there are between 100 000 - 120 000 Portuguese families in South Africa, of which 80 000 households subscribe to the TV-service, *countrywide* (working on approximately 5 people per household.) 70% of the subscribers are resident in the PWV-area. An important factor pointed out by the informant from the station is that the husband is the decision-maker in the family (hence, it could influence subscription to the TV-station).

A pertinent problem is that of **Limited Air time** (only 3 hours per week: Sunday morning: 07:00 - 10:00). The programmes consist of the following:

- Children's programmes/"Teleschool"
- European sport
- News (Portugal and locally - in the Portuguese community)
- A Brazilian soap
- General (e.g. music, etc.).

The main reasons advocated for subscribing are to keep the community in contact with the Portuguese culture, language, and Portugal.

A subscription fee (\pm R8,00) is charged. As part of the service a TV-guide is sent to all subscribers.

(Courtesy: Telephonic Interview, TV-Portuguesa)

APPENDIX X**The Portuguese Radio Station: RADIO CIDADE**

Radio Paralelo 27 (as it was initially named) was launched on the 3rd April 1976 as a shortwave broadcasting service, its primary aim being to produce an independent station transmitted in the Portuguese language beamed specifically at the Portuguese community in southern Africa. It was then owned by **Radio 702**. In 1985 the station was sold to a private owner who, in trying to impose a radio structure in line with the decade of the 40's in Angola had eventually reached a stage where monotony was the word of the day. In May 1990 the station was purchased by the actual owners; younger people were hired, with a more dynamic approach towards the radio of today. In February 1992 the Radio Service was re-structured and a new partnership formed. (In May 1993, the radio station was re-named Radio Cidade (Radio City). This was done due to the fact that it was at that stage that the radio station received its first temporary licence to broadcast on FM. The name was therefore more appropriate, and in line with the new and modern image, which the radio station had adopted, and wanted to project.) Since then, **RADIO CIDADE**, as it is called today, has grown from strength to strength.

The station, since then, achieved remarkable success - both within the community and in the broadcasting industry itself. A survey in 1991 showed that **Radio Paralelo 27** enjoyed a 68,7% listenership of 690 000, in the Portuguese community in South Africa. It also highlighted the fact that 77 percent of listeners were women over the age of 35 years. This is probably largely due to the broadcasting hours. But the main finding of the survey was that members of the community between the ages of 12 to 34 were not being reached or did not even know that the station existed.

Therefore, in February 1992, from being an exclusive Portuguese speaking station, it started introducing programmes (although the contents still had a lot to do with the Portuguese roots of the culture and history) in which the main language spoken by the presenters was English, a language that the young people, some of them already born in South Africa identified with more, and most definitely preferred. International music was also introduced, although certain percentages of Portuguese, Italian and Greek music was maintained. The miracle started to become evident. The popularity of the station started to grow.

Being an immigrant is not an easy task. Other communities started to feel the need to use the most powerful media to reach their fellow countrymen. **Radio Cidade** was then approached and two of the most important immigrant communities in South Africa started to broadcast in their own language through us: the **Italians** and the **Greeks**.

The station has therefore a new entity and it is now being recognized as the most international radio station of the Southern Hemisphere. Which other private radio station or service broadcasts in four different languages: Portuguese, English, Italian and Greek? No one!

Can you afford to ignore the 2 million ears?

Radio Cidade does not concentrate on the latest Top 20 hits but - as the schedule indicates - tailors its music policy to suit the general programming ideas of the various shows, target audiences and age groups. Very regularly we get the biggest hits from Europe before any station starts playing them on the air.

(Information leaflet produced and provided by Radio Cidade)

Survey of Portuguese speakers

South Africa

The British Broadcasting Corporation - 1991

Programs in the Portuguese language

Regular audiences			Audiences to foreign stations		
		%			%
1.	Radio Cidade	15,2	Radio Cidade		33,2
2.	Radio Portugal	14,1	Radio Portugal		27,3
3.	B.B.C.	6,1	Radio Moçambique		15,2
4.	Radio Moçambique	4,9	B.B.C.		11,9
5.	Voz da America	2,3	Voz da America		6,0
6.	Radio Moscovo	1,3	Radio Angola		2,7
7.	Radio Angola	1,1	Radio Moscovo		2,5
8.	Deutsche Welle	0,6	Deutsche Welle		1,1

Awareness of foreign stations Total			Audience to foreign stations Any		
		%			%
1.	Radio Portugal	47,8	Radio Cidade		33,2
2.	Radio Cidade	43,8	Radio Portugal		30,4
3.	B.B.C.	37,8	B.B.C.		21,9
4.	Radio Moçambique	36,9	Radio Moçambique		18,0
5.	Voz da America	26,0	Voz da America		9,9
6.	Radio Angola	21,5	Radio Angola		7,8
7.	Radio Botswana	15,0	Radio Botswana		4,7
8.	Radio Moscovo	12,7	Trans World Radio		3,8
9.	Trans World Radio	6,7	Radio Zambia Intl.		1,3
10.	Radio Zambia Intl.	5,0	Deutsche Welle		1,1
11.	Deutsche Welle	3,8			

Female audience		Youngsters	
1.	Radio Cidade		
2.	Radio Portugal		
3.	B.B.C.		
4.	Voz da America		

Awareness of foreign radio

Stations have been divided into:

Regional: Those broadcasting from countries close by;

International: Those broadcasting from countries further away.

The B.B.C. is defined as an international station, for example, while Radio Moçambique is a regional station.

Radio Portugal is the most well-known international station. 47% could name it without prompting. It broadcasts for 50 hours a week in Portuguese to Africa.

The commercial regional station, Radio Cidade (ex-Radio Paralelo 27) ranks next with 22%. Radio Cidade broadcasts on shortwave in the morning during weekdays, between 09:00 and 12:00, on Saturdays between 08:00 and 18:00 and on Sundays between 13:00 and 17:00. Its programming is designed to appeal to housewives and consists mainly of popular music, request shows and magazine items. It carries no news at all.

The B.B.C. is the second best known among international stations - 16% names it spontaneously - placing it well ahead of the VOA recalled by only 7%.

Listening to foreign stations in any language

Taking into account listening in both Portuguese and English, the B.B.C.'s regular audience is 8,3%. This places it third among all foreign stations (including both regional and international), after Radio Portugal and **Radio Cidade**, both with just over 15%.

Portuguese is the most important language of listening: 27% listen to a foreign station in Portuguese compared to only 8,9% listening in English. Two thirds of listeners in English also listen in Portuguese.

(Information leaflet produced and provided by **Radio Cidade**)

APPENDIX XI

PRESS RELEASE

02 March 1994

L U S A P
 P O Box 281187
Excom
 2023
 South Africa
 Tel: 334-3800
 Fax: 334-3589

LUSO-SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY**L U S A P****Preamble**

The Portuguese community, one of the largest minority communities in South Africa, has never been directly represented at parliamentary level. This has led to this community being largely marginalized from the current political process of which they ought to be an integral part.

Because of this there has been a major disillusionment with the current political parties across the political spectrum.

Further, none of the existing parties have significant, if any, representation of the Portuguese community on their candidate lists.

This has led to the obvious need for credible and authentic representation of this minority at parliamentary level.

And it was this specific need that motivated the formation of L U S A P

OBJECTIVES OF L U S A P

To strive to obtain representation at both national and regional levels of government for the Luso-South African community.

To reach these ends by the rigorous upholding of the law and democratic principles, rejecting any corrupt or violent processes which contradict its principles.

To promote and propagate the concept of Luso-South Africanism within the broader South African context.

To promote the socio-economic, cultural and educational advancement of all South Africans and in particular the Luso-South African community.

(Courtesy: LUSAP)

APPENDIX XII

O Século de Joanesburgo

The Portuguese newspaper **O Século** was founded in June 1963 by Commemorator Antonio Bráz. During the first five years of publication, the newspaper appeared on a monthly basis. The newspaper now, however, appears on a weekly basis.

Approximately 40 000 copies of the newspaper are printed and distributed every week. It is estimated that 5 - 8 people read each copy of the newspaper (in various places, e.g. shops, social clubs, etc.). Apart from being distributed in South Africa, the newspaper is also distributed in Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana and Namibia.

The contents of the newspaper can be indicated as follows (Van Graan 1988:60):

" ... general news - local, of the former Portuguese provinces (Angola and Mozambique), and politics in Portugal. Local news on economics, sports, club activities receive ample coverage, as do major event such as the annual celebrations of the Portuguese National Day on June 10."

Two prominent features are characteristic of **O Século**, as indicated by Varela Afonso (1992):

1. It is unusual for newspapers printed and circulated within foreign (immigrant) communities to continue/still be in existence, after such a long time (i.e. 30 years, as in the case of **O Século**). Furthermore, the newspaper appears in a language which is not an official language of the country (i.e. Portuguese).
2. It is also noteworthy that a newspaper such as **O Século** has withstood the economic crises, experience in South Africa in recent years.

Due to the escalating costs of outside/external agents, **O Século** resorted to establishing its own staff in the early 1980's. This occurrence attested to be a further milestone and success in the history of the newspaper.

The newspaper also prides itself in being responsible for the creation of employment in the Graphical Industry in the South African Market, with the establishment of "Seculo Printers" and "Seculo Repro" in 1989.

In 1986 the newspaper "Século de Joanesburgo" was regarded as a great attribute to the community, due to the newspaper being awarded the medal of merit of

Portuguese communities, from the Portuguese Government. From the Secretariat of State of Portuguese Communities, the newspaper received the title of "Best Newspaper" in Funchal (Madeira), May 1990, over and above publications within the Portuguese communities in countries such as the USA, Australia and Brazil.

Varelo Afonso (1992) further indicates that the newspaper acts as a source of information and defence on behalf of the Portuguese community in the country, and also attempts to establish cultural understanding. Furthermore, to preserve the language, tradition and also to serve as a link in the trade between RSA, Mocambique, Angola and Portugal. This has subsequently lead to an increase in Portuguese business in RSA.

The mere existence, growth and success of the newspaper, after many years, and despite certain contrary factors (e.g. the South African economy), certainly attests to the newspaper being firmly established, and an increasing success - possibly one of the largest newspapers in Southern Africa, and an even wider distributed newspaper in South Africa and a newspaper also enjoying an increasing distribution in South Africa.

(Courtesy: Personal Interview, O Século)

Van Graan, R. (1988)

Varela Afonso, R. (1992)

APPENDIX XIII

**Statistics for the use of Portuguese Library Books in the
Johannesburg area: July 1993 - June 1994**

Library	Number of books taken out per year
Brixton	1
Central Lending (Johannesburg City Centre)	37
Hillbrow	83
Hillbrow Hospital	22
Johannesburg Hospital	632
Johannesburg Sun & Towers Hotel	11
Killarney	7
Malvern	170
Melville	1
Murray Park	295
Newlands	6
Old Age Homes	29
Orange Grove	5
Parkview	3
Rhodes Park	85
Rosettenville	1133
Savoy	5
Southdale	6
South Rand Hospital	5
South Hills	1
Travelling	22
Yeoville	68

(Courtesy: Johannesburg Public Library)

APPENDIX XIV**St Anthony's Parish (Mayfair)**

(Mission of St Antonio/St Antonio of the Portuguese, Monolingual Congregation - Portuguese **only**)

This particular congregation was founded by Father Freitas, who came to Boksburg in 1951, to work amongst the miners from Lourenco Marques. He set up a house in 1957 at the site of the church as a residence for the priests. Father Freitas worked under Cardinal de Gouveia (of Lourenco Marques), and it was under the instruction of Cardinal de Gouveia, that Father Freitas founded this parish. On the 10 June 1963, the first stone was laid for the church. The laying of the first stone was done by Cardinal de Gouveia's successor, Archbishop Pereira (who at present is in Rome). Finally, on 31 January 1965, the church was inaugurated.

On 14 October 1974, the house on the property (priest's residence) was expropriated by the Government, who wanted to build a highway in the area. However, the highway was never built, and hence, until today, the house is still used for the priest's residence.

Another residence on the property accommodates the nuns. This is the only Portuguese sisters' group in South Africa, who came from Lourenco Marques at the time of the revolution.

The parish also runs a creche, for children in the age group 3 - 5 years of age. At present, there are approximately 45 - 50 children in the creche.

Services at this particular parish are held only in Portuguese.

Services and attendance

Every weekday evening 19:30 - very few attend: only those with special intentions or prayers.

Saturday evening 18:30

Sunday: 06:00

09:00 In total, approximately 200 - 300 people attend the services on a Sunday

18:30

A reduction in the 09:00 service is due to people leaving the country. Youth comprise approximately one third of those attending.

The church caters for many weddings and baptisms.

1991: 70 Baptisms

1991: 62 Weddings (on average 40 - 50 weddings a year).

The church is located in Mayfair, which, over the years, has become a semi-industrial/commercial and "grey" area. Hence, many people attending the parish are not resident in the area, but come from all different areas, near and far. People continue to attend the parish out of tradition - many grew up in this particular parish.

Festivities

The biggest festivity hosted by the parish, is that of the Patron of St Anthony (13 June, or the Sunday closest to that).

Second biggest festivity

Feast of our Lord (August), attended by approximately 30 brothers, by which people are accepted into the society.

Feast of our lady

Various feasts, e.g. Fatima.

There are other parishes in South Africa, affiliated to St Anthony's, i.e. they are exclusively Portuguese (4 in total):

Benoni	(Our Lady of Fatima)
Pretoria	(St Maria)
Cape Town	

(Courtesy: Personal Interview, St. Anthony's Parish)

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