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The Portuguese diaspora in Jersey

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Abstract

This present paper concerns recent migrations from the Portuguese mainland and from the island of Madeira to the English and French speaking territory of Jersey, the largest of the Channel Islands. On-going research is being carried out with a group of students from the Jersey community and studying at the University of Southampton. Through a series of informal discussions and class participation exercises, a detailed evaluation of both behavioural and attitudinal evidence pertaining to these languages in context is carried out. Moreover, the students own observations about their home community's sociolinguistic network and notions of identity afford a valuable insight into the hierarchical and attitudinal factors which determine the interpersonal communication strategies employed on a day-to-day basis. To this end, tentative conclusions are made regarding the ethnolinguistic vitality of the younger members of this particular community.

Introduction

The movement of peoples across the globe is not a new phenomenon. In the past, new lands were discovered and indigenous populations were, ultimately, subjugated by the more powerful invaders. Thus, for example, the Romans voyaged to the Iberian Peninsula, conquered and colonised the territory and, as the politically dominant ethnic group, imposed their vernacular on the native populations, what Mar-Molinero terms an imposed 'top-down' colonising process (2003: 3). However, contemporary globalisation processes facilitate a different type of migration, that of individuals and small groups in search not of new territory, but of economic stability. The resultant and hitherto unfamiliar linguistic and sociocultural contact between a particular diaspora and the host community may greatly affect both behavioural and attitudinal factors regarding language use. Indeed, most if not all host nation-states around the world have, sometimes simply for essentially pragmatic reasons, required that immigrant minority communities learn the national language. As a consequence, such communities tend to become integrated over time as their idiosyncratic linguistic, social and cultural identities are subsumed into the framework of the dominant society – again, what Mar-Molinero terms a 'bottom-up' infiltrating phenomenon (2003: 3).

In recent times, two diametrically opposed views pertaining to the effects of globalisation on linguistic diversity have come to the fore, prompted by the ever-increasing authority and role in migration of global languages such as English and espoused by the migrants themselves as a fundamental key to improving their lot. Proponents of benevolent nationalisms claim that

such integration processes eradicate ethnic division and the marginalisation of minority groups by the dominant community, whereas antiassimilationists argue that the loss of linguistic and cultural diversity has a profoundly negative effect on the minority community and its perception of ethnicity.[1] Both opinions are eminently valid, but it can be somewhat counter-productive to generalise in this way about the effects of integration and segregation processes. Before the emergence of a transnational perspective, the study of immigration tended to assume that by consciously breaking their ties with their *madre patria,* all migrants committed themselves to being acculturated and assimilated into the new society.[2] Nevertheless, recent research tends to demonstrate that such migrants can maintain long-lasting ties with their homelands, and consequently, they 'carry' an internalised identity with them, one that is rooted in their ethnic, cultural and social background. This identity then, may transcend the national boundary, and resurface, sometimes years later, as the catalyst for the resurgence of a collective ethnic loyalty, such as that which has happened to a large extent with US Latinos. Fox points out that a sense of community, of sharing values, speech patterns and customs is the overriding factor in the self-conceptualisation of such identities (1996: 2-3). Thus, identity is a fluid concept, shaped by circumstance. So although the Latinos in the USA may not share a common origin, their quest is bound by a common language and tradition. Thus, by enacting a consensual change in attitude, they are able forge a new, collective identity to which they demonstrate affiliation.[3]

Fairly long-standing communities may already be reasonably well integrated into the host society. Consider for example the Poles in the UK. The very fact that the host society does not marginalise or discriminate against them (ostensibly at the very least) affords them the opportunity to express and reinforce their identity, without fear of reprisal, by the use of their mother tongue.[4] Such communities underline Hidalgo's important point that bilingual, bicultural groups tend to result from such contact situations, and that, on the one hand, failure to adjust to the majority culture together with a sense of rejection by its members, and on the other hand, rapid assimilation to the host culture concurrent with an abandonment of idiosyncratic traits - including language – are the two extremes (2001: 61-62).

Portuguese Migratory Patterns

One particular transnational migration of the twentieth century afforded little consideration until now is that which occurred in the mid twentieth century from the Portuguese island of Madeira to the English and French speaking territory of Jersey. The present paper will present the results of an initial piece of research recently carried out with a group of students at the University of Southampton, all of whom are from the Jersey Portuguese-speaking community, whose mother tongue is Portuguese but who are all competent English speakers and are reading for degrees in language studies.

Portuguese is the official language of over 200 million people globally.[5] However, it is also spoken by a large number of disparate communities around the world in countries where

[1] For a further discussion, see Beswick (forthcoming) and in particular, the University of Warwick's working papers on globalisation at http://www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CSGR/index.html.
[2] See for example Levitt (2000).
[3] Anderson famously terms such groups 'imagined communities' (1991: 5-6).
[4] However, see in particular, the article on the Polish community by Muir in *Multilingualism in the British Isles* (1991: 143-156.)
[5] The most up-to-date population statistics are to be found on the CIA website entitled the World Factbook 2002, at www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html. Current figures for Portuguese-speaking nations are:

Portugal is not officially recognised, hence official statistics do not take these communities into account. One such community is that of Jersey.

The traditional migratory pattern associated with Portugal has long been one of movement away from Portugal and towards other countries, rather than from overseas to Portugal. Portugal was once the head of a great Empire, famed for its affinity with the sea and its territorial discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus began the deep-seated and long-standing custom, motivated in the first instance by colonial aspirations, of emigration away from the homeland to the new territorial possessions of the Empire. However, in more recent times, these migratory patterns have been prompted more by economic rather than political factors. During the nineteenth century and indeed, until the beginning of the 1960s, this emigration was predominately to Brazil and other Latin American countries (Rocha-Trindade 1985: 20; López Trigal 2001: 344), although emigration to the USA also began in the nineteenth century. Between 1950 and 1976, some 141,906 Portuguese emigrated to the USA, with some 103,408 going to Canada (Guerreiro 1981: 41).

For much of the twentieth century, the paternalistic, highly conservative Salazar/Caetano dictatorship succeeded in dragging the Portuguese economy backwards instead of encouraging it to develop, achieve its potential and even emulate that of other countries within western Europe. As a consequence, many Portuguese labourers, particularly those from the more rural areas, could not find work and had no choice but to go abroad. Initially, many went to France or Germany to work as itinerant agricultural labour. The majority were not granted work permits but they were able to earn enough so as to be able to send back most of their wages to their families in Portugal. Although the Portuguese regime never openly supported this exodus of the manual workforce, nor did they ever appear to condemn it. Indeed, Eaton goes so far as to claim that such exports of human labour were 'structural and symbolic' features of Portuguese society at that time (1999: 365). Moreover, by the early 1970s, it is estimated that the Portuguese economy was being shored up by the not inconsiderable £ 400 million a year external income. European emigration peaked during the final years of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship. During the last decade, more than one million people - a tenth of the population - emigrated, and between 1970 and 1974 alone, between 610,000 - 630,000 nationals left the country both legally and clandestinely (Guerreiro 1981: 33; Eaton 1999: 365).

López Trigal summarises diverse data pertaining to the Portuguese within Europe (2001: 344-345). For example, data compiled by the *Instituto de Apoio à Emigração* estimate that 4.47 million Portuguese were resident outside Portugal in the mid-1990s, and France is ranked as having the highest number of Portuguese-speaking inhabitants in Europe, with over 400,000 having relocated there, both legally and illegally, between 1950 and 1976 alone. Moreover, Spain ranks fourth after Switzerland and Germany respectively, with the *Anuario de Migraciones* supplying the official figure of 38,316 Portuguese resident in Spain

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Portugal	10 million
Brazil	176 million
Mozambique	19.6 million
Angola	10.5 million
Guinea Bissau	1.2 million
East Timor	0.9 million
Cabo Verde	0.4 million
São Tomé & Príncipe	0.16 million

There appear to be no official estimates for Goa, Damão, Diu (India), but Winn quotes the official population of Macau at 0.37 million (2000: 496).

in 1996. According to the 1992 Luxembourg census, well over 10% of the 399,000 inhabitants are of Portuguese origin and finally, further afield, there may be as many as 500,000 first-language Portuguese speakers resident in South Africa, mainly due to the exodus of Angolan and Mozambican nationals after the colonial wars of the 1970s (Winn 2000: 496).

Since the overthrow of the dictatorship in 1974, there has been a considerable drop in the total rate of Portuguese emigration, however figures differ widely. Guerreiro registers a huge reduction in both legal and clandestine emigration between 1973 and 1977 (-76%) (1981: 46) as does Eaton (1999: 365), based on Eurostat figures, for the period 1986 – 1996.[6] This is partly due to more favourable living conditions at home and partly to the slowing down of opportunities abroad, especially in Germany and France where saturation point in the number of immigrant 'guest workers' who could be absorbed into their economies was reached by the early 1970s (Insight Team 1975: 68). As a consequence, perhaps as many as 300,000 *regressos* have returned to live in Portugal (Eaton 1999: 365). Simultaneously, there has been a radical change in migratory patterns within Portugal itself. Immigration has been consistently growing since the 1980s; between 1985 – 1995 for example, the foreign community in Portugal almost doubled in size (Eaton 1999: 366).

For the first emigrants to the USA, Canada and South America, leaving Portugal was felt to be definitive and the notion of geographical space paramount. As Hidalgo points out for the case of Mexican communities in the US, the significance of language and ethnicity within a diaspora tends to decrease in accordance with an increase in the distance from the country of origin of the speakers concerned (2001: 61). Moreover, their desire and attempts to build better lives for themselves and their families necessitated at the very least that they overlooked their Portuguese ethnic identity. In their conscious and concerted efforts to integrate with the host culture through acculturation and assimilation processes in order to adopt the host vernacular, social norms and customs they were required to abandon to a large extent their natives ones. On the other hand, in the twentieth century, as Europe started to open up to Portuguese emigration – and indeed, to emigration from other countries - an ostensibly different type of migrant appears to have emerged. European migrants had one overriding intention; to return home once they had amassed enough savings to be able to do so. Typically, tight-kit communities sprang up throughout Europe, where, in this case, the Portuguese could maintain a sense of community identity. Thus, they continued to interact in their native language, they established community organizations, social centres, shops, clubs etc. in order to avoid mixing with the host society.[7]

Initially, such European emigration patterns were in stark contrast to those witnessed in the Americas.[8] However, it would be somewhat foolish to imagine that these patterns have not be somewhat attenuated by the effects of globalisation, for changes in the notion of geographical space, that is, the greater proximity and accessibility to homelands offered by advances such as in transportation are transforming the relationship the immigrant has both with their host country and with their own sense of identity (Mar Molinero, forthcoming). Thus, Portuguese migrants in the USA and Canada can now visit Portugal and maintain

[6] See Trigal for a comparison of the disparate estimates pertaining to Portuguese emigrants in Spain for the period 1986 – 1993 (2001: 344).
[7] See Birmingham for an excellent description of this type of Portuguese emigration (1999: 171-173) and once again, the excellent collection of papers on migrant communities within the UK entitled *Multilingualism in the British Isles* (1991).
[8] See in this respect, Mayone Dias (1987).

contact with their roots and hence, with their 'other' identity even though reinforcement of these links may prevent total assimilation into the host community, at least for the older members of the group. Moreover, Portuguese emigrants such as those in France, continue to defend their language and culture through organizations and associations, but, since the initial return in the 1970s, may no longer feel the need to return to their roots. Rather, Portuguese diaspora in contemporary Europe are tending to settle within and integrate with the host community more than ever before (López Trigal 2001: 346). As far as the younger generations are concerned, it would appear that at least in the USA and Canada, many tend to reject the adult's attempts to maintain such contacts, social norms and identities. [9]

Recent Research

A significant amount of research on immigration into Portugal has been carried out in the last twenty or so years, but studies on the extent of Portuguese migration globally are also fairly widely available.[10] Valuable work has recently been carried out on the largest Portuguese diasporic communities in Europe, such as the surveys by Andreas Klimt on the Portuguese diaspora in Germany (2000a; 2000b), and on Portuguese diaspora in the USA and in particular, Canada, such as Alpalhão and da Rosa (1983) in Quebec, Cummins (1991) on Portuguese-speaking children in Ontario, Canada and more recently, a collection of papers on communities in Canada as a whole edited by Teixeira and da Rosa (2000).

However, the degree to which research has been carried out on the vitality of Portuguese-speaking communities in the UK is in no way extensive. Although the Linguistic Minorities Project (1985) and Santarita and Martin-Jones' more contemporary research (1991) both examine Portuguese diaspora throughout the UK, only the latter give any mention, and a brief one at that, to emigration from Madeira to the Channel Islands. Instead, most work has been focused upon the far greater numbers who are from mainland Portugal and Brazil and, to a lesser extent, from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa.[11] Notwithstanding this and somewhat importantly for the aims of this paper, they state that in the late 1980s, there were about three thousand Madeirans resident in the Islands as a whole, plus a further five thousand seasonal workers with six month work permits (Santarita and Martin-Jones 1991: 230).

Similarly, research on the ethnic composition of the Channel Islands is also scant. Indeed, little has been written of any significance regarding the social or political history of the Islands since the mid 1960s.[12] Even in the latest tourist guides, no mention is made of the Portuguese community and in academic publications on Portuguese migration, Portuguese emigration to the Islands is not discussed, if alluded to at all in the figures. This is perhaps somewhat understandable, given that emigration to the Islands from Madeira only began to any extent in the 1950s, although there is some debate as to when the first major influx occurred in Jersey. According to figures compiled by José Guerreiro, the then Secretary of State for Portuguese Emigration, between 1950–1976, some 104,769 people emigrated from Madeira (the total for Portugal as a whole was 1,325, 913) (1981: 40). Between 1965 and

[9] See in this respect, Almeida 1(2000).
[10] See Corkhill (1996), Engerman (1997), Baganha (1998), Eaton (1998, 1999) re immigration patterns; Rocha-Trindade (1982), Alpalhão and da Rosa (1983), Arroteia (1983), Ferreira (1984) on emigration.
[11] For example, Lucia Winn's recent investigation focuses upon the Portuguese-speaking communities resident in London (2000: 495-505).
[12] It would appear that the Channel Islands are somewhat out of fashion; apart from George Forty's recent books on the German occupation, there is little more contemporary than Hooke (1953) and Uttley (1966).

1978, the majority of these emigrants went to Venezuela, but it is unclear how many of the 3,820 listed under 'other countries' ended up in some part of the UK and by definition, the Channel Islands.[13]

The period 1950–1959 appears to be the most important as far as emigration from Madeira is concerned (Guerreiro 1981: 47). By then, both the Madeiran and Azorean economies, based primarily on subsistence farming, were being stultified, and much of the workforce was living on the breadline. The Channel Islands too, have a long tradition of subsistence farming (the main crops being potatoes and tomatoes) and, albeit to a much lesser degree, fishing. From the end of the nineteenth century until just after the Second World War, Jersey in particular had relied on Breton (and to a lesser extent, Irish) seasonal labourers to work the land, and quite a number had become tenants of farms or even owners, buying property in the name of Jersey-born wives and children to overcome the restriction on alien ownership of land, which decrees that non-British born subject cannot hold real estate (Channel Islands Study Group 1944: 5).

In the post-war period, legal reform enabled Jersey's economy to undergo a huge growth period. As a result, more investment opportunities were created; in particular, the tourist industry, which had started to grow before the War, expanded rapidly. Indeed, the number of visitors to Jersey alone rose to above 500,000 in 1964 (Uttley 1966: 215). As a consequence of this boom period, Jersey needed yet again to strengthen its manual labour force, and this time it was the turn of the Madeirans. Most of the emigrants, as was typically the case in other parts of the world (Trigal 2001: 346), were unqualified and unskilled labourers from rural agricultural sectors, who arrived in Jersey to work in catering, hotels, hospitals, domestic work and the agricultural sector. Up until the early 1990s, they were only allowed in on six monthly renewable work permits, but the entry of Portugal into the EU in the late 1980s and its subsequent acquisition of full membership in 1992 has rendered their legal position with respect to employment law more tenable.

Portuguese Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Jersey

In order to carry out my initial research into the Portuguese community living on Jersey, I elicited the aid of five of my students, all of whom have Portuguese as their mother tongue but who are, to one extent or another, competent English speakers. In my capacity as Convenor of Portuguese Studies they believed that I was interested in finding out about their backgrounds to see whether we could attract more of them to the University. As they are extremely aware of their status within Jersey itself, being used somewhat at guinea pigs in secondary school for the pilot scheme in Portuguese teaching, they were more than happy to share their experiences, thoughts and ideas about their community. Through the use of general debates and conversations, both within group seminars and individually over a coffee, we were able to have a series of frank and open informal discussions about oral and written proficiencies, linguistic group membership and attitudinal factors. However, the students' main observations about their home community's sociolinguistic network and notions of identity were also gleaned by self-reporting techniques, using a set of questions to elicit data which would afford an insight into the hierarchical and attitudinal factors which determine the interpersonal communication strategies employed.

[13] According to the 1991 population census, officially there were 13,125 Portugal nationals in Greater London, however the figure may have been more like 50,000 throughout the UK: Winn calculates that in the 1990s there were at least 30,000 Portuguese first, second and third generation speakers in Greater London alone (2000: 496).

In employing both self-reporting techniques and behavioural observations by the researcher, it was hoped that the present study would avoid the potential pitfalls inherent within either procedure. Thus, the students were offered the opportunity articulate the attitudes they wanted to profess as their own, such as the desire to hide or enhance their ethnic origins or even a exaggerate or deny their linguistic competence. These were then compared with performance features.[14]

The following is a general summary of the results of this study. Whilst they are to no degree entirely categorical, they do appear to reinforce the premise that to a degree, identity is a fluid concept, that the sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group and the use of language as a way of expressing such membership may change, not only over time as Klimt has found in Germany (2000a: 259), but also according to other factors. This is verified by the differing responses offered by the students , which were to a large extent commensurate with their particular social circumstances, such as the place of birth, place of residence etc.. In every case, the parents of these students went to Jersey in search of economic stability. The Portuguese community established itself in an area of St Helier and the surrounding suburbs, continued to interact in their native language, and established community organizations, social centres, shops and clubs. However, whereas SR and JM were subsequently born there, and VB moved from mainland Portugal to Jersey with her parents at the age of six, SA and ST were born in Madeira and remained living there with relatives until the age of eleven. They then moved to Jersey to be with their parents who were already working there as, variously, tenant farmers, farm labourer, cleaner and shop assistant. Such distinctions in early home life are an important factor in the selection of group identity parameters, for the students appear to associate with their place of birth rather than with the nationality of their parents. For example, SA states, "I am Madeiran"; VB similarly claims she is Portuguese; whilst SR consciously selects a British identity and initially, totally rejects the notion that she could be considered anything else. These respondents then, appear to maintain deep-seated ties with their homelands when defined as their place of birth. Thus, their internalised identity appears to be rooted in the ethnic, cultural and social background fashioned in their formative childhood years. However, JM's responses present an extremely clear case of the fluidity of identity which can be shaped by particular circumstances, for he has recently applied, and received, Portuguese nationality. He claims that doing a degree in Portuguese and spending time in a strong Portuguese environment for a year (he was in Lisbon) have been the defining factors and the catalyst for his proud application for dual nationality.

Place of residence also appears to reinforce the idea of group identity. Both SA and ST's families live in farm property, within the geographical demarcation (according to their definitions) of the Portuguese community. As a consequence, all of their neighbours and most of their family friends are Portuguese. However, VB claims not to live within the Portuguese community, as her parents run a hotel away from the main towns. Finally, JM and SR have lived on Jersey all their lives surrounded by predominately "English" neighbours (SR). She then asserts that "there are some Portuguese families nearby", clearly differentiating between the two ethnic groups but not, at this point, associating unequivocally with either.

SR makes clearer declarations regarding the way she perceives her own identity when discussing the use of language as a potential reinforcer of ethnicity. For all the respondents, the language which shaped their early home life is Portuguese, however SR insists that

[14] It has to be said that in very few cases, did it appear that the respondents were expressing anything less than their true feelings about the various components of the survey.

although this is true, she went to a British nursery school and outside nursery hours, she was always looked after with a group of English children. As a consequence, she claims that from a very early age she already spoke English outside the home "better than I spoke Portuguese". Such assertions could be viewed as an attempt to disassociate herself from the Portuguese collective. Of all the respondents, SR in particular appears to be uncomfortable with the notion of Portuguese ethnicity. Even though she claims to now feeling passionate about being both British and Portuguese, she admits that this is partially to do with completing a degree in Portuguese and realising that she her multifaceted ethnic background is not a source of shame. Still, she admits she does not really feel either is her true nationality.[15]

The discourse of the other respondents is indicative of their perceptions regarding attitudes to, and uses of, Portuguese within the confines of their families and indeed, within the wider Portuguese community, as a clear reinforcer of identity. All the respondents state that their parents at the very least always use Portuguese with them, even if one of them inadvertently says something in English. Indeed, JM says that his father still does not understand much English. His mother insists that he never speaks English to Portuguese people; he quotes her as saying "Portuguese is your heritage - so use it". VB states that as she and her family are Portuguese, it would feel wrong to speak English with them. ST agrees, adding that as only Portuguese is spoken between family members, principally because her family do not speak English very well, English "doesn't sound right or natural". SA is even more vehement. She refuses to talk English to her family, adding that she hates talking English to other people in front of her parents and hides from them if an English-speaking friend phones her. She is extremely vociferous on this point, appraising the language behaviour of, and in particular, the use of English by Portuguese-speaking relatives as a betrayal or rejection of their ethnicity and quite clearly displaying strong ties with her internalised Madeiran identity. [16]

Within the wider Portuguese community, the respondent's use of language appears to correspond to a large extent with their intuitive needs to reinforce their alliance to a given ethnic group. Thus, patterns of usage range from Portuguese all the time, irrespective of the interlocutor's reply, to being dictated to by the interlocutor's selection of code, to a determined use of English unless the interlocutor insists on speaking Portuguese. Once again, the two Madeiran respondents were the most voluble regarding the behaviour of other members of the community who appear to reject their identity by rejecting the use of Portuguese in inter-group interactions.

As far as integration into and acculturation with the host society are concerned, all the respondents feel extremely comfortable in the presence of English speakers irrespective of their place of birth and attitudes towards their own notion of belonging. Moreover, there was a certain amount of consternation and awkwardness displayed regarding the mother tongue employed by and with their friends. The fact that most of their friends are native English speakers naturally implies that they speak with them, as SA asserts, "in their language". Yet,

[15] A similar situation was encountered with the respondent María in previous research on code-switching phenomena in Galicia. See Beswick (1998: 63).

[16] SA was extremely disparaging about an aunt who insisted on talking to her in English "even though she doesn't speak it fluently". Her aunt insists because she says Jersey is "an English Island" and that if people want to speak Portuguese then they should go back to Portugal – in fact, that would be good as "there are too many Portuguese here working in the shops". SA always replies to her aunt in Portuguese " which I know really does annoy her", adding that "some Portuguese feel like that, they have been on Jersey a few years and …so think that they **are** English … which is ridiculous". JM has a similar story to tell, claiming that this type of behaviour also annoys him.

the situation is more complicated with their Portuguese-speaking friends. SR and JM would tend to use English anyway, JM stating "once you speak in English, you can't go back" as justification of his selection of language and reinforcing the notion that English is the dominant language for these two respondents. For the others, issues such as interlocutor competence, language employed at the first encounter, and topic of the discourse also come into play. Although they tended to employ English within the school environment, all added that nowadays the situation is not as clear-cut. For example, when swapping pieces of gossip and general chitchat, they tend to use Portuguese, primarily as it feels more "natural", but also, in certain environments, so that the conversation can be private. However, when discussing classes, or events enacted originally in English, this is the code they would switch to. SA adds that when with a mixed group of friends, she will speak both languages if the Portuguese-speakers do not speak good English. ST claims linguistic and ethnic allegiance with her closest friends in that they are "in the same situation as me"; that is, native Portuguese speakers who have come to live in an English-speaking setting. Thus, she nearly always speaks Portuguese with them. However, all agreed that with their brothers, sisters and cousins who live in Jersey, English tends to predominate when they are not amongst other family members. The justification offered was that as they all attended a British schools and been taught in English, it would somehow be strange to talk to each other in Portuguese, but again, issues pertaining to the topic and domain of the discourse mean that the functional demarcation between the two languages in question is starting, at least in the younger generations, to be somewhat blurred at times.[17]

Finally, all admit to a degree of code- mixing when talking Portuguese, viewing it with negative connotations as sign of laziness or as a mistake when they cannot immediately think of the appropriate Portuguese word. For example, ST adds that she sometimes also mixes and switches between languages for emphasis as "some things sound better in one language than in the other", such as 'oh my God' and 'bless', even if she is talking to her parents.

[17] In the latter part of the twentieth century, the Portuguese government adopted a policy of language maintenance to attend to the children of emigrants and migrant workers abroad (Winn 2000), paying their wages and providing educational literature to the schools in question. In order to evaluate the situation on Jersey, a letter requesting information regarding the provision and support, if any, for intra- or extra-curricula Portuguese classes for native speakers was sent to the ten secondary schools and further education colleges on Jersey**.** As elsewhere in the UK, Jersey has a certain amount of provision for the teaching of GCSE Portuguese to the children of Portuguese migrants. Moreover, there has been of late an increase in institutional support for the dissemination and promotion of Portuguese, and in conjunction with the Portuguese Consul, schools are now encouraged to offer a certain amount of language support to new arrivals from Portugal who may speak no English. Moreover, the respondents knew that news bulletins are broadcast once a day in Portuguese on the television.
Of the replies received (eight), five of the institutions do offer Portuguese classes in one form or another in the form of small adult education classes to non-native speakers such as members of staff, parents and some students, and run on an experimental voluntary basis by a non-native member of staff. In the three state schools offering GCSE Portuguese, the classes take place after regular school hours and outside the mainstream curriculum and are run by Portuguese native speakers and only offered to pupils with Portuguese backgrounds. One school has ten pupils sitting it this year; the other schools did not mention numbers although one adds that some 5% of their student population either are from Madeira or are second-generation Portuguese speakers. Finally, one school offers AS level Portuguese and also has an A level class, although at present there are few students.
These general findings would appear to correspond well with my respondents' experiences of studying Portuguese on Jersey. All had after school Portuguese classes once a week but these classes appear not to be as successful as would be hoped. Two expressed grave concerns regarding the teachers; SA was often criticised by them for having a Madeiran accent, and VB was totally demotivated and rarely turned up as she felt she wasn't learning anything, yet all managed to achieve high grades in the exam.
All also did A level Portuguese, and agreed that overall, it was more organised, particularly as the classes were intra curriculum.

Commonly, nouns such as ‘knife’, ‘shop’, ‘door’, ‘flat’, ‘bus’ are inserted into a Portuguese dialogue but subject to the Portuguese phonetic system, such as:

eu gosto de comer o meu breakfast as 7 horas da manha
‘I like to eat my breakfast at 7 in the morning’
eu vou ao shop
‘I’m going to the shop’
tenho aqui um knife
‘I have a knife’

Language preference

One of the most illuminating discussions pertaining to issues of identity was that concerning language preference. We have already seen that the relationship between language use and ethnic identity may not be straightforward. Indeed, the latter does not always necessarily coincide with the language of regular use. Rather, the relationship between the two may be one of association, for symbolic, tokenist reasons such as Edward (1984) claims is the case in Ireland and as Hoare (2000) claims may be at least partially the case in Brittany.

As far as this study is concerned, the fact that English has played such a dominant role as the language of instruction has had a clear impact on the respondents’ overall linguistic competence. All the respondents admit to feeling, to varying degrees, more comfortable and find it easier to express their viewpoints, in English. SA adds that she only prefers English as she thinks that her Portuguese is not very good, and the other respondents voiced similar notions of insecurity regarding their competence in Portuguese.[18] Yet, all bar SR constantly back up these assertions with statements such as “but of course, I really love Portuguese” (ST), “I am very much Portuguese” (VB); “I am Portuguese through and through” (SA). These three respondents also qualified their statements by adding that they would be extremely happy never to have to use English again; indeed, one of the prime motivations for doing degrees in Portuguese was to improve their competence to such an extent that they would be able to relocate to a Portuguese-speaking country to work. ST was the most vociferous, stating “I don’t really think that there is much English about me apart from the fact that I am here (in England). I like my Portuguese food, I like my Portuguese family, I like my Portuguese friends, I love Madeira, I am very proud of being from where I am, so yeah, I think I am Portuguese”. Once again, this is a clear manifestation of the maintenance by recent migrants of deep-seated ties with their ethnic, social and cultural roots, evinced more by her strong statements than by an overriding determination, at least for the time being, to use Portuguese at all costs.[19]

Conclusion

It must be emphasised that this project is in its infancy, therefore I make no far-reaching claims for the results I have indicated above. However, there are some valuable comments to

[18] In point of fact, all the respondents without exception speak perfectly clear, grammatically correct Portuguese, without the trace of an English accent.
[19] Interestingly, none of the respondents used Portuguese in our sessions, even though I initiated the conversations in Portuguese.

be made based upon certain tendencies which have arisen and which will be explored further once the project is expanded.

According to the respondents of this study, it would appear that the Portuguese community of Jersey remains fairly close-knit and for the majority older residents at the very least, demonstrated by the reported behaviour of family members, Portuguese continues to be the main language of the home and of intra-group communication.

The findings correspond fairly well to those of other research into Portuguese diasporic communities eg Santarita and Martin-Jones' study on the London community (1991: 234). However, unlike their finding of a non-reciprocal pattern of language choice, the present study reveals a Portuguese/Portuguese pattern. Thus, it would seem that here, the language itself is used as an emblematic reinforcing and unifying symbol of group identity by the diaspora at the same time as the younger generations at the very least acquire a notion of Britishness at school and learn the host community's language. Such communities underline Hidalgo's important point that bilingual, bicultural groups tend to be the general outcome of contact situations between two disparate societies (2001: 61-62). However, we should bear in mind the limitations of respondent numbers, and the fact that this community has only been established for a short period of time. It may be that ultimately, the language of the peer group and school may start to be employed in the home as the children become acculturated.

Santarita and Martin-Jones also found that the younger Portuguese in London had evolved a distinctive code-switching arrangement that developed into a characteristic discourse pattern in order to give voice to their bilingual and bicultural identity (1991: 234). Conversely however, López Trigal found that in Portuguese-speaking communities in Spain the use of *portunhol* as the *lingua franca* in intragroup interactions, that is, code-mixing, devalued their own origins and identity and self-esteem (2001: 350). Our study reveals similar findings however nearly all the respondents undermine and undervalue their ability in Portuguese and claim that this is sometimes why they have to code-switch.

The representatives of the Portuguese diaspora in Jersey selected for this study demonstrate how attitudes towards issues of ethnic identity can differ within the same generation circumstances. There is evidence that place of birth influences the degree of acculturation and assimilation with the host society, for the three respondents born in Madeira and Portugal have maintained the strongest association with their native language, culture and ethnic identity within the diaspora, and declare their intentions to eventually live and work in a Portuguese-speaking country. Note however, that perhaps as a result of globalisation, their sense of belonging encompasses a greater definition of ethnicity than that of their homelands, yet again denoted by the language as a symbol of this communal identity. Yet Portuguese as the mother tongue does not necessarily lead to a process of individual and aggregative self-definition and self-realization. The immersion of the Jersey-born respondents within the host society from birth appears to have had an effect on at least one of their perceptions of group membership. Although the maintenance of mother tongue at pre-school age and parental cooperation is important as it contributes to first language proficiency, for this respondent, this did not mean that she felt Portuguese. Her strong preference for English, coupled with her need to be accepted socially by the host community has not yet led to the total loss of her own cultural distinctiveness, but does account to some extent for her stated ambivalence regarding her ethnicity.

In addition, membership of an ethnic group appears to be fluid to a certain extent, in that at times, the demarcation between the use of Portuguese and Madeiran by the respective respondents is not entirely explicit. Moreover, the other Jersey respondent has reaffirmed his Portuguese identity by acquiring dual nationality, and now refers proudly to himself as both British and Portuguese.[20] Moreover, ethnic identity within a community such as this one can be considered motivated by self in a given situation; you can feel a group member in certain situations but not others.

Finally, it would appear that language preference and mother tongue are not necessarily contiguous, that the respondents' perception of their group membership is not totally reliant on them employing Portuguese in every situation. Rather, at times the relationship between the two does indeed appear to be more for symbolic reasons and once again, the link with a Portuguese ethnic background would appear to be the strong reinforcer of identity.

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[20] See Beswick (2002: 265-6) regarding the use of prestige factors in the declaration of group membership.

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