Women and Ethnic Language Maintenance:
A Study of Italian Immigrant Family Triads in Saint-Léonard, Montréal

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ABSTRACT

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During post WW II migration wave, Italians accounted for a large portion of immigrants and they settled extensively in Ontario and Quebec. Within Quebec, over 90 percent live on the Island of Montreal, and the Francophone municipality of Saint-Léonard has the highest concentration of Italians since 1971. Initially, assimilation was the expected outcome of immigrants' adaptation; however, since 1971, multiculturalism encourages the maintenance of ethnic culture and language, but loss of ethnic languages still occurs. The three-generation language shift model suggests that by the third generation, the dominant language will be this generation's mother tongue. However, the literature cites several factors as countering linguistic assimilation, such as residential concentration and intramarriage. Women have consistently shown higher retention rates than men, yet they have received little attention in the intergenerational process. In addition, research on the third generation is still recent and focuses at macro levels.

The objective of this thesis is to investigate the role of women in the inter-generational process of ethnic language maintenance and to identify the forces at work, specifically within the home domain, that encourage the retention of the ethnic language. This study is based on data collected from a pilot survey that served to identify potential family triads and from semi-structured interviews of the family triads of which the grandmother resides in Saint-Léonard. The results show that intergenerational linguistic change varies by family as a result of the many domains in an individual's life and the particular characteristics of each family history since migration.

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I am very grateful to all the Italian immigrant women who graciously answered the short questionnaire and encouraged their fellow friends "to help an Italian". My deepest thanks to the immigrant women who welcomed me in their home in warm and hospitable Italian tradition and shared their migration experiences and challenges. I am equally thankful to their daughters and granddaughters for taking time from their busy schedules to participate in this research. I also wish to thank Glenn Garner for promptly producing the maps.

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To my daughters Claudia and Carla, as third-generation Italian immigrant women, you were my inspiration, but your personal and academic successes were my source of energy. Thank you for your patience and encouragement during the "bumpy road". Finally, the support I received from my "partially acculturated" family made achieving this degree a reality. 'Grazie mamma, sei sempre stata una esempio di forza e determinazione. Questa tesi la dedico a te e a tutte le donne immigrante che hanno sfidato e superato con coraggio le difficoltà dell'immigrazione.'

I dedicate this thesis to my mother and to all the immigrant women who courageously defied and overcame the difficulties of migration.

DONNA

Quando una donna ha del coraggio, ha tutti contro;
Se ti insultano, non ascoltarli;
se ti evitano, non scoraggiarti;
continua la tua strada imperterrita e orgogliosa!
Solo se un giorno ti vergognerai di te stessa, allora sì...
Allora sarai una donna fallita...

Ariom

WOMAN

When a woman has courage, she stands alone;
If they insult you, do not pay attention;
If they avoid you, do not feel discouraged;
Continue your road, impassable and proud;
But if one day you are ashamed of yourself, then yes...
Then you will be a failed woman...

Ariom

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INTRODUCTION

Canada, like the United States and Australia, has experienced massive immigration flows in the 20th century. Immigration policy in the early 20th century selectively favoured groups that would easily assimilate into the host society. It was expected, and preferred, that ethnic boundaries would eventually disappear as immigrants and their offspring were assimilated. Sociologists of the day developed models of the stages or areas through which minority groups pass in the process of assimilation. The most widely accepted was the seven-stage model by Milton Gordon (1964). Within this process, linguistic assimilation would be achieved by the third generation (Fishman 1966).

Canadian policy has shifted since World War II towards accepting immigrants from a much wider variety of source areas as well as recognising the reality and advantages of a multicultural society. As a result, the composition of immigrants has changed substantially; the majority of immigrants are visible minorities whose first language is neither English nor French. While these groups are encouraged to retain their ethnic identities, they are also encouraged to learn one of Canada's official languages so they can integrate into mainstream society. Irrespective of public policy, research shows that the outcome of immigrant integration may differ from the expectations of the host society. This thesis will examine how minorities retain their ethnic identity as they integrate into society by examining the stages and areas in which the ethnic language is used and maintained or lost, and what factors influence this.

Language is an important ethnic characteristic in that it is the medium of cultural transfer and many minority groups tend to maintain it as a key identity marker. Cross-cultural studies show that mother tongue retention rates are not identical for all ethnic groups (for example, Italians have higher retention rates than the Chinese in Canada), and among any particular ethnic group, retention rates may vary by geographical

location (for example, Vietnamese in France and in Quebec; Italians in Canada and the U.S; Italians in Ontario and in Quebec). When studying language maintenance and shift we are concerned with two distinct but related phenomena: intragenerational transfer and intergenerational transfer. The factors controlling intragenerational mother tongue retention among first-generation immigrants may be similar for different ethnic groups, but they seem to be different when examining intergenerational retention rates (Portuguese compared to Greeks and Italians) (Reitz 1980).

In the literature, several factors are associated with intra- and intergenerational mother tongue retention. Age at migration, education level, occupation, residential location and intra-group marriage are the main factors associated with intragenerational mother tongue retention among first-generation immigrants. With the exception of age at migration, these variables are also cited as affecting intergenerational ethnic language retention. To them are also added the linguistic environment at school, at work and at church, the degree of contact with the country of ethnic origin, the size (in actual numbers) of the ethnic group and the degree of involvement in the ethnic community (Schrauf 1999), as well as the self-image of the group with respect to the host society (Allard and Landry 1994). The relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic language maintenance is complex and two-way, and so the same factors are associated with ethnic identity and ethnic language maintenance; therefore, separating them either theoretically or operationally into cause and effect is difficult.

Studies have consistently remarked that females often have higher language retention rates than males in almost all age groups, but reasons given for these differences vary greatly. Sociologists suggest that because first-generation immigrant women had fewer socio-economic and occupational opportunities compared to men, they attain a low degree of proficiency in the dominant language or none at all, and hence, they continue to use the ethnic language more than their husbands (Lieberson

1981). On the other hand, feminists suggest sex differences in language use are socially and culturally based resulting in 'gendered' linguistic behaviour, while sociobiologists argue for a biological difference in language ability in favour of females (Talbot 1998). Despite repeated mention of sex (or gender) differences in ethnic language retention rates little attention has been given to the influence this difference may have on intergenerational ethnic language continuity. This is surprising especially since women are the main caregivers in early childhood at the point where language is first learned, as is reflected in our usage of the term *mother tongue* defined by sociologists as the first language learned by an individual (DeVries 1990). Furthermore, women who bear the prime responsibility for childrearing are also most influential in children's language patterns within the home (Veltman 1981).

The focus of this thesis is on Italians who came to Canada following WW II, a period of massive immigration among whom Italians accounted for the largest number. The Family Reunification Immigration Policy combined with an already established Italian community encouraged a "chain migration" of relatives, extended family and fellow villagers, recreating in Canada the village 'ambiance' with its strong community ties in their new Canadian settings. The 'grouping' phenomenon developed an effective support system to help new migrants find housing and jobs (Painchaud and Poulin 1988). Most Italian immigrants tended to settle in metropolitan areas, mainly Montreal and Toronto. Within Montreal, many concentrated predominantly in Saint-Léonard, which was a francophone rural community in the Eastern part of Montreal prior to its incorporation within the city of Montreal and subsequent "invasion" of Italians in the mid-1960s (Government of Quebec 1972). Because of their numbers, the ethnic institutional network is well developed; thus members of the Italian community can use Italian in both private and public domains.

For the most part, the Italian immigrants did not know an official language upon arrival and had very little education, factors they shared with the majority of South European immigrants of the post-war period. Of the vast majority of Italian immigrant women who entered the job market, most worked in jobs filled by immigrants where knowledge of an official language was generally not a necessity (Boyd 1986; Painchaud and Poulin 1983, 1988). Family unity, which often includes fellow villagers as extended family, is an important component of the Italian culture, and speaking Italian is often seen as an important way of ensuring that family unity. Although it is often the men who reinforce its importance, it is generally the women who bear the responsibility of maintaining it (Painchaud and Poulin 1988; Jansen 1988).

The purpose of this thesis is to examine women's role in the process of intergenerational ethnic language continuity. It focuses on language use and maintenance among three generations of women from within the same families, in other words, from immigrant women to their daughters and granddaughters. The first generation must have migrated to Canada in the post-war period, must have a spouse of the same ethnic origin and must be a resident of Saint-Léonard. These criteria are necessary in order to control some of the factors cited in the literature as influencing language maintenance, such as marriage in or out of the ethnic group, residential location and time since migration.

The first objective of this research is to measure the degree of linguistic acculturation of first-generation Italian immigrant women by recording their linguistic behaviour in a variety of contexts. A semi-structured interview will record information that can help understand the women's linguistic choices through the different stages of their life since migration and integration into Canadian society. The second objective is to assess the degree of knowledge of the ethnic language of the second and third generations and, as with the first generation, their linguistic behaviour in various

contexts. These generations may reside outside St-Leonard. The third objective is to examine if and how different degrees of linguistic acculturation achieved by first-generation immigrant women influences intergenerational ethnic language maintenance.

In studying ethnic language maintenance in Montreal, where the rate of bilingualism and trilingualism is the highest in Canada (Statistics Canada 2002a – 2001 Census of Canada), one cannot ignore the respective influence of Canada's multicultural policy and Quebec's language law Bill 101. These policies stem from the incessant competition between the two charter groups in Canada (the French and the British), the need for recognition of immigrant ethnic groups, and the fight for survival of the French culture in Quebec. The Trudeau Liberal government introduced in 1971 Canada's multicultural policy in a bilingual framework, thus giving immigrant ethnic groups the possibility to maintain their values and culture, namely the ethnic language, while integrating into society by learning one of the official languages. However, with English being the *lingua franca* of Canada, the survival of the French language was at risk, even in the 'home' of the French-speaking population, the province of Quebec. The declining birth rate of the French population in conjunction with the consistent preference by post-WW II immigrants in Quebec for English as the language of instruction for their children, sparked the 'Saint-Léonard crisis'[1] in 1968 and gave rise to a very animated battle of linguistic rights (Linteau 1988). To insure the survival of a French-speaking society, the Parti Québécois implemented in 1977 the language law Bill 101 (The Charter of the French Language), which declared French as Quebec's sole official language; thus, French became a prerequisite for employment in this province. In addition, Bill 101

[1] In 1968, Saint-Léonard became highly visible when school board commissioners reprimanded the Italian community for preferring English as the language of instruction for their children (Levine 1990). More details of this crisis are discussed in Chapter 2.

abolished free choice of language of instruction making French the mandatory language of education for all immigrants[2].

The law profoundly affected the Italian community. While the majority of second-generation Italian immigrants were educated in English because their parents perceived it as the language of economic success, when this generation became parents, some may choose to educate their children in French. In this case, children are being socialised in French; and consequently, some will not share the same official language with their parents. This may result in greater retention of the ethnic language. Those parents who do have the choice face the decision between educating their children in English, like they were, or in French, Quebec's official language. The fourth objective of this thesis, therefore, is to examine if a different language of instruction between the second and third generations, as a result of Bill 101, favours intergenerational retention of the ethnic language.

Chapter 1 will review the theoretical literature on the (demographic, social, psychological and geographical) factors involved in the process of language maintenance and language shift. Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the post-war Italian migration to Canada, as well as trends in the survival of Italian ethnic origin and language based on Census data and previous research. Particular focus is on the Italian community in Montreal. Chapter 3 describes the sources and methods used to conduct the surveys for this research. Chapter 4 presents the data collected from the surveys. Chapter 5 discusses the results based on the review of the literature. Chapter 6 provides general conclusions and suggests directions for further research.

[2] Children who had one parent attend English primary school in Canada could attend English school.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

The first section of this chapter presents a brief overview of the meaning of language in society as perceived by various disciplines and the process of adaptation of immigrants. The theoretical framework of immigrant assimilation will be described. Section 2 reviews the various factors identified in the literature as influential in the survival or loss of ethnic languages following migration. These factors include the relationship between language and ethnic identity, the residential location of immigrants, marriage patterns and gender. The review will focus particularly on immigrant groups in the United States, Canada and Australia, with special reference to Italians.

1.1 LANGUAGE AND THE ADAPTATION PROCESS OF IMMIGRANTS

Language plays an important role in society at large, as it is the means by which people communicate. Immigrants settling in an environment linguistically different from their home country face the challenge of learning a new language if they want to participate in the host society. But this linguistic adaptation impacts on the degree of maintenance of the mother tongue within the immigrant generation and beyond, a process that interests researchers in various disciplines.

Language is perceived and studied differently depending on ones disciplinary perspective, and among immigrants who speak several languages determining the degree of use and maintenance of the ethnic language (or mother tongue) is far from a simple matter.

> For the sociologist, mother tongue is the language one learns first. For the linguist, it is the language one knows best. For the sociolinguist, it is the language one uses the most. For the social psychologist, it is the language one identifies with and through which one is identified. For the lay person, it is the language one counts in, thinks in, dreams in, writes a

> diary in, writes poetry in (Skuttnabb-Kangas 1981:18 qtd in Dicker 1996:2).

According to the Canadian census, *mother tongue* is defined as "the language first learned at home and still understood" (Statistics Canada 2002b), but as the quote from Skuttnabb-Kangas reveals, there is far from a simple universal concept of mother tongue. This complexity is even more apparent in a multilingual environment like Montreal, and as third-generation Italian immigrants, my daughters are the perfect example to illustrate this. French is the first language they learned and use most often at work, but English is the language they know best and speak most often at home and with friends, while they identify themselves as 'Italian' and use the ethnic language with their grandparents. Based on Skuttnabb-Kangas definitions (in the quote above), sociologists would call them French, sociolinguists would call them English, social psychologists would call them Italian, while to the lay person they would be English. But for them, each language has equal importance because they allow participation in different domains of their life. The mother tongue may in fact simply be the language used 'instinctively' within the individual's mind depending on the context.

The literature on language use and maintenance among immigrant groups can be divided into two main groups. The dominant literature relates to the meaning of language and its importance to immigrant groups and individuals in an attempt to understand the more general adaptation of immigrants, and their linguistic adaptation and behavior in particular. But with the emergence of multicultural policies in Canada and Australia, researchers have focused on the intergenerational survival of the ethnic culture and more specifically the ethnic language.

1.1.1 **Language and mother tongue**

Interest in language *per se* is multidisciplinary. Disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, demography, geography and economics are all

concerned with the social, cultural and economic meaning of language, as well as its role in native and immigrant communities. Each approaches these from their respective disciplinary perspective, but one factor remains constant; a group sharing a common language, or speech community, consists of three elements: population, language and territory. A population can be defined according to individual and group characteristics, as well as demographic variables such as ethnic origin, time since migration, education, occupation, economic status, age and sex (Breton 1991). Language in a multi-ethnic society can be differentiated between that of the mainstream society (official languages) or that of minority ethnic groups. Territory is seen as a geographic unit (country, city, a row of houses) (Laponce 1987) and as a social unit (workplace, school, church, home) (Fishman 1972a; Downes 1998). The territorial units represent domains within the private or public spheres of society. Domains are the context in which communication between individuals takes place and the language used in each domain may vary by individual and/or by ethnic group as a result of their particular characteristics and that of the domain (Fishman 1991:44-5).

As immigrants settle in a new area, they gradually adapt to their surroundings. Anthropologists and sociologists examine the importance immigrants will continue to attribute to their culture (and language) during this adaptation process in relation to immigrants' social characteristics. Sociolinguistics, a term introduced by Haver Currie, emerged in the 1960s as a new field of study and it examines the interaction between language and context in relation to class, status, sex and ethnicity (Breton 1991).

Social psychologists examine an individual's linguistic behavior in terms of the personal reasons that drive such behavior. The reasons stem from the individual's perception of its ethnic group in relation to the mainstream society, as well as how this perception influences the value of the ethnic language and its use (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977). Geographers contribute to the study of language use by examining the

spatial distribution (concentration and segregation) of linguistic and ethnic groups, and its relationship to linguistic behavior. Economic theorists examine the principal economic forces that define the language choices of individuals or groups (Grenier 1997).

But different disciplines view the role of language very differently; consequently, immigrants' maintenance or loss of their mother tongue is interpreted or explained differently. Anthropologists traditionally believe language represents a group's culture and traditions (Haarmann 1986) and it is the communication tool that passes on "norms and values of a culture" to subsequent generations (Dicker 1996:4). Some structural linguists view "language and culture as logical systems reflecting the logical structure of a community's collective consciousness[3]" (Eastman 1990:1) which is defined as "the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society" (Durkheim 1933 qtd in Eastman 1990:30). Therefore, language is perceived as an important element in a group's 'ethnicity' or sub-cultural identity.

Sociologists believe that language is "one way in which a person may be categorized as belonging to a culture" (Dicker 1996:15). On the other hand, social psychologists believe that language influences and defines the interaction at the individual and group levels (Smith, Giles and Hewstone 1980). Economic theorists define language (more specifically languages other than one's mother tongue) as "a capital good... or... a form of human capital" (Breton 1997:55).

Despite the various definitions, the most common role given to language is that it shapes a person's personal and cultural identity (Richmond 1967; Veltman 1991; Dicker 1996). It is suggested that this 'shaping' begins at very early childhood as one first acquires language. This native language is commonly referred to as the *mother tongue* because it represents the earliest memories and influences in a person's life (Breton 1991; Dicker 1996); "as the name suggests, it is the language most frequently spoken

[3] The French sociologist Émile Durkheim introduced the term 'collective consciousness' in 1893.

by the mother, and traditionally women have been the main caregivers" (Veltman 1991:148). The mother tongue is considered to have a lasting influence on an individual even if it is forgotten and replaced by another language. As Breton (1991:30) explains, "... it remains an inalienable personality trait of the individual, influencing unconsciously one's way of thinking, feeling, and even one's value system."

There is consensus on the importance of the mother tongue in the study of immigrant minority groups and their linguistic assimilation even though the definitions and interpretations attached to the term *mother tongue* vary somewhat by discipline. Only in the context of immigrants who settle in a country that is linguistically different from their country of origin is their mother tongue different from the language used by the majority. It is in this context that mother tongue gains importance because in order to adapt to the new society, immigrants must acquire the language of the majority. Their children will also do so through education, and in subsequent generations, the mother tongue in the sense of the language first learned, may be different from the *ethnic language*. This change is one among many that can result from contact between immigrants and the host society.

1.1.2 **Gordon's assimilation theory**

The American sociologist Milton Gordon (1964) introduced the theory of assimilation to examine the process by what an immigrant ethnic group integrates into the host society. Gordon presumed that once individuals move into a new society, they experience assimilation. Seen as a completed process, assimilation is the blending of formerly distinctive ethnic groups into the host society. Gordon's theory underlies all subsequent research into immigrant adaptation.

Gordon (1964:70-71) identifies seven dimensions to the assimilation of ethnic minority groups. The first dimension is cultural assimilation (also referred to as acculturation), which is the adoption of the host country's culture. Gordon (1964:77)

suggests that this is usually the first subprocess to take place as a result of contact between immigrants and members of the host society, and the first cultural variable adopted is the language. In fact, language is just the medium that allows the entire acculturation process to initiate, just as the mother tongue does during an individual's childhood. Gordon (1964) distinguishes between two types of immigrant cultural patterns and traits: intrinsic and extrinsic. The intrinsic traits (which are language, literature, ethical values, religious beliefs and practices, and a sense of common past) are the "essential and vital ingredients of the group's cultural heritage". The extrinsic traits (which include dress, manner, patterns of emotional expression, and accents when speaking the host language) are "external to the core of the group's ethnic cultural heritage" (Gordon 1964:79). Language transfer is one element (and only one element) of the intrinsic traits. Total acculturation means change within both intrinsic and extrinsic cultural patterns.

As proficiency in the dominant language increases, so does the degree of social interaction with members of the host society. This leads to structural assimilation, the second area of assimilation. This is achieved when ethnic immigrants interact with members of the host society at the primary and secondary levels (Gordon 1964:79-81). Primary level[4] interaction occurs in the individuals' more private spheres or domains such as the home, the extended family and the ethnic community. This means that friends, neighbours, church affiliation and memberships to clubs, organizations and associations are increasingly from the host society. Examples of interaction at the

[4] "The primary group is a group in which contact is personal, informal, intimate, and usually face-to-face, and which involves the entire personality, not just a segmentalized part of it" (Gordon 1964:31). Primary means that the group is "both first from the point of view of time in the 'socialization' process – that is, the process by which the growing child is indoctrinated into the values of his culture – and first from the standpoint of their importance in moulding human personality" (Gordon 1964:31).

secondary level[5] are within economic and occupational activities, governmental relationships and education, thus reflecting the more public spheres or domains. As interaction with members of the host society increases in both domains, ties with the ethnic community and interest in the ethnic culture weaken until participation in the ethnic social network ends. Although structural assimilation seems as the obvious outcome of acculturation, Gordon stresses that it may not necessarily be the case, but "structural assimilation inevitably produces acculturation" (Gordon 1964:81).

The third dimension is marital assimilation, which means marriage with members of the host society; in other words, marrying out of one's own ethnic group (exogamous marriages) rather than marrying someone of the same ethnic origin (endogamous marriages). Intermarriage is the inevitable by-product of structural assimilation (Gordon 1964: 80). The argument is that if an immigrant remains socially, economically and residentially isolated from members of the host society, then marital assimilation is very unlikely because the children are consistently exposed exclusively to members of the ethnic community. However, the cause and effect relationship between structural assimilation and marriage patterns is unclear; exogamous marriages may result from structural assimilation, but one may also socialize out of its ethnic group as a result of out-marriage.

Identificational assimilation is the fourth dimension presented by Gordon and it means that immigrants identify with members of the host society. In other words, they have a sense of belonging to that group in place of the ethnic group. The adoption of the host culture and continuous interaction with members of the host society contributes to reaching this level of assimilation. At this point, individuals may have little or no

[5] "The secondary group is a group in which contacts tend to be impersonal, formal or casual, non-intimate, and segmentalized; in some cases they are face-to-face, in others not....They tend not to come very close to the core of personality" (Gordon 1964:32).

attachment with the country of origin and the ethnic group, and the ethnic culture is not maintained.

The fifth and sixth dimensions reflect the attitude (prejudice) and the behaviour (discrimination) from members of the host society towards the ethnic immigrant group. Prejudice and discrimination should no longer exist when members of the minority group are no longer distinguishable from the larger society. Each previously mentioned dimension contributes to the elimination of both prejudice and discrimination. However, discrimination "may be inferred from socio-economic differences among ethnic groups" (Gordon 1978:169). In fact, Gordon explains that structural assimilation may not prevent prejudicial and discriminatory behaviour from the host society, but acculturation can. This difference is related to the intrinsic and extrinsic traits of the ethnic culture, where extrinsic are considered more detrimental if maintained (Gordon 1964:81).

The seventh and final dimension is civic assimilation, which means the absence of conflict on differences in civic values. Gordon does not elaborate on this dimension, but he explains that these conflicts often originate from major differences in intrinsic values or adherence to different religions. According to Gordon, if all stages of assimilation have taken place, then the ethnic minority will be "undistinguishable" from the host society (Gordon 1964:80-82).

The entire assimilation process "is mainly a matter of degree [...] and each of the stages or subprocesses [...] may take place in varying degree" (Gordon 1964:71). Gordon (1964) believes that "*once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow*" (81) (emphasized in text). In addition, although language, which is the primary focus of this thesis, seems directly linked to acculturation, research shows that it also has indirect links with the other stages or processes of assimilation (Williams and Ortega 1990:707).

Table 1.1: Gordon's Stages or Types of Assimilation

Stage or type of assimilation	*Subprocess*
Cultural assimilation	Change of cultural patterns to those of host society: - intrinsic patterns: language, ethical values, religious beliefs, ethical values, sense of common past. - extrinsic patterns: dress, manner, patterns of emotional expression, accented speech (host language)
Structural assimilation	Interaction at primary and secondary levels with members of host society: - Primary level interaction: home, extended family, friends, neighbours, church affiliation, memberships. - Secondary level interaction: education, occupation, economic activities, government relations
Marital assimilation	Large-scale intermarriage
Identificational assimilation	Development of sense of belonging exclusively to host society
Attitude receptional assimilation	Absence of prejudice towards members of the ethnic immigrant group
Behavioural receptional assimilation	Absence of discrimination towards members of the ethnic immigrant group
Civic assimilation	Absence of value and power conflict

Source: Gordon 1964

During the 19th and a large part of the 20th century, both Canada and the United States encouraged and expected that immigrants assimilate into the new society, thus making all ethnic boundaries disappear. However, the existing bilingual and bicultural heritage in Canada made pluralism a more appropriate approach to deal with the quantity and diversity of the ethnic population (Jansen 1988:6). Consequently, Canada adopted a multicultural policy in 1971 following a growing belief "that survival of ethnic groups as separate groups is socially useful and desirable" (Reitz 1980:10) and because ethnic groups were numerous with distinct geographic concentrations (Jansen 1988:6). Despite the different policies, survival of ethnic groups is evident in Canada and the United States.

As a result of contact with another culture, immigrant groups undergo cultural transitions. Berry (1997) defines four 'acculturation strategies': assimilation (what Gordon calls acculturation), integration, separation and marginalization. When an individual chooses to maintain his or her culture, yet interact on a daily basis with members of the host culture, then integration has occurred (Berry 1997:9). Separation is when individuals hold on to their culture and avoid interacting with other cultural groups. However, the total abandonment of one's culture to adopt that of the host society is acculturation (Gordon 1964:79). Finally, when there exists little or no interest in cultural maintenance or interaction with the host society, then it is marginalization (Berry 1997:9)

1.1.3 **Process of ethnic language maintenance and shift**

Learning the host society's language is the first expected step towards adaptation when immigrants move into an environment where they have no knowledge of the dominant language (Gordon 1964). Proficiency in the language allows them to function in that society. If immigrants learn a second language, which is the host society's dominant language, they nevertheless continue to use their mother tongue to differing degrees (Weinreich 1953; Fishman 1989; DeVries 1990; Veltman 1991).

The degree of bilingualism (use of host and ethnic language) may or may not change with time as a result of increased use of the dominant language (DeVries 1990). The long term outcome both for the individual and for the next generations can range anywhere between the following extremes (Veltman 1991):

a. The ethnic language is no longer used, but is replaced by a second language and/or third language, in all social contexts; or,

b. The ethnic language is still used, usually in specific settings, and may be passed on to subsequent generations.

The first situation reflects complete *language shift*. The second situation reflects some form of *language maintenance* (DeVries 1990:165).

The linguist Uriel Weinreich (1953:68) defined language shift as "...the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another...." Sociologists and linguists studying minority language behaviour use this definition, or one somewhat similar (DeVries 1990:164). However, DeVries (1990) goes on to question the meaning of "habitual"; does the change in linguistic behaviour exist in all settings or domains? Is the shift absolute (all or nothing); is it progressive; and is it necessarily final or temporary?

Veltman (1991:146) defines language shift as "any movement across a continuum ranging from *language conservation* to *language loss*." Language conservation represents one end of the spectrum and is defined as "speaking one's mother tongue throughout one's lifetime as the only language of daily use" (Veltman 1991:146). When the mother tongue is no longer used and is eventually forgotten, then this is language loss, the opposite end of the spectrum. At this point the person is considered as completely 'assimilated' into the dominant language group of the host society even if a slight accent persists (Veltman 1991:146). Interestingly, this is contrary to the expectations of Bill 101 in Quebec where all traces of accent must disappear (Kallen 1995) and to Gordon's extrinsic traits that are instrumental to eliminate prejudice and discrimination.

This intergenerational language shift is normally described as a three-generation process (Fishman 1966; O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska 1976; Veltman 1983). Simply defined, the process is as follows: the immigrant generation learns the host society's dominant language, but continues to use their mother tongue at home and probably in other possible domains; the second generation's mother tongue is the ethnic language and it may still be used at home, but the language of education and at work is the dominant language; by the third generation, the dominant language becomes the home language, and knowledge, degree of fluency and use of the ethnic language is very poor

or nonexistent, thus completing the language shift process from the ethnic language to the host society's dominant language.

Appel and Muysken (1987) define language shift as a "multi-stage process" which should be examined by domains and generations (Grin 1993:376-377), and as the number of speakers within the community decreases through generations, the shift from one language to another reaches an irreversible point. But Fishman (1991) believes that with specific efforts within the ethnic community, language shift can be reversed if speakers of the ethnic language are still present within the ethnic community and participate to revive interest in and use of the ethnic language.

Based on Fishman's (1991) theory and application of Reversing Language Shift, as well as studies on language maintenance and shift, Grin questions and examines the possible existence of a specific threshold to language shift and how it can be applied to Reversing Language Shift (1993:376-377). The author states that many studies on language shift do not provide cause-and-effect relationships, thus failing to determine a 'loss line'. But researchers have defined an index of continuity, which requires a minimum proportion of ethnic language speakers, for whom it is the home language, to insure that the language will survive to the next generation. This minimum is thirty percent (Knox and Nash 2003).

Language maintenance then "is the absence of language shift" (DeVries 1990:164). This can occur both at the individual level and from one generation to the next. Fishman (1989:17) defines language maintenance as "the process and pursuit of inter-generational linguistic continuity." However, Fishman (1989) also recognizes that partial language shift is possible. In such situations, the ethnic language is replaced only in certain areas of interaction "and a new pattern of inter-generational continuity is then stabilized" (Fishman1989:178). This implies groups can stop anywhere along Veltman's (1991) continuum between language conservation and language loss. As long as the

ethnic language is passed on to subsequent generations and still used by them, no matter the degree of use and the contexts/domains in which it is used, then the language is maintained.

Ethnic language shift was deemed essential to the assimilation of immigrant minority groups and until the 1960s was the desired end result of multi-ethnic immigration. As we have seen, language shift was normally expected to occur by the third generation. In this context, ethnic language maintenance, especially beyond the third generation, was interpreted as undesirable evidence of lack of assimilation into the host society.

Language shift is a relatively simple process when examining a country like the United States where there is only one official language, English, and strong pressure to assimilate is responsible for the loss of ethnic languages (Portes and Hao 1998). But in some countries, like Canada and Australia, the adoption of a multicultural policy encourages ethnic immigrant groups to retain aspects of their culture including their language, while at the same time becoming structurally integrated into the host society. This necessarily involves becoming bi-lingual. In Australia, higher ethnic language maintenance in South Australia, even though the actual numbers of immigrants were not as high as in Victoria, is interpreted as a reflection of South Australia's more openness towards multilingualism within a proactive state that initiated many multicultural and multilingual education programs (Clyne 1982:32).

In Canada, the policy of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework (English and French as official languages) further affects language shift among immigrant groups and presents greater challenges in the post 1977 Quebec where French is the sole official language requiring immigrant groups to educate their children in French[6]. Nevertheless,

[6] In fact, examination of language data of the Canada Census often shows results under 'Quebec' and 'Rest of Canada' as do some researchers; for example, Chiswick and Miller (2001).

with English being the *lingua franca* in Canada and North America, immigrants tend to learn both official languages while maintaining their ethnic language. This has frequently involved immigrants (particularly Italians) becoming tri-lingual. In fact, Montreal has the highest rate of trilingualism in Canada (Statistics Canada 2002a – 2001 Census of Canada). The linguistic duality of this country complicates the language shift process because of the competition between the two official languages in public and private domains.

With the recognition that intergenerational language shift can vary significantly from one family and group to the next, it is important to examine the factors within and without each generation that influence this process. This is the topic of the next section.

1.2 INFLUENTIAL FACTORS IN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

In the literature, there are different views regarding the causes of survival of the ethnic language. Some maintain it is the result of cultural forces, which set language as an important identity marker; one identifies with an ethnic group because one shares the same language (Sapir 1933; Gordon 1964). Language may also be seen as part of the ethnic culture, in which case, a positive attitude towards it sustains survival of the ethnic language despite acculturation in other domains. Others advance economic forces, which depend in part on attitude towards the dominant and ethnic languages (Porter 1965; Williams 1979, Grenier 1984; Breton 1997). If knowledge of a language carries economic benefits, it will be learned or maintained. But low socioeconomic status perpetuates use of the ethnic language because opportunities to learn the dominant language are scarce, if not nonexistent, especially for immigrant women (Lieberson 1981). Finally, there are those who argue that ethnic language survival is the result of both forces acting together (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1980; Haarmann 1986; Montgomery and Renaud 1994). In addition, the perception members have of their ethnic group

influences their individual attitude towards the ethnic language (Giles *et al.* 1977; Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal 1981). The following sections will discuss the theories and factors related to language maintenance and shift within ethnic groups.

1.2.1 Language and ethnic identity

Ethnicity is defined as "an involuntary group of people who share the same culture, or descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group" (Isajiw 1970:24). Language is one variable defining ethnicity, but its role within the ethnic group was considered as the binding force because it represents a group's "collective consciousness" (Durkheim 1933), the "fundamental expression of collective social identity" (Edward Sapir 1933 qtd in Reitz 1974:112). Therefore, language is a variable by which an individual identifies with the group. Edwards (1985) defines ethnic identity as

> allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of "groupness", or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past (Edwards and Chisholm 1987:393).

Studies on the causes of ethnic group cohesion or "the retention of ethnic group membership by persons of common ethnic ancestry" (Reitz 1980:100) identify ethnic language retention as an important determinant along with in-group attachment, ethnic identification, endogamy, ethnic neighbourhood residence and ethnic church affiliation. However, the importance of the ethnic language to the maintenance of group identity is widely debated in the literature.

Some studies show that the ethnic language is an important variable of ethnicity, arguing that it allows participation in the ethnic community, which sustains ethnic ties with the ancestral group (Reitz 1974, 1980). However, others argue that ethnicity may

persist to the third generation without language (Hansen 1962) because the meaning of ethnicity may change through generations (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Fishman 1966) and cannot be limited to one characteristic feature (Haarmann 1986). Gordon (1964) believes that language was just one of many intrinsic traits along with religion and a sense of common past; extrinsic traits such as food or clothing must also be considered as ethnic characteristics (Barth 1969; Laroche, Kim and Tomiuk 1999). Some studies on ethnic group cohesion show that ethnic language retention was not strongly correlated to self-group membership, measured by in-group attachment and ethnic identity (Reitz 1974).

Anderson (1979) argues that the same immigrant group may have different ethnic identity markers depending on where they settled. For example, Italians in Australia (Clyne 1982) and Italians in Quebec (Painchaud and Poulin 1988) both show that retention of the ethnic language is an important symbol of ethnic solidarity. On the other hand, Italians in Boston had high ethnic solidarity, but ethnic language retention was low and its maintenance was correlated to practicality rather than a link to ethnic identity (Gans 1962). For Gans, the important determinant of Italian ethnic identity in Boston was traditional foods. He argues that Italians highly regard family unity; food plays an essential part in preserving family unity, and it is the women who maintain traditional foods and cooking methods (Gans 1962). Reitz (1980) on the other hand argues that the retention of traditional cooking is simply a reflection of the continuance of family structure and sex-role patterns among Italians. Therefore, it appears that the importance of ethnic characteristics as a reflection of ethnic group identity is subject to the interpretation of the researcher.

The Chinese and South Europeans in Canada showed high group cohesion compared to North Europeans (Germans and Scandinavians) and East Europeans (Ukrainian and Poles); however, ethnic language knowledge was low for the Chinese

group (Reitz 1980). Therefore, for some groups knowledge of the ethnic language is not necessarily a prerequisite for identification with the group or for its survival. A later study, however, shows that second-generation Chinese-Canadians in Toronto identified most as English-Canadians and spoke English fluently (not Cantonese), evidence that this generation is "fast assimilating into Anglo-Canadian mainstream culture" (Sachdev *et al.* 1988:147), thereby supporting the literature linking cultural identity, language proficiency and language use (e.g. Giles and Johnson 1981; Bourhis 1979). However, it is important to note that the first-generation immigrants in Sachdev *et al.*'s (1988) study were recent immigrants (less than ten years) with higher education levels than the pre-WWII Chinese immigrants in Reitz's (1980) study. Therefore, the migration experience between both first-generation immigrants may have a different impact on ethnic language retention rates in the second generation.

Studies on the relationship between ethnic language knowledge and use and, ethnic identification generally suggest a linear relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1980; Sachdev *et al.* 1988; Alba 1990; Sachdev 1998). Because language is most often used as a measure of acculturation, Laroche, Kim, Kui and Tomiuk (1998) examined this relationship using Italian and Greek ethnic groups in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. The study shows that ethnic identification decreases in a non-linear fashion as linguistic acculturation increases. This means that the loss of ethnic identification is not proportional to the gains in linguistic acculturation. Consequently, full retention of the ethnic language does not appear necessary for retention of ethnic identity. Therefore, other ethnic cultural characteristics must contribute to its continuity.

Despite the divergent views, language is considered as the most common ethnic marker, but it is dependent on the bonding role the ethnic language has within the group, and the importance of this bond compared to other characteristics of ethnicity.

1.2.2 **Language and economic status**

There is another school of thought that argues that the economic position of the immigrant group is responsible for ethnic group survival and hence for ethnic language maintenance. Indeed, some have argued that the dual labour market is largely responsible for this outcome (Massey *et al.* 1993). The theory suggests that there are two types of job markets in industrial economies like Canada: the primary sector, which employs well-educated people and where there are opportunities of advancement, and the secondary sector, which offers low wages and was historically filled by unskilled workers (teenagers, women and ethnic and racial minority groups). After WW II, the internal supply of workers for jobs in the secondary sector decreased while the demand increased, and new immigrants filled these jobs. The availability of employment enclaves often fuels immigration, and aids immigrant adaptation while it encourages the continuance of ethnic identities and subcultures, and hence the maintenance of the ethnic language.

However, research does not always support the relationship between economic position and ethnic language maintenance. South Europeans (Italian, Greek and Portuguese) in Canada had low socio-economic status and high ethnic language maintenance. They were largely uneducated, spoke little English upon arrival and were highly segmented in terms of industry and occupation (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1980). On the other hand, a study on the seven largest ethnic groups in Australia shows that the three most disadvantaged groups had different rates and patterns of language shift (Clyne 1982:41).

The job segregation among the Italians was largely due to the post-WW II construction boom and the large number of Italian immigrants entering Canada during the same period and settling mainly in urban areas (Reitz 1980:78). Boissevain's

(1970:14-16) study of Italians in Montreal showed that "one third of Italians in the labour force worked *for* Italians and nearly half *with* Italians." Many achieved high status positions through business ventures in the Italian community; therefore, upward mobility among members of this group did not decrease economic segregation. The economic status is also believed to define the residential location of immigrants and the following generations.

1.2.3 **Language and residential location**

As mentioned previously, territory is an important component of a linguistic group. In the study of intra- and intergenerational ethnic language maintenance, the neighbourhood often emerges as an influential domain, but with some variations based on location or ethnic origin. Residential concentration can result from voluntary or involuntary choices and residing in an ethnic neighbourhood can be seen as a strategy to maintain the ethnic language rather than an explanation for language maintenance (Downes 1998).

Consistent in the literature is the view that newly arrived immigrants tend to settle in areas where people from their ethnic group already reside (Gordon 1964; Richmond 1967; Reitz 1974; Burnley 1999). The existing ethnic community helps new immigrants with language difficulties and assists them in integrating by searching for housing and jobs. As the new immigrants acquire the host society's language, they gradually become culturally and economically assimilated and eventually move into less ethnically concentrated areas, thus achieving spatial assimilation (Massey 1985; Allen and Turner 1996). This process assumes that immigrants who fail to learn the host society's language remain in ethnic neighbourhoods where they continue to use their mother tongue. For the subsequent generations, who are educated in the dominant language, the ethnic neighbourhood does not prevent linguistic assimilation, but promotes ethnic language maintenance. However, in the literature, inconsistencies emerge on the

relationship between residential location and intra- and inter-generational ethnic language maintenance.

The residential location of immigrant ethnic groups has received particular attention by geographers and social scientists who consider it important in studying immigrants' adaptation to the host society, and the maintenance of ethnic identity in general and on language maintenance in particular. Researchers examine the role of the neighbourhood in terms of residential concentration of an ethnic community within a specific area (usually urban areas) and the degree of segregation of an ethnic community from the majority society. In the case of Quebec, segregation is measured in relation to both French- and British/English-origin communities.

1.2.3.1 Residential concentration

For first-generation immigrants, living in a neighbourhood with a large number of people from the same ethnic origin is helpful in the first stages of adaptation. However, it also means immigrants are consistently exposed to the ethnic language rather than the dominant society's language, thus encouraging ethnic language maintenance. Residential concentration may also promote the maintenance of separate ethnic identities and may limit the degree of integration by hindering acquisition of a second language (the dominant language of the host society).

The size of an ethnic group facilitates concentration which in turn supports ethnic language maintenance because concentration permits the creation and support of ethnic institutions, which reduces the need to acquire a second language for "residentially based activities" (Lieberson 1970:129; Clyne 1982:32-37). But Lieberson (1981) states that if there is strong pressure for allophones to become bilingual (acquire French or English) through schooling or in order to enter the job market, then spatial concentration will not prevent bilingualism. By the same token, if a group has high bilingualism, then the need for residential concentration is reduced. Therefore, Lieberson (1981) concludes

that residential concentration encourages ethnic language maintenance in the absence of pressure factors for second language acquisition.

The literature shows that not all ethnic groups follow the same pattern of spatial assimilation. The Jews, the Portuguese, the Greeks, the Italians and the Chinese remain residentially concentrated for longer periods than other ethnic groups (Charbonneau and Germain 1998). However, the ethnic language maintenance rate is not identical (and high) for all these groups. In fact, when comparing groups from the same migration period, the Greeks and the Italians have higher rates than the Portuguese (Veltman 1986). The same relationship was found among first-generation immigrants in Australia (Clyne 1982; Burnley 1999). Cities where particular ethnic groups were highly concentrated (Italians, Greeks and Poles in Adelaide[7]) had the highest degree of ethnic language maintenance, with the Greek-born the highest of all (Clyne 1982:32-37).

However, the correlation between ethnic neighbourhood concentration and ethnic language maintenance is not evident for the subsequent generations. Second-generation Greek and Italian immigrants, where both parents were foreign-born and of same ethnic origin, still had the highest ethnic language maintenance rates, but they were not the most residentially concentrated. In fact, language shift was higher among one of the more concentrated groups (Maltese in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide). Differences in the intergenerational degree of change (from the first to the second generation) between ethnic groups were also noted. Greek and Italian groups exhibited the greatest difference while the smallest was noted between the Maltese and the Dutch (Clyne 1982:47-50). In other words, even though the Greek and Italian groups have the highest language maintenance rate, there was a greater intergenerational loss of speakers in these two groups. Examination of third-generation immigrants showed very

[7]The study focused on the seven largest ethnic groups in Australia: Italians, Greeks, Germans, Maltese, Poles, Dutch and "Yugoslav".

little ethnic language use in areas of concentration of the ancestral group (Burnley 1999).

On the other hand, in comparing several ethnic groups in the United States and the Chinese group from Canada[8], Schrauf (1999) found that residential concentration of an ethnic group is significantly associated with ethnic language maintenance in the third generation. The author concludes that the influence is socio-structural and psychological. He argues that living amid a language community increases the opportunities and frequencies to use the ethnic language. Psychologically,

> a geographically bounded, cultural community provides the context in which the child's acquisition of the mother tongue, emotional and intellectual maturation, and formation of cultural identity become deeply intertwined in daily interaction with the ethnic community" (Schrauf 1999:187).

However, Bankston III and Henry (1998) show that families of Cajun ethnicity living in the ethnic neighbourhood (Acadiana) have lower language maintenance rates than those living out of the neighbourhood. The authors believe that "once ethnic parents have successfully integrated into the dominant culture, ethnic markers no longer carry the same stigma" and thus are transmitted on to the next generation (Bankston III and Henry 1998:21). Thus, contrary to the expectations of the assimilation theory "assimilation, paradoxically, contributes to the transmission of ethnic traits" (Bankston III and Henry 1998:21).

Consequently, although residential concentration is cited as a strong influence on ethnic language maintenance, this cannot be generalized for all generations of immigrants and for all ethnic groups. Other factors may be influential in this process and they may differ by ethnic groups and by generation of immigrants.

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[8] Schrauf used data in the Human Relations Area Files from 11 immigrant groups to North America. However, the Chinese group was divided in two: the American and the Canadian group. To avoid duplication, Schrauf included the Canadian file only. Therefore, the Chinese is the only group from Canada.

Breton (1964) argues that the "institutional completeness" of a community is more influential than residing in the ethnic neighbourhood because with time residing in the neighbourhood is no longer a necessity and connections with the ethnic community remain through the institutions in place (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1980). Consequently, a continuous long-term contact with the ethnic language remains. This is particularly important in explaining ethnic language maintenance in second and subsequent generations of immigrants. In fact, the role of language in ethnic core values may be the force behind language maintenance in the second generation, not residential concentration *per se* (Clyne 1982).

1.2.3.2 Residential segregation

An ethnic group may be highly concentrated, but people from other ethnic groups also live within the area. Of primary importance is the degree to which immigrants share residential space with members of the dominant society because if concentration is influential in maintaining the ethnic language, then different degrees of residential segregation affect acquisition of a second language and reinforce ethnic language maintenance. Studies in Canada show that correlation between ethnic language maintenance and degrees of segregation is not consistent. Among the South Europeans (Italians, Greek and Portuguese), the Italians had the lowest degree of fluency in an official language and the highest degree of segregation in all Canadian cities (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1980). Richmond (1967) explains that the large number of Italians allows for segregation and their low education level is responsible for the lack of knowledge of an official language. However, Germans were also highly segregated; yet they had higher education and higher fluency in an official language (Richmond 1967). On the other hand, Reitz (1980) found that the Chinese group had lower ethnic language maintenance rates and were less segregated than the South Europeans (Reitz 1980). Therefore, in the case of the Chinese group, it appears that a lower degree of residential

segregation gave this group a greater opportunity to be exposed to an official language and thus learn a second language, but it did not undermine their attachment to the group.

In Quebec, where ethnic language retention rates have been consistently higher than in the rest of Canada (Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997; Jedwab 1999), the linguistic adaptation of immigrants is somewhat different. Within Quebec, the Island of Montreal attracts the majority of immigrants (Séguin and Termote 1993). Compared to American, Australian and other Canadian cities, the residential location of ethnic minority immigrant groups, each in particular areas of Montreal, bestows upon this city its unique 'ethnic' residential structure; this encourages the maintenance of minority ethnic characteristics (particularly language) and it influences the future linguistic behaviour of immigrants (Lieberson 1981; Langlois 1985; Séguin and Termote 1993; Montgomery and Renaud 1994; Charbonneau and Germain 1998). Differences in segregation by ethnic group are also present.

Langlois (1985) examined the spatial distribution of ethnic groups in Montreal between 1931 and 1971, and found that some groups maintained higher degrees of segregation. The Jewish and the Italian groups were the most concentrated, but the Jewish community maintained high levels of segregation despite change in residential location, whereas the Italians were the only group that were not segregated from Francophones (Langlois 1985). Yet, Italians were assimilating in the Anglophone group, while maintaining their ethnic language (Painchaud and Poulin 1988). Other studies of the Italian ethnic community present similar results (Veltman, Polèse and Leblanc 1986; Boissevain 1970).

Although residential concentration and segregation does seem to influence ethnic language maintenance, generalizations cannot be made for all ethnic groups, for all generations and for all areas. Living in an ethnic neighbourhood may encourage

ethnic language maintenance, especially for the immigrant generation, and the literature stresses that participation in the ethnic community, which is easier if one lives within the community, supports language maintenance. However, language learning precedes participation, therefore, parents (or other caregivers) play an important role in this process. Finally, in a multilingual environment like Montreal the languages an individual knows are used in a variety of domains, public and private, and intergenerational ethnic language continuity can only occur if there is at least one domain in which the language can be used.

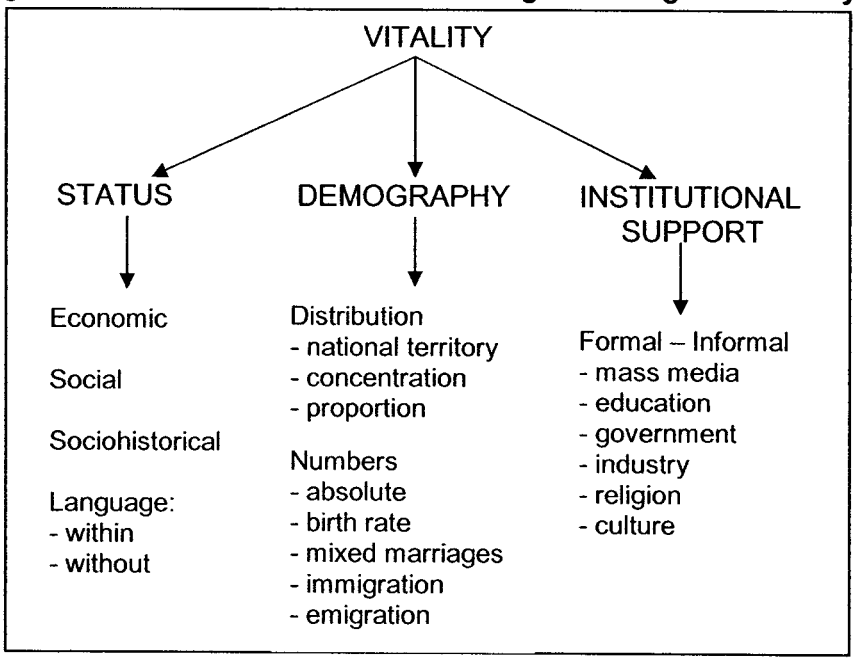
1.2.4 **Language and intergroup relations**

The social psychologists Giles *et al.* (1977) introduced the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality to help better understand the relationship between language, ethnicity and intergroup relation. A group's vitality defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles *et al.* 1977:308) is useful to predict language maintenance behaviours in groups who might be in the process of language shift (Evans 1996). The higher the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group, the higher is the competence in and habitual use of an ethnic language (Giles *et al.* 1977). Languages' degree of "visible vitality, i.e., interaction networks that actually employ them natively for one or more vital functions", affects group members' attitudes or beliefs about their languages (Fishman 1972b:21). This approach is somewhat similar to group cohesion discussed earlier, but more variables are used to measure vitality than cohesion.

Individuals in general, but immigrants in particular, maintain membership in an ethnic group if the membership gives them satisfaction and pride (Giles *et al.* 1977:319). Three structural categories of variables determine the "objective" vitality (the sociological level of analysis) of an ethnolinguistic group (see Figure 1.1). The interaction between all the variables influences the survival of the group in general and of the ethnic language in

particular. Language status refers to the status of the language spoken by the linguistic group within and without the boundaries of the community's network (public and private domains), while institutional support refers to the formal and informal support a language receives in institutions at the national, regional or community level (Giles *et al.* 1977:319-322). Fishman (1972b) stresses that increased use of a language in a variety of institutions and domains, such as the home, the school system, church, business, media and local government, contributes to the vitality of a speech community.

Figure 1.1: Structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality



Source: Giles *et al.* 1977

However, contrary to the literature on the relationship between objective vitality and language use, Sachdev *et al.* (1988) found that compared to Canadian-born Chinese, foreign-born Chinese had a low perception of group vitality, but used Cantonese more often especially in informal and private settings. "Perception of low vitality may be viewed as threatening and spur efforts to maintain and even increase use of the ingroup language" (Sachdev *et al.* 1988:147).

A subjective component was added to the objective ethnolinguistic vitality measures because the subjective perception may explain the "members' intergroup attitudes, skills and motivations for second language learning, attitudes towards language usage and code-switching[9] strategies" (Bourhis *et al.* 1981), which in turn defines people's choice to promote, maintain or lose their ethnic language and culture.

However, Allard and Landry (1994) argue that objective ethnolinguistic vitality of a community influences the probability that people's linguistic contacts (Individual Networks of Linguistic Contacts), will be in the ethnic language, which the authors consider has a greater impact on ethnic language competence and use. Individual networks of linguistic contacts include a variety of domains grouped as interpersonal contacts (such as family, friends, acquaintances, neighbours) and societal-level institutional support and exposure (such as education and media). The authors treat individual networks of linguistic contacts as a bridge between objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality. Consistent with Allard and Landry (1994), a study of the Cree in Fisher River, Manitoba showed low Cree oral proficiency and use within the group; the low objective vitality of the group restricted the frequency (and nature) of contacts with in-group language speakers (Sachdev 1998).

Hogg and Rigoli (1996:77-80) agree that interpersonal contacts are an accurate portrayal on individual networks of linguistic contacts, but they also represent the group's objective vitality, and it is the objective vitality that plays a more significant role in subjective vitality and dynamics of ethnic language competence and use. The authors explain that societal-level support for and exposure to the ethnic language have a stronger influence on ethnic language competence and use in multiethnolinguistic contexts than do interpersonal contacts. A study on second-generation Italian-

[9]Code-switching is the term used to refer to using two or more languages or dialects in a single speech situation (Eastman 1990).

Australians in Brisbane, where the ethnic group has high objective vitality, shows that use and competence of the Italian language was associated with societal-level language support, especially media, and with ethnolinguistic identification if interpersonal contacts were excluded (Hogg and Rigoli 1996). Surprisingly, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality had no association with language competence and use, as well as identification, which was considered a problematic finding since subjective vitality is usually associated with ethnic identity (e.g. Sachdev 1998). Therefore, the domains in which a language is used influences the retention of the ethnic language.

In sum, the ethnic language of immigrant minority groups has greater chances to survive from one generation to the next if members have ethnic social networks and institutional support for the language, factors that reflect the objective vitality of the group. In addition, the positive perception of one's group may also reflect attitude and behaviour towards the ethnic language. These factors differ by ethnic group and by geographical area.

1.2.5 **Language and marital exogamy**

Intergenerational ethnic language maintenance means that a language survives from one generation to the next as parents pass it on to their children.

DeVries (1977) explains that

> the current linguistic composition of an ethnic group is an outcome of choices made in *earlier* generations concerning the transmission of that group's language. A *continued* resistance to full linguistic assimilation marks an ethnic group whose members still strongly identify with the culture embodied in the language and are more apt to prefer marrying within the ethnic group (Stevens and Swicegood 1987:75).

Gordon (1964) suggests that marrying out of one's ethnic group is the result of structural assimilation and it undermines survival of the ethnic language. Anderson (1979) stresses that out-marriages could profoundly affect the ability and desire to retain an ethnic language, but Reitz (1980) disagrees because he believes children of mixed marriages

may participate in the ethnic group of both or either parent. Such participation depends on the specific characteristics of the ethnic culture distinct to different ethnic groups and the parents' attitude towards the culture. Parents occupy a central role in the life of their children; therefore, their attitudes and behaviour influence the children's acculturation. As such, parents decide what becomes the child's mother tongue.

Research shows that ethnic language retention is higher in families where the language is used in the home (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1980; Clyne 1982; Jedwab 1999; Nauck 2001) and this domain is probably the smallest and the most important 'territorial' unit in which to examine this intergenerational language transmission. The home domain generally represents the first linguistic and cultural environment that a child is exposed to, and it is considered the last place an ethnic language will persist (Fishman 1972b). Giles *et al.* (1977) suggest that the status (economic, social or cultural) of a language, in terms of a group's vitality, determines the linguistic behaviour within the family, and usually the language of higher status will be preferred. But in some cultures, language is more important as a core value. For example, Smolics (1979) explains that the Polish culture is language-centred, whereas the Italian culture is family-centred, therefore language is vital for family unity (Clyne 1982).

Ethnic endogamy allows for the transmission of the ethnic language as well as other important ethnic characteristics. If one marries out of the ethnic group, then the child may be exposed to different parental mother tongues. Which language will prevail? In addition, the partners may be of same ethnic origin, but both might not have the ethnic language as mother tongue. In such cases, which language will be passed on as mother tongue? Such decisions are based on the importance parents (of immigrant and subsequent generations) attribute to language within the home. It is the parents' characteristic, not the child's that largely determines the probability of ethnic language retention (Stevens 1985).

Research shows that rates of ethnic language maintenance are consistently higher in families where both parents are of same ethnic origin (Richmond 1967; Anderson 1979; Castonguay 1979; Reitz 1980; Lieberson 1981; Grenier 1984; Stevens and Swicegood 1987; Harrison 1990; Laponce 1996; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997; Jedwab 1999), but outmarriages had a stronger effect on language shift among second-generation immigrants than in the third generation (Alba *et al.* 2002).

Studies reveal that first-generation immigrants almost consistently have higher endogamous rates and higher mother tongue retention than subsequent generations (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1980; Clyne 1982; Jansen 1988; Ram 1990; Aliaga 1994; Burnley 1999; Roy and Hamilton 2000). South Europeans had higher endogamy rates than other ethnic immigrant groups in Canada (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1974, 1980) as in Australia (Clyne 1982) based on census data of the 1960s. However, the Family Reunification Policy in effect at the time meant that many immigrants married prior to migration.

Beyond the immigrant generation, rates of exogamous and endogamous marriages change and vary according to the size of the ethnic group (Reitz 1980; Stevens and Swicegood 1987; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997). The larger the ethnic group, the greater are the chances that one will find a partner within that group. Larger groups tend to be more residentially concentrated; therefore, if an individual resides in an ethnic neighbourhood, participation within the community may also increase in-marriage possibilities (Ram 1990). In fact, Ram (1990) found that larger ethnic groups, such as the Italian and Portuguese, had higher degrees of inmarriages.

Studies of marriage patterns consistently show that women marry within their ethnic groups more often than men in all generations (Stevens 1985; Stevens and Swicegood 1987; Ram 1990; Laponce 1996; Roy and Hamilton 2000). One explanation for this sex difference is that foreign-born women are less exposed to men of other

cultures (Ram 1990). In fact, Gordon (1964) lists ethnic intermarriage as a separate dimension of assimilation, but others consider it as a form of structural assimilation because it implies social interaction in the primary group sphere (Reitz 1980; Williams and Ortega 1990). Another explanation is that a greater proportion of men came unmarried, whereas foreign-born women almost exclusively entered the country with their husband or were sponsored by them as a result of immigration policies (Fincher *et al.* 1994:167-168).

1.2.6 **Sex versus gender**

When examining intergenerational ethnic language maintenance in endogamous versus exogamous marriages, sex differences were noted in two areas; first, mothers were more likely to transmit their mother tongue to their children than fathers; second, females had higher language retention rates than males in all ethnic groups.

While several studies have pointed to sex differences in intra-generational language acquisition few studies have used sex as the focus of enquiry, especially of inter-generational language transfer. Earlier studies of linguistic assimilation or integration of immigrant minority groups showed that more females had no knowledge of the host country's language and were generally less linguistically acculturated than their male counterparts (Richmond 1967; Lieberson 1970; Reitz 1974). This difference was explained by women's generally low education level, their employment in mainly "ethnic" environments, or the fact that they reside in an ethnic neighbourhood. But Labov (1972) suggests that women exhibit a different linguistic behaviour than men. A number of sociolinguistic studies summarized by Labov (1991) consistently present women as the source of linguistic change in the community (Meyerhoff 1996). The 'sex differentiation' was supported in several studies, as it was the focus of research in the seventies (Danziger 1974; Solé 1978; Nichols 1978; Redlinger 1978).

Later studies also support such findings (Lieberson 1981; Clyne 1982; Grenier 1984; Stevens 1986; Harrison 1990; Portes and Schauffler 1994; Espenshade and Fu 1997; Clyne and Kipp 1997; Savoie 1997; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997; Portes and Hao 1998; Jedwab 1999). Portes and Schauffler (1994) interpret the sex difference among 15 year old second-generation immigrants from Latin America, Haiti and West Indies living in South Florida (Miami) as reflecting the tendency of daughters to spend more time at home and hence be more exposed to parental influence. However, Solé (1978) in her study of second- and third-generation Mexican-American university students found that females claimed using English more often than males in a variety of settings and she explains it as girls searching to integrate more than males. In addition, girls and boys perceive Spanish differently. Girls see it as a means for effective communication, and hence, it is void of ethnic value, whereas boys view the language as a representation of the ethnic culture and has attachment value. Girls demonstrate greater ability to adapt, and their acceptance is perceived as a rebellion towards the ethnic culture of male dominance (Solé 1978).

Of the researchers who have directed their attention to sex differences in ethnic language use, maintenance and shift, studies show that differences exist by ethnic group and by generation (Patella and Kuvlesky 1973; Veltman 1981; Stevens 1986; Boyd 1990; Harrison 1990; Evans 1996; Gal 1997; Chiswick and Miller 2001). In Australia, Greeks and Italians had the smallest difference between males and females, suggesting that both sexes may have lower proficiency in an official language and high rates of endogamy. Correspondingly, ethnic language retention was higher in families where the father is Italian or where the mother is Greek, but the highest rate is within families where the father's language is Italian or Greek, regardless of the language of the other parent (Clyne 1982). Similarly, a Canadian study comparing the mother tongue of mothers to that of their children shows that foreign-born women have higher

transmission rates than the native-born and the transmission rate was highest in Montreal among the Greek mothers (Harrison 1990). Therefore, the ethnicity of each parent influences the degree of ethnic language retention within the family.

A recent cross-cultural study on the transmission of culture, with ethnic language use at home as a variable, used data from generation dyads (father-son and mother-daughter) from different families (Nauck 2001). Results support sex differences in language retention where mother-daughter dyads have higher rates among the various groups examined (Italians, Greeks, Turks and Russians). However, higher retention of the ethnic language among girls was not necessarily associated with a higher degree of linguistic competence in that language. In fact, Turkish girls reported using the language more often than boys, yet more boys reported speaking Turkish 'very good'. Therefore, we may assume that looking at 'sex' alone does not explain higher ethnic language maintenance, and more importantly ethnic language use.

Feminists argue that 'gender' is more important than 'sex' in the study of language as the former recognizes the social construct that affects women. As Talbot (1998) explains, "Sex is biologically founded, [whereas] gender [...] is socially constructed; it is learned. People acquire characteristics which are perceived as masculine and feminine" (7). Therefore, gender becomes one of the many identities that speakers possess (along with personal and social) (Meyerhoff 1996), and to which we must add *ethnic* identity for immigrant women. In addition, recent research shows that cultural and gender differences exist in parent-child relationships and impact on identity formation (Perosa, Perosa and Tam 2002). Furthermore, women have traditionally held childrearing and nurturing roles, and research shows that the patriarchal family structure within certain cultures (such as Greek, Italian and Turkish) generates higher ethnic language maintenance rates (Clyne 1982; Clyne and Kipp 1997; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997; Nauck 2001). Consequently, gender becomes salient in the study of

linguistic behaviour in ethnic language maintenance especially when the ethnic culture defines the family structure and the 'gender roles' in the home and in society.

Other factors also influence gender differences. For example, Swidinsky and Swidinsky (1997) note that families where the mother never worked had higher retention rates, as did families with lower education levels. In addition, women exhibit lower proficiency in the host language, which they believe to be the result of residential concentration (Burnley 1999) while others associate it to the ethnic work environment (Harrison 1990; Espenshade and Fu 1997; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997).

CONCLUSION

Interest in the linguistic adaptation of immigrants has increased substantially and became much more nuanced since the 1960s. Assimilation was initially the expected and desired outcome for immigrant minority groups, but increasingly multiculturalism, both as a policy and as a research concept, recognizes the continued maintenance of the ethnic culture and language. The literature suggests a number of interconnected factors that affect the survival of the ethnic language and of particular importance are the domains in which a language is used and the degree of use within them. The home has been defined as the last domain where the ethnic language is transmitted and parents are the prime actors in this domain; consequently, marrying in or out of the ethnic group directly affects the survival of the ethnic languages for the next generation, and this survival varies by ethnic group.

Assimilation of immigrants is suggested to occur within three generations. Residential concentration increases the vitality of an ethnic group as it permits the development of ethnic institutions that support the ethnic language, as does exposure to and contact with an ethnic social network. But the degree of maintenance in future generations is also largely defined by the degree of assimilation by the first generation

and how that affects their children and grandchildren. The probability that an ethnic language will be passed on is largely dependant on the immigrant generation's efforts to maintain the culture and develop social and institutional support that will make the language socially, culturally and economically attractive to subsequent generations. But it is also dependant on the degree of linguistic assimilation it has achieved.

Gordon's assimilation model can be used to evaluate the degree of linguistic assimilation as well as cultural assimilation even when total assimilation is not assumed. The stages or processes reflect different dimensions at the individual level within the larger society. The domains and institutions involved within each stage include a number of factors that interact with those in other stages at different time periods in an individual's life, or the ethnic immigrant group's time since migration. These factors also operate in different intensity. Census data on language use and ethnic origin is used to identify the degree and extent of ethnic language use and help trace intergenerational language maintenance or transfer, but these represent changes at the 'macro' level of inquiry.

The literature stresses the importance of the home domain as the last place where the ethnic language can survive since it is where children are first socialized into the ethnic culture. Culture defines the degree at which language is a cultural identity marker, but it also outlines the mechanisms at work within the family that convey cultural values while maintaining family and group unity. However, factors at work in the home interact with those in other domains and it is the forces at this 'micro' level that are of particular importance. Females have been recognized to have higher ethnic language maintenance rates than males; yet, they have not been studied, especially in terms of intergenerational language transmission despite recognition of the *mother* tongue and the home environment, where the mother's (and grandmother's) role is obviously so central.

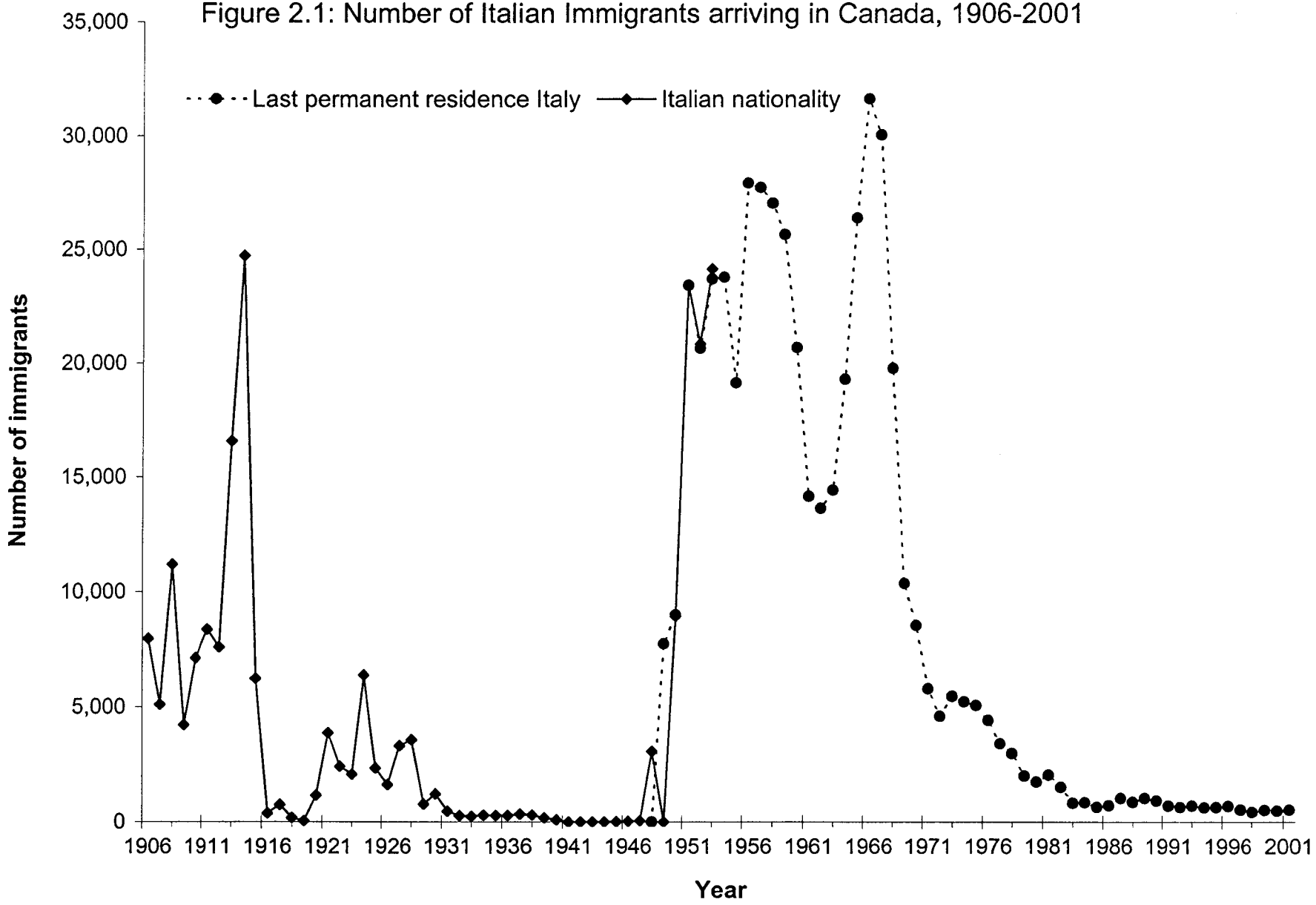
CHAPTER 2

ITALIAN MIGRATION TO CANADA AND LINGUISTIC ASSIMILATION

INTRODUCTION

Immigration has played an important part in Canada's development. Since Confederation there has been two major 'waves' of immigration: a first wave from 1901 to 1914 and a second one from 1951 to 1971 (see Figure 2.1). Both were sparked by a need for unskilled labour during periods of major economic development at the start of the twentieth century and after World War II. But the receptivity of the host society during each period was largely determined by the policies in place and by world events such as the wars. These policies dictate the degree of openness towards the minority groups, which in turn can hinder or encourage the retention of ethnic characteristics, one being the immigrants' mother tongue. The pre- and post-WW II Italian immigrants shared some similar adaptation experiences, but they also exhibit different linguistic assimilation levels. The first section of this chapter will present the immigration history and settlement pattern of Italian immigrants to Canada, especially from the post WW II period, with reference to the main factors mentioned in the literature as affecting ethnic language maintenance. Section 2 will describe the census variables available to measure the linguistic assimilation of immigrant groups. In the third section, based on census data available, these same variables will be used to analyze the survival rate of the ethnic language of the Italian immigrant group.

Figure 2.1: Number of Italian Immigrants arriving in Canada, 1906-2001



Source: Canada Year Books

2.1 IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

Italians represented a small share of the first migration wave, but a much larger share of the second. Between 1951 and 1971, 441,752 Italians came to Canada accounting for approximately 15 percent of all immigrants, second only to the United Kingdom which contributed 33 percent of immigrants (see Table 2.1) (Jansen 1988; Ramirez 1989a). By 1971, Italians had become the second largest minority ethnic immigrant group in the country (Germans were first), and 85 percent of Italian immigrants settled in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario together, particularly in urban areas. The residential location of initial settlers set the stage for this urban concentration, but discrimination and chain migration reinforced this trend.

Table 2.1: Italian Immigration to Canada, 1901-1980

Years	*Number*	*% of total immigration*
1901-1910	58,104	3.5
1911-1920	62,663	3.7
1921-1930	26,183	2.1
1931-1940	3,898	2.4
1941-1950	20,682	4.2
1951-1960	250,812	15.9
1961-1970	190,760	13.5
1971-1980	36,777	3.1
TOTAL	649,879	

Source: Ramirez 1989a; Painchaud and Poulin 1988.

2.1.1 **Urban concentration**

At the end of the nineteenth century, there were small clusters of Italians in Montreal, Toronto and the Okanagan Valley. According to the 1901 census, 65 percent of Italians were concentrated in urban areas. By 1921 it had increased to 79 percent, with Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver the main locations of Italian communities (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Population of Italian Ethnic Origin by Location

Year	Canada		Ontario		Quebec		Toronto			Montreal		
		% Urban	N	% All Italians	N	% All Italians	N	% All Italians	% of Ontario	N	% All Italians	% of Quebec
1901	10,834	65.4	5,233	48.3	2,805	25.9	1,101	10.2	21.0	1,398	12.9	49.8
1911	45,411	69.5	21,440	46.6	9,608	20.9	4,617	10.2	21.5	7,013	15.4	73.0
1921	66,769	79.3	33,355	50.0	16,141	24.2	8,217	12.3	24.6	13,992	21.0	86.3
1931	98,173	81.5	50,536	51.5	24,845	25.3	13,015	13.3	25.8	20,871	21.3	84.0
1941	112,625	80.9	60,085	53.3	28,051	24.9	14,171	12.6	23.6	25,432	22.6	90.7
1951	152,245	88.1	87,622	57.6	34,165	22.4	27,962	18.4	31.9	30,577	20.1	89.5
1961	450,351	94.7	273,864	60.8	108,552	24.1	140,378	31.2	51.3	101,466	22.5	93.5
1971	730,820	96.6	463,095	63.4	169,655	23.2	271,755	37.2	58.7	160,605	22.0	94.7
1981	747,970	94.9	487,310	65.2	163,735	21.9	297,210	39.7	61.0	156,545	20.9	95.6
1986	709,590	n.a.	461,380	65.0	163,880	23.1	292,215	41.2	63.3	157,275	22.2	96.0
1991	750,056	93.9	486,765	64.9	174,530	23.3	311,215	41.5	63.9	165,740	22.1	95.0
1996	729,455	n.a.	482,830	66.2	165,675	22.7	309,350	42.4	64.1	133,325	18.3	80.5
2001	728,275	n.a.	481,740	66.1	161,830	22.2	309,345	42.5	64.2	154,055	21.2	95.2

Source: Censuses of Canada

During the second migration wave, the preference of Italians for urban places intensified so that by 1971 almost 97 percent were living in cities. Since then there has been a slight decline, but this strong urban bias has persisted.

Ontario and Quebec attracted the majority of the Italian immigrants (80-85 percent), but within these two provinces the distribution varied. Ontario always had a larger population of Italians than Quebec: one half to two thirds compared with a little less than one quarter in Quebec. But in Ontario Italians were not limited to Toronto; they settled in Hamilton, Windsor and other small towns. On the other hand, Italians in Quebec were primarily concentrated in Montreal; in 1941, ninety percent of this province's population of Italian ethnic origin resided in Montreal, increasing to 95 percent by 2001 (see Table 2.2).

Until the 1950s Montreal had a larger Italian community than Toronto, but the post-WW II immigrants favoured Toronto. By 1961, Toronto surpassed Montreal both in actual numbers and in the percentage of the total population who were Italian; individuals of Italian ethnic origin accounted for five percent of Montreal's population compared to eight percent for Toronto. Since 1981, Toronto has contained forty percent or more of all Italians in Canada compared to a little over twenty percent in Montreal. While this city's Italian population stabilized at six percent of the total population, Toronto's rose to ten percent of its entire population (single and multiple ethnic origins combined). Immigration declined to a trickle since the mid 1970s. Asians have dominated during the most recent wave of immigration in the 1990s (Statistics Canada 2003a).

The concentration of Italians encouraged the development of ethnic institutions and associations that provided services in Italian. The first Italian newspaper appeared in Montreal in 1895 and by 1916, there were four Italian newspapers in Montreal and one in Vancouver (Jansen 1988). According to Painchaud and Poulin (1988), the church

played an important supporting role for the immigrants and a key cultural institution for Italians. The first Italian parish opened in 1905 in Montreal and 1908 in Toronto (Boissevain 1970; Jansen 1988).

2.1.2 **Chain migration**

Several writers on the Italian immigration to Canada and elsewhere[10] have characterized it as classically a 'chain migration', in which early immigrants provide information and support for a subsequent flow of immigrants to the same location (Painchaud and Poulin 1988; Ramirez 1989a). Chain migration is activated by and relies on primary social relationships with initial migrants. Family, which often includes co-villagers (*paesani*), played an essential role in the Italian chain migration providing information to potential immigrants, and facilitating the adaptation and hence residential location of the immigrants. Upon arrival, the newcomers relied on settled relatives and friends who acted as hosts and helped them search for jobs and housing. This support developed from a simple social network to a more balanced and cohesive community life as newcomers established roots in the ethnic neighbourhood. In many cases they reproduced the social environment of their homeland, producing not only "Little Italy", but also "Little Sicily" or even "Little Campobasso". In the post-war period, reliance on the close-knit community was particularly important for employed women who depended on female relatives, fellow villagers living nearby, or Italian neighbours to look after their children (Painchaud and Poulin 1988; Jansen 1988).

Italian immigrants were typically peasants from southern regions with low education levels. The first migration wave consisted mainly of single men employed in seasonal work in railroad and canal construction. Montreal- and Toronto-based labour

[10] Franc Sturino (1989) discusses how the "chain migration" effect was noticed in post-WW II South European immigrants in Australia, and explains the social and informal forces involved in Italian migration.

agents (*padroni*) directly recruited these Italian workers in US cities and directly from Italy. During the winter months, when such work had to stop, some of these workers moved to the city for jobs and lodging, while others traveled back to Italy for the winter. Ramirez (1989b) has termed this type of 'immigrant' more accurately a 'sojourner'.

Some of those who returned to Italy came back and settled in Canada with their wives and children; some opened boarding houses, which the women ran for Italian workers in transit, others became involved in trade and services (Spada1969:91). Those who returned before WW I created an information network in Italy and immigration gradually replaced sojourning as family members, relatives and fellow villagers joined the early immigrants in Canada (Ramirez 1989a).

The chain migration was repeated after WW II, reinforced by the 1952 changes in the Immigration Act, which favoured family reunification through sponsorship. Married couples and families, primarily from southern rural areas, made up most of this migration flow, which became much larger as a result of Italy's post-war economic recession. In some cases, entire villages moved to Canada (Painchaud and Poulin 1988). The Italian immigrants were employed in low-skilled jobs, but many took advantage of the post-war economic prosperity. In Montreal, the availability of a large number of Italian workers gave rise to an "ethnic economy" (Linteau 1988:190); businesses that allowed Italian immigrants to work in an Italian linguistic and social environment burgeoned in Metropolitan Montreal. These businesses focused in trade, services and construction. Italian immigrant women who entered the workforce were largely employed in the clothing industry where bosses and co-workers were mostly Italian (Painchaud and Poulin 1988).

The residential concentration of Italian immigrants within Montreal strongly reflects this chain migration, in which neighbourhoods were formed based on the region of origin. Boissevain (1970) found that Sicilians were concentrated in Saint-Michel and

Campobassani in Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. However, in a later study, Painchaud and Poulin (1988) noted that Saint-Michel had immigrants from Calabria, Campania and Molise, while Notre-Dame-de-Grâce now had a concentration of immigrants from the Marches, and Italians in Saint-Léonard were mostly from Molise.

Chain migration, therefore, was an important factor in the settlement pattern of Italian immigrants in Canada. Combined with concentration in cities in general and in neighbourhoods in particular, the strong family and community ties created tight social networks. Lieberson (1981) emphasizes that residential concentration favours ethnic language maintenance because immigrants are not pressed to use a language other than their mother tongue due to the social and institutional ethnic network available. In addition, a large influx of new immigrants in the ethnic neighbourhood revives the sense of identity of the established immigrant communities, and incites use of the ethnic language when the newcomers have little or no knowledge of the host society's official language(s). Lieberson also believes that unemployed immigrant women in particular have less exposure to the host language and thus have fewer opportunities to become linguistically integrated.

Breton (1964) stresses that institutional completeness within an ethnic neighbourhood contributes to intergenerational ethnic language maintenance because of the continuous contact that takes place even after one moves from the ethnic neighbourhood. In the pre-WW II era, Montreal's large population of Italian origin encouraged the development of a complete institutional network and hence the retention of the Italian language. The larger post-war flow of immigrants into Toronto should be more conducive to maintaining Italian in that city. However, although the Italian immigrants in Montreal have been highly concentrated, they have not been segregated from other ethnic groups, and unlike other immigrant groups, Italians shared

neighbourhoods primarily with French-Canadian Francophones (Painchaud and Poulin 1988).

2.1.3 **Imbalanced sex ratio**

The imbalanced sex ratio of Canada's Italian population during the inter-war period reflects the predominantly male composition of the first immigrants (see Table 2.3). The Italian community was quite well established by 1911 but there were three times as many males than females who claimed Italian ethnic origin. In Quebec, the ratio of males to females was lower (a little over two males for every female) due to the longer history of immigration and the presence of second-generation females in that province, compared to Ontario.

Table 2.3: Population of Italian Ethnic Origin by Sex

	Canada		*Ontario*		*Quebec*	
Year	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
1911	34,651	10,760	16,274	4,991	6,574	3,002
1921	39,772	27,047	19,841	13,514	9,015	7,126
1931	55,141	43,032	28,069	22,467	13,694	11,151
1941	61,669	50,956	32,604	27,481	15,308	12,743
1951	84,914	67,331	48,865	38,757	19,304	14,861
1961	240,905	209,446	145,412	128,452	58,288	50,264
1971	383,955	346,865	243,135	219,960	88,900	80,755
1981[1]	389,995	357,975	252,700	234,610	86,025	77,710
1981[2]	61,845	61,890	36,685	36,445	5,275	5,270
1986[1]	369,330	340,260	239,235	222,145	85,535	78,345
1986[2]	149,370	147,960	84,225	83,735	17,220	17,415
1991[1]	388,805	361,250	251,170	235,595	90,515	84,015
1991[2]	196,865	200,855	106,710	107,965	25,245	26,880
2001[1]	371,515	354,760	245,615	236,125	82,500	79,330
2001[2]	269,030	275,060	148,335	151,270	42,780	44,600

[1]Single responses, [2]Multiple responses to ethnic origin
Source: Censuses of Canada

For single male Italian immigrants looking for marriage partners of the same ethnic origin, the possibility of marrying an Italian was limited. The Italian communities in Montreal and other cities attracted a large number of these men because living within the Italian community and entering the social network heightened the possibility of

meeting Italian brides. Many married Canadian-born young women of Italian parents, contributing to the growth of the urban community, especially in Montreal, where there were more second-generation females (Ramirez 1989b:125). They also added to the chain migration by having female relatives join them in Canada.

Besides attracting single men to the urban areas, the lack of female marriage partners of Italian origin in the pre-WW II period was also conducive to intermarriage (that is marriage across ethnic communities). The greater sex imbalance in Ontario (Toronto) relative to Quebec (Montreal) should have resulted in higher intermarriage rates in Ontario and consequently a higher level of linguistic assimilation by mid-twentieth century because, as Alba (1990) argues, ethnic and linguistic intermarriage reduces the opportunity to transmit the ethnic language(s). Similarly, females should show greater ethnic language maintenance than males since the sex ratio favoured intramarriage for them (which is marrying within one's ethnic group).

2.1.4 **Discrimination**

Italians, as other South Europeans, experienced more systemic discrimination than immigrants from North European countries because they were perceived as very different and disinclined to abandon their ethnic culture and assimilate to the language and customs of the Anglo majority in Canada (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1974; Thompson 1991:3-4). This appears to have resulted in a certain amount of discrimination, which was greater in rural and more remote areas where there was no recourse or legal protection from such behaviour. This further encouraged many Italians to move to urban areas, where the larger community and the legal system offered them asylum. This movement added to the already high urban concentration of this group, thereby increasing its visibility. The political stance of Italy during both World Wars enhanced the distrust by the Anglo-Canadians towards immigrants, especially those who were not yet citizens, labelling them "enemy aliens" (Ramirez 1989a; Thompson 1991).

During WW I, Italians were not the prime target of discrimination compared to Ukrainians and Germans, but they did experience some. The rise of Fascism in Italy prior to WW II, however, made Italian immigrants a less desired group and immigration from that country dropped. But the Italian government was keen to maintain a tight connection with immigrants abroad in order to secure their loyalty to their mother country. As a result, Montreal's Italian community created many national-political associations, which enhanced the community's cohesiveness, but also led to division as the anti-Fascist movement began to emerge. When WW II started, failure to differentiate between ethnic nationalism and political support for fascism led to the internment of many Italian leaders and to prejudicial treatment of the group (Ramirez 1989a; Thompson 1991). 'Being Italian' suddenly became a threat as members of this group were labelled once again 'enemy aliens'. By the end of WW II, the combined effect of the Great Depression and anti-Fascist prejudice towards Italians undermined the vitality of the Italian community, particularly in Montreal (Painchaud and Poulin 1988).

Giles *et al.* (1977) have argued that an individual's sense of belonging to a group is inhibited when prejudicial and discriminatory behaviour is experienced as a result of that identity and membership. To avoid such treatment, members of ethnic immigrant groups avoid public use of, or even totally abandon, the ethnic language in order to 'fit in' with the host society. For some groups, language is the most distinct characteristic of their ethnic identity; abandoning it often seriously undermines the group's cultural vitality. The discrimination experienced by the Italian community in Canada during the inter-war period should have encouraged linguistic assimilation, especially in Montreal, where they were in greater number, more visible and highly cohesive. But when immigration from Italy resumed after WW II, the large flow of new immigrants seeking support and leadership among the already established pre-war fellow Italian immigrants revived the Italian community, thus enhancing the importance of Italian language and culture.

The intense migration from Italy of the 50s and 60s, however, has subsided considerably. Consequently, the lack of new immigrants since the 1970s means no revitalization within the Italian community. Therefore, survival of the ethnic language depends solely on the efforts of Italian-speaking parents and older members of the ethnic community to ensure that the children learn Italian, but most importantly continue to speak the language.

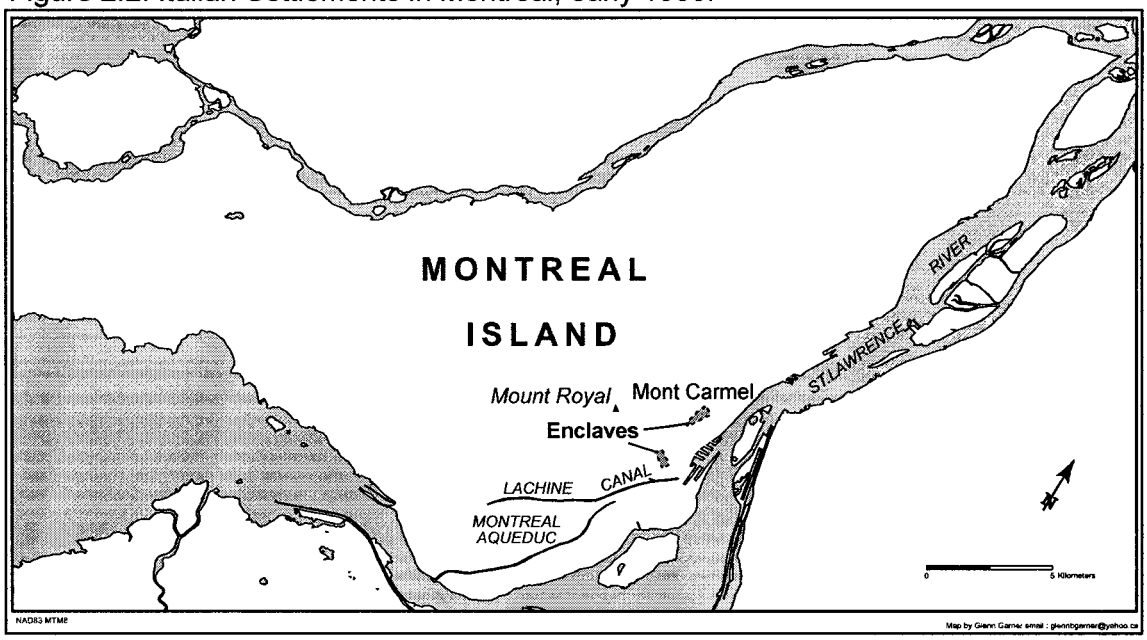
2.1.5 **Montreal**

> In the history of Italian immigration to Canada, the city of Montreal occupies a very significant place. Because of its role as a leading North American commercial center and its integration within the major railroad, fluvial, and oceanic transportation networks, it was a necessary gateway for all those immigrants willing to exploit the work opportunities that Canada provided, and an important point of arrival for those who sought in the city itself the monetary rewards they were after (Ramirez and Del Balso 1980:1).

As Italian immigrants flowed into Montreal, they settled in specific areas. At the turn of the twentieth century, two Italian ethnic enclaves emerged in the southern part of Montreal: one near Bonaventure Station between Notre-Dame and Dorchester (René-Lévèsque), the other in the Mont Carmel area, between La Gauchetière and Ontario Streets, west of Amherst and east of St-Lawrence (see Figure 2.2) (Spada 1969; Boissevain 1970). Mont Carmel was already a well-established Italian community. As new immigrants arrived in Montreal after WW I, many settled in the more northern Mile End. By WW II, several other smaller concentrations of Italians could be found in Ville Émard, Hochelaga and Montcalm as well as in the town of Lachine, St-Joseph and St-Henri areas, and Goose Village (southern part of Montreal) (Boissevain 1970) (see Figure 2.3).

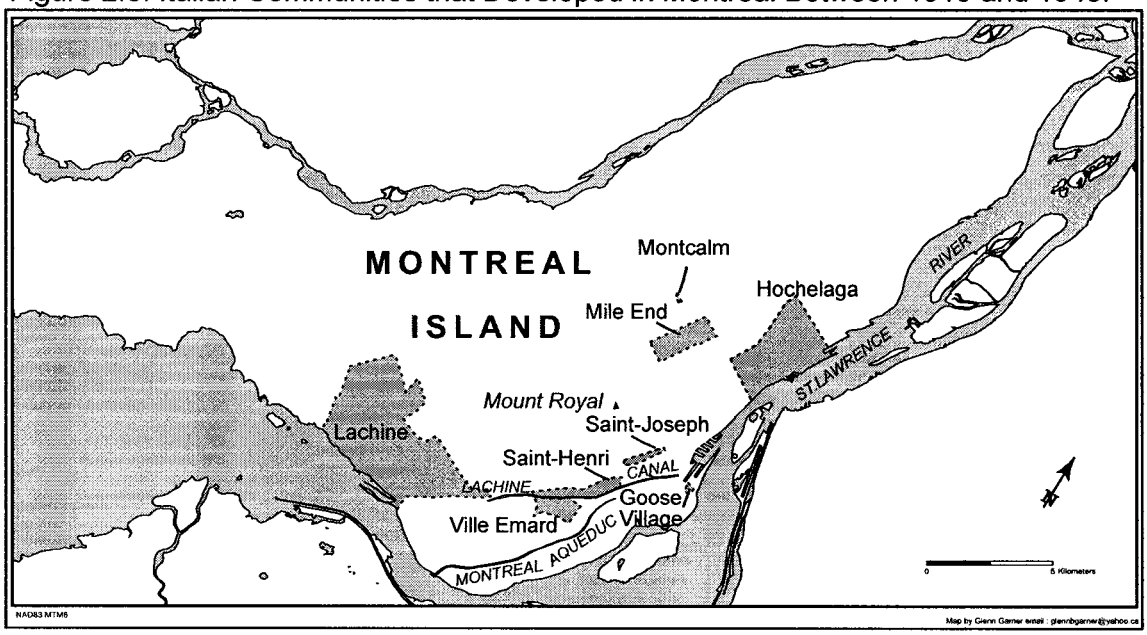
Major Concentrations of Italians in Montreal, prior to 1945

Figure 2.2: Italian Settlements in Montreal, early 1900.



Source: Ramirez and Del Balso, 1980.

Figure 2.3: Italian Communities that Developed in Montreal Between 1915 and 1945.



Source: Ramirez and Del Balso, 1980.

While a number of Italian ethnic neighbourhoods developed, they were all concentrated on the Island of Montreal, which encouraged the development of ethnic institutions. In the case of Italians, the church was central to their cultural identity and therefore several Italian parishes were created in order to satisfy the needs of the growing Italian population (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Italian Churches in Montreal

Name	*Year opened*	*Area*
Madonna Del Carmine[1]	1905	Mont Carmel
Madonna della Difesa	1910	Mile End
San Giovanni Bosco	1949	Ville Émard
Madonna Della Consolata	1953	Montcalm
Madonna di Pompei	1961	Montreal-North

[1] In 1965, the parish was moved to the city of Saint-Léonard.
Sources: Spada 1969; Boissevain 1970.

With an ethnic institutional network already in place, the post-WW II Italian immigrants to Montreal established themselves essentially in pre-war Italian ethnic neighbourhoods (Boissevain 1970). By 1961, 18 percent of the population of Italian ethnic origin resided in Mile End, which had become Montreal's "Little Italy". However, this gradual movement northward initiated by Italians during the inter-war period continued. Italians moved into new residential suburbs of Saint-Michel, Montreal-North and Saint-Léonard, as they developed.

Between 1961 and 1971, the population of Italian ethnic origin in Saint-Michel increased from 8,599 to 30,847, representing twenty percent of Montreal's total population of Italian origin. However, the greatest change in concentration occurred in Montreal-North and even more so in Saint-Léonard. These cities experienced a phenomenal increase in the percentage of Italians relative to the total population, even though they gained a smaller number than Saint-Michel. In fact, by 1971, Italians accounted for 11.2 percent of the population in Montreal-North and 19.8 percent in Saint-Léonard, the highest in Montreal (see Figure 2.4) (Statistics Canada 1974a).

Concentration in these areas persisted throughout the second half of the twentieth century as the numbers increased, although there has also been some movement westward of Montreal into Kirkland and more recently northward into Laval.

The 2001 Census shows that the highest concentration of Italians remains in Saint-Léonard where they constitute almost forty percent of the population (single and multiple responses to ethnic origin), followed by Kirkland (19.2 percent) and Montreal-North (15.5 percent) (see Table 2.5). But Saint-Léonard has the highest proportion of single origin responses (35.7 percent compared to 11.8 for Kirkland) (see Figure 2.5) presumably reflecting a much higher percentage of intramarriages since this city has a higher percentage of foreign-born Italians (18 percent). On the other hand, of all the municipalities of Metropolitan Montreal, Kirkland has the highest proportion of Italians with multiple responses for ethnic origin (7.5 percent compared to 4.0 percent for Saint-Léonard), which may reflect a higher proportion of intermarriages. Therefore, although the Italian population is concentrated in Metropolitan Montreal, its distribution varies greatly at the local scale, but Saint-Léonard surpasses all municipalities in its concentration of Italians (single and multiple responses to ethnic origin).

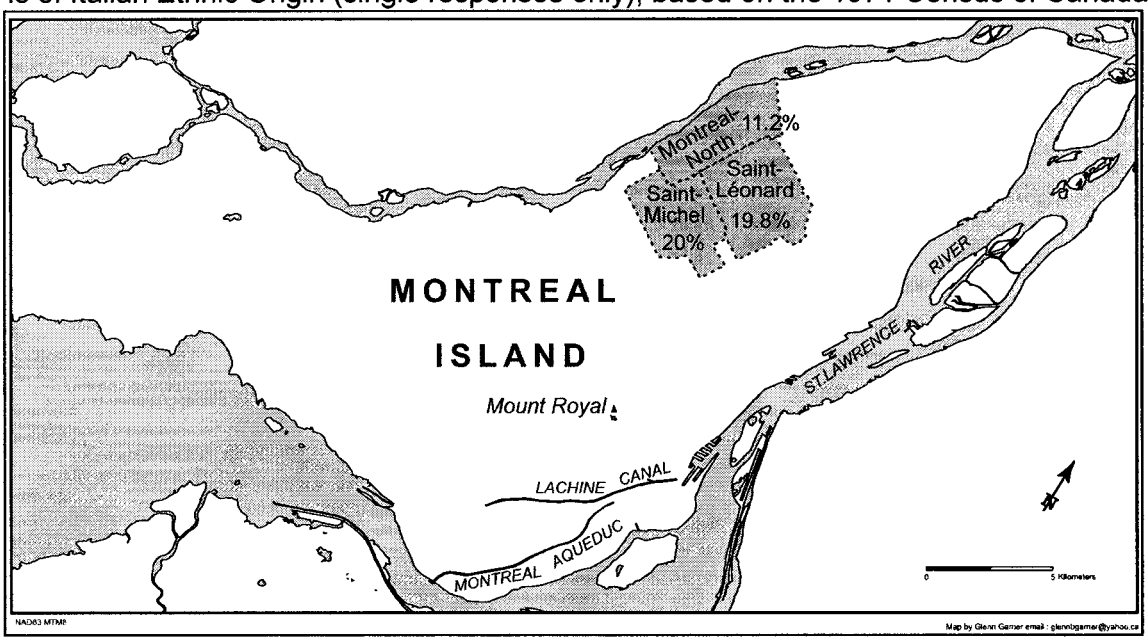
Table 2.5: Montreal Municipalities with Greatest Concentration of Italians, 2001 (Percentages out of total population in each municipality)

Municipality	*Ethnic origin - responses*			*Foreign-born*
	Total	*Single*	*Multiple*	
Saint-Léonard	39.7	35.7	4.0	18.0
Kirkland	19.2	11.8	7.5	3.0
Montreal-North	15.5	13.2	2.3	6.8
LaSalle	14.0	10.9	3.2	4.8

Source: Statistics Canada 2003a

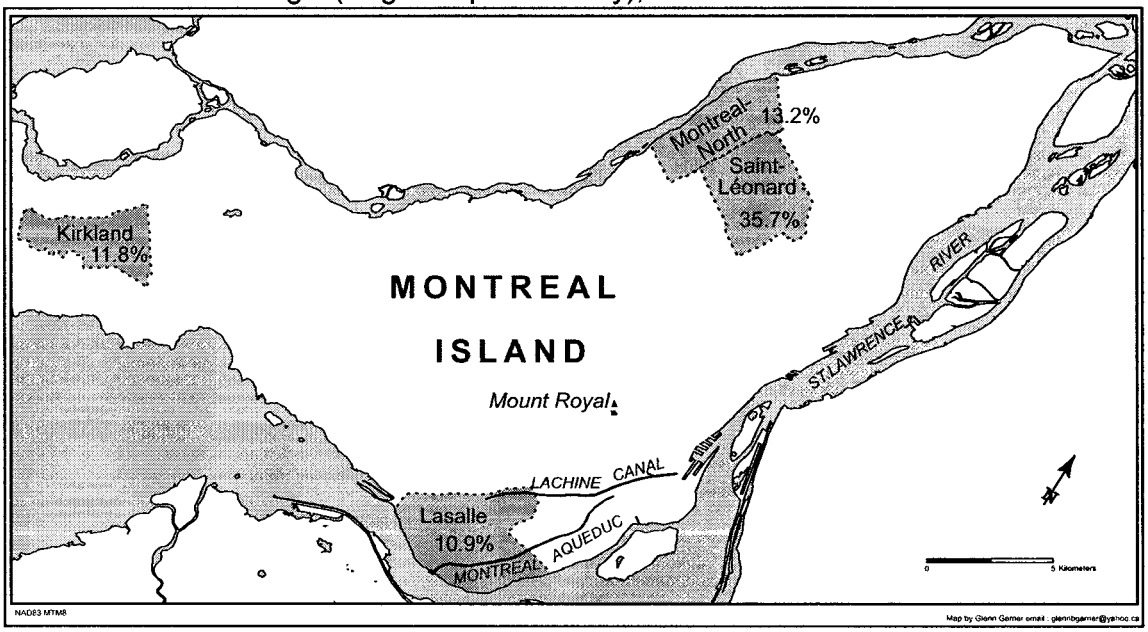
Major Concentrations of Italians in Montreal, 1971 and 2001

Figure 2.4: Municipalities in Montreal where more than 10 Percent of the Population is of Italian Ethnic Origin (single responses only), based on the 1971 Census of Canada.



Source: Statistics Canada 1974a.

Figure 2.5: Municipalities in Montreal where more than 10 Percent of the Population is of Italian Ethnic Origin (single responses only), based on the 2001 Census of Canada.



Source: Statistics Canada 2003a.

The Italian immigrants in Canada constitute a very large group and have always been concentrated in urban areas. Chain migration was the driving factor in this concentration, which also allowed the development of ethnic neighbourhoods with complete institutional networks. Within the initial enclaves, kinship played a significant role in the adaptation process. The dominance of males in the migration flow during the early decades of the 20th century also contributed to the urban concentration, as single men sought Italian wives in the urban ethnic communities, but the imbalanced sex ratio also caused many to marry non-Italians. Discrimination towards Italians was also a cause and a consequence of their tendency to move to urban areas for refuge, but residential concentration did little to protect them from the reaction of Canadian's towards Italians as a result of Italy's political stance during the wars. Perceived as non-assimilative, the group's cohesion, partially a response to discrimination, only served to reinforce that image.

The literature associates residential concentration with ethnic language maintenance, while discrimination generally leads to assimilation. Marrying out of one's ethnic group also tends to favour linguistic assimilation, as does the dramatic fall in new immigrants from Italy. In the remainder of this chapter, we will see how intergenerational language shift can be calculated using census data, and we will present the linguistic assimilation trend of the Italian ethnic group.

2.2 LANGUAGE RETENTION AND TRANSFER

The Canadian census collects data that allows us to measure, in some detail, the intergenerational retention of ethnic languages as well as immigrants' linguistic integration or assimilation in the host society. Four variables are pertinent: *ethnic origin*, *mother tongue*, *home language* and *knowledge of Canada's official languages*. The definition of some of these variables has changed over the years as the ethnic diversity

of Canada's population increased, and new variables such as home language have emerged. The last is particularly useful in enabling us to measure the integration of the various immigrant ethnic groups as well as the survival of their language in a bilingual, yet multicultural country.

2.2.1 **Ethnic origin**

Information on individuals' *ethnic origin* has been collected in the census since 1871. However, its definition in the census question has changed through the years, thus complicating the comparability of data from one census to another. In addition, several factors add to the complexity of reporting ethnic origin, such as respondents' interpretation of ethnicity, knowledge of ancestral background, the number of years since migration, as well as increasing intermarriage, since these may affect an individual's feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group (Statistics Canada 2002a).

The first censuses collected data on people's origin by asking one's 'race' (in the biological sense) through the paternal line. Children of ethnically mixed marriages were reported under the father's origin if the parents were of European descent[11] (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1924a – 1921 Census of Canada). In 1931, "racial origin" of people was no longer limited to the biological meaning of race but included a cultural and geographical designation. In 1951, the 'racial' concept was eliminated from the question on origin and was phrased "to what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent" (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1952a – 1951 Census of Canada). Language spoken at time of migration was used as an aid to determine the respondent's ethnic group. The question remained the same for 1961 and 1971, but respondents could report more than one origin even though only one was retained in census data (Statistics Canada 2002a).

Since 1981, ethnic origin is no longer limited to paternal ancestry. In addition, write-in spaces were provided so respondents could enter more than one origin, but instructions requiring them to do so were added only in 1986 where three origins other than those already mentioned could be written. In 1991, there were 15 mark-in categories and two write-in spaces, whereas 1996 and 2001 censuses only had four write-in spaces and no mark-in categories. These changes were made to capture the increasing ethnic diversity in Canada as a result of the different immigrant source countries since the 1990s and the increasing number of intermarriages. The data collected on 'multiple responses to ethnic origin' are categorized separately from the 'single responses' in the census and in many ways reflect intermarriage, but they can also reflect a greater number of individuals reporting 'Canadian' along with other origins. In fact, in 1991, only three percent of individuals, mostly of English or French origins, reported 'Canadian' as sole origin and one percent in multiple responses. However, a considerable increase was noted in the 1996 and 2001 censuses where 'Canadian' was listed as an ethnic origin (31 percent and 39 percent for single responses, respectively) (Statistics Canada 2002a).

2.2.2 **Mother tongue**

The definition of *mother tongue* has also experienced some changes in the Canadian census. First asked in 1901, it was defined as "one's native language, the language of his race; but not necessarily the language in which he thinks, or which he speaks most fluently, or uses chiefly in conversation. Whatever it may be, whether English, French, Irish [...] or any other, it should be entered [...] if the person speaks the language, but not otherwise" (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1902, 1901 Census of

[11] Otherwise they were reported under the group of non-European descent (Blacks, Chinese, etc.), while Indian tribes were traced through the mother (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1924a – 1921 Census of Canada).

Canada, p.xx). In 1921, it was simply "the language of customary speech employed by the person" (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1924a, 1921 Census of Canada, p.xviii).

The home concept was added in the phrasing in 1931 and mother tongue was then defined "the language commonly spoken in the home" (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1934, 1931 Census of Canada, p.35). As in 1921, the mother tongue was indicative of the ethnic origin. However, in 1941, mother tongue was defined as "the first language learned in childhood and still understood" (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1944e, 1941 Census of Canada, p.xxiv); thus replacing the ability to 'speak' the language by the ability to 'understand' it. Since 1971, the definition of mother tongue is "the language first learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the census" (Statistics Canada 2002b). Emphasis is on the context in which the language is learned, thus reinforcing the importance of the home in ethnic language learning and survival. Since 1986, respondents are instructed to enter the second language learned if the first is no longer understood (Statistics Canada 2002b). Unfortunately, this fails to record if the language loss is intra- or intergenerational.

Since 1991, the mother tongue question has remained the same, but the number of possible languages a respondent can report has been changed. Prior to 1991, the most frequently occurring non-official languages were listed in addition to the official languages. But starting that year, only the two official languages, English and French, are on the questionnaire and spaces are provided for additional languages. In addition, as a result of linguistic and ethnic intermarriages, some individuals may learn more than one language at home during early childhood; therefore, in 2001, respondents were given additional instructions. If two languages were used equally often at home then those languages could be entered if they were still understood; otherwise only the

language used most often prior to entering school and that was still understood was to be reported[12] (Statistics Canada 2002b).

2.2.3 **Home language**

Since 1971, the census has included a question on home language; the phrasing and the number of possible responses have changed since then. Prior to 1991, the home language referred to "the language spoken at home now" (Statistics Canada 1992:78) and only one language could be entered. In 1991, the phrasing changed to "the language spoken most often at home" (Statistics Canada 2002c) and more than one language could be reported. The question changed once again in 2001 where it was divided into two parts: "language spoken most often at home" and "languages spoken on a regular basis at home"; thus capturing the complete linguistic situation within Canadian homes while allowing distinction of the main language used. As is the case for ethnic origin, mother tongue and home language are also categorized separately in the census data since 1981 based on single and multiple responses to the questions, making numerical comparisons with previous census data difficult.

2.2.4 **Canada's official languages**

Prior to 1961, knowledge of official languages was reported in the census as 'languages spoken by the population'. The data collected provided information on unilingualism (one official language -- English or French -- or only a non-official language), bilingualism (one official language – English or French -- and a non-official language or both official languages) and trilingualism (both official languages and a non-official language). In 1901, knowledge of official languages was reported for people 5 years old and over, whereas in 1921, the age was 10 years old and over (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1902; 1924a). By 1941, there was no minimum age; therefore,

[12] The same instructions were given for a child that had still not learned to speak: respondents entered the language(s) spoken most often at home to the child.

complicating comparability with previous census years (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1944c).

Since 1971, the question on knowledge of official languages asks "the ability to conduct a conversation in English only, in French only, in both English and French, or in neither of the official languages of Canada." This data collection relies on self-assessment of the ability to speak the two official languages. Instructions specify that the respondent should be able to "carry on a conversation of some length on various topics in that language" (Statistics Canada 2002d).

It is important to note the difficulty that arises in comparing pre- and post-war census data due to the numerous changes in the phrasing of the census questions regarding ethnic origin and mother tongue, as well as the answers related to these variables, including home language. Some of these changes affect comparability of all ethnic groups mainly as a result of the single and multiple responses since 1981, but other changes only affect comparability of specific ethnic groups related to the source regions of the more recent migration, such as Asia, or for countries that underwent political changes over the years (independence, annexations by war, etc.). Italians are unaffected by these latter.

2.3 LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION OF ITALIANS IN CANADA

Despite changes in the wording of census questions regarding language knowledge and use as well as ethnic origin, the census data can still provide a picture of the geographic patterns and trends in linguistic integration of the Italian immigrants by comparing the values of the different variables. The reporting of multiple responses for ethnic origin gives some indication of the degree of intermarriages, which favours ethnic language loss. The preponderance of single responses in 1981 suggests that the majority of Italians were immigrants or married to Italians: 14.2 percent reported more

than one origin. This percentage more than doubled in 1986 (29.5 percent) and continued to increase reaching 42.8 percent in 2001.

Although we can assume that a greater number of Italians are marrying out of their ethnic group, we can equally conclude that there is an increasing number of Italians reporting 'Canadian' along with 'Italian' as ethnic origins. As can be seen in Table 2.6, Ontario has a greater percentage than Quebec of Italians reporting multiple origins, but when we compare Toronto and Montreal, the latter shows a greater percentage of multiple responses. We would expect that the sex ratio imbalance in Toronto would have favoured intermarriages and thus this city would have a greater proportion of Italians reporting multiple origins. A comparison between the sexes for Canada, Ontario and Quebec shows that in 1981, females tend to report a single origin more often while males report multiple origins more often. However, Quebec shows the reverse in 1986, as do Canada and Ontario in 1991 (see Table 2.3, p.50).

Table 2.6: Population of Italian Ethnic Origin, single and multiple responses (percentages)

Year	*Responses*	*Canada*	*Ontario*	*Quebec*	*Toronto*	*Montreal*
1981	Single	85.8	87.0	94.9	91.9	94.4
	Multiple	14.2	13.0	5.1	8.1	5.6
1986	Single	70.5	73.0	83.0	81.4	84.4
	Multiple	29.5	27.0	27.0	18.6	15.6
1991	Single	65.3	69.4	77.0	80.3	80.0
	Multiple	34.7	30.6	23.0	19.7	20.0
1996	Single	60.4	65.0	67.7	72.0	68.3
	Multiple	39.6	35.0	32.3	28.0	31.7
2001	Single	57.2	61.7	64.9	72.0	68.6
	Multiple	42.8	38.3	35.1	28.0	31.4

Source: Censuses of Canada

2.3.1 **Knowledge of Canada's official languages**

Normally the lowest number of Italian speakers is recorded in the percentage that speaks neither official language. Table 2.7 shows that the pre-WW II immigrants in Canada were becoming linguistically assimilated since only 2.7 percent of Italian mother

tongue (males and females combined) had no knowledge of either official language in 1941. In 2001, the total percentage (males and females combined) still remains higher than in 1941 (7.7 versus 2.7 percent), reflecting less linguistic integration in the post-WW II period. Toronto, with its larger Italian community than Montreal (especially of recent immigrants), has a slightly higher percentage of Italians with no knowledge of an official language (10.5 versus 7.7 percent, males and females combined). The general picture for Canada, as well as for Montreal and Toronto, is that a smaller proportion of males than females had no knowledge of an official language (1.3 percent for males compared to 4.5 percent, in Canada) in 1941. Although the overall percentage of Italians who know neither official language has decreased from a high of 23 percent in 1961, the peak period of immigration, to 7.7 percent in 2001. There is still twice as many females than males with no knowledge of Canada's official languages. This difference is consistent in Canada as a whole, and in Toronto and Montreal.

Table 2.7: Italian Population of Italian Mother Tongue with no Knowledge of Canada's Official Languages (percentages by sex and total population)

	Canada			*Toronto*			*Montreal*			*Saint-Leonard*		
Year	*M*	*F*	*Total*	*M*	*F*	*Total*	*M*	*F*	*Total*	*M*	*F*	*Total*
1931*	2.4	7.3	4.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1941	1.3	4.5	2.7	n.a.	n.a.	6.3	n.a.	n.a.	4.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1951	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1961	16.8	30.4	23.0	21.2	36.3	28.3	23.6	38.8	30.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1971	17.6	28.0	22.5	22.9	33.9	28.2	17.7	28.3	22.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1981[1]	8.7	16.2	12.3	11.7	20.3	15.9	8.0	15.9	11.8	9.5	17.4	13.4
1991[1]	7.7	14.0	10.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1996[1]	7.0	12.6	9.7	10.0	16.3	13.1	5.9	11.4	8.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2001[1]	5.4	10.0	7.7	7.9	13.1	10.5	4.3	8.7	6.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

*Includes only individuals over 5 years old; [1] Single responses only to mother tongue.
Source: Censuses of Canada

The 1931 census data show that Italians in Montreal were generally bilingual (in Canada's official languages) while in Toronto the Italian population was essentially 'Anglophone'. This distribution still exists in 2001 where 57 percent of the Italian population in Montreal is fluent in both official languages, 13 percent know French only

and four percent know English only, while in Toronto only four percent are bilingual, barely one percent speak French and 52 percent know only English[13].

If we examine knowledge of official languages by sex (see Table 2.8), then we notice that in 1931, the proportion of women of Italian origin knowing French is double that of the men in Montreal. However, this difference practically disappears by 1961, but with the proportion of men learning French catching up with the proportion of women, which remained fairly constant. On the other hand, the gap between males and females for bilingualism[14] (54 and 39 percent in 1931) also narrowed by 2001 (60 and 54 percent), and shows more gain among the females, but it has yet to reach equality. However, there has been considerable loss since 1931 within the 'English only' category, especially for males. In Toronto, bilingualism in official languages is very low, but a greater proportion of females than males knew both official languages in 2001, a reversed trend of the previous census years. However, the gap between the sexes for the 'English only' category has narrowed, but it is mainly due to a greater decline among the proportion of males (ten percent compared to five percent for females) rather than an increase of bilingualism among females.

[13] These percentages are the average of 'Males' and 'Females' values in Table 2.8.
[14] Bilingualism in Canada's official languages is defined as an individual's ability to "carry on a conversation of some length on various topics" in English and French (Statistics Canada 2002d).

Table 2.8: Knowledge of Canada's Official Languages by Italian Ethnic Origin and by Sex (percentages).

YEAR	*TORONTO*						*MONTREAL*						*SAINT-LÉONARD*					
	English		*French*		*Both*		*English*		*French*		*Both*		*English*		*French*		*Both*	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1931*	63.9	55.4	0.1	0.1	2.7	1.3	9.1	6.2	6.4	13.8	53.6	38.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1941	96.4	95.8	0.0	0.0	2.6	1.5	11.4	10.4	17.0	25.9	69.7	59.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1951	86.4	88.4	0.6	0.4	2.6	1.4	11.3	10.4	15.6	22.3	61.6	55.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1961	79.6	69.1	2.5	1.3	0.3	0.2	14.9	13.4	25.1	27.2	40.5	27.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1971	76.3	68.4	0.6	0.5	4.5	3.6	14.5	14.8	21.4	23.9	49.6	38.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1981[1]	10.4	9.8	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	6.3	7.7	16.3	18.7	53.4	44.0	6.7	8.3	20.3	23.3	63.5	50.9
1991[1]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2001[1]	53.8	50.8	0.1	0.1	3.6	5.0	3.3	4.1	12.2	14.4	59.5	53.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

*Includes only individuals over 5 years old
[1]Single responses only
Source: Censuses of Canada

2.3.2 **Mother tongue**

A declining percentage of those claiming Italian origin whose mother tongue is Italian reflects the first stage of language loss. This percentage decreased throughout the first half of the twentieth century, dropping from 87 percent in 1931, to 71 percent in 1941, and 61 percent in 1951 (see Table 2.9). In 1941, although Montreal had a larger Italian population than Toronto, the percentage of individuals of Italian ethnic origin declaring Italian as their mother tongue was almost equal (79 percent in Montreal, 81 percent in Toronto). In 1941 the mother tongue question did not require someone to speak the language as in 1931, only understand it, therefore, we can suspect that the decrease in Italian mother tongue might actually be greater than the census data shows.

The inflow of new immigrants in the post-WW II period brought an increase in the number and percentage of Italians whose mother tongue was Italian, rising to 75 percent in 1961 (Canada). However, from this peak, the downward trend continued reaching around 65 percent for single responses in 2001 (4.5 percent for multiple responses). This is still high compared to other ethnic groups from the same migration period. The very low percentage of Italians who identified more than one mother tongue presumably reflects low intermarriages, especially when compared to the percentage of multiple responses to ethnic origin (almost 43 percent in 2001), or the Italian language takes precedence in the home of mixed marriages.

The percentage of Italians whose mother tongue is Italian has been consistently higher in Montreal and Toronto than in Canada as a whole (see Table 2.9). For example in 1961 and 1971, approximately 82 percent of Italians in Montreal and Toronto spoke Italian as their mother tongue compared to 74 percent for Canada as a whole. However, Toronto and Montreal show different trends since 1971. Toronto, which absorbed a larger number of Italian immigrants than Montreal in the post-war period, shows a lower percentage (approximately 15 percent less) than Montreal for single responses in 2001

Table 2.9: Population of Italian Mother Tongue by Italian Ethnic Origin (percentages)

YEAR	*CANADA*			*TORONTO*			*MONTREAL*			*SAINT-LÉONARD*		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1931	88.4	85.5	87.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1941	73.0	69.1	71.3	82.9	77.9	80.6	80.5	78.1	79.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1951	63.9	56.4	60.6	88.4	76.8	83.3	76.2	72.6	74.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1961	76.6	74.1	75.4	83.0	80.8	82.0	82.5	81.7	82.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1971	74.2	73.2	73.7	81.4	81.3	81.3	81.7	81.6	81.6	87.9	89.8	88.8
1981[1]	70.8	70.6	70.7	74.3	74.7	74.5	82.7	83.8	83.2	88.7	89.9	89.3
1991[1]	59.2	60.7	60.0	60.1	61.5	60.8	70.0	71.8	70.9	n.a.	n.a.	79.4
2001[1]	63.9	65.5	64.9	62.4	64.3	62.4	78.4	79.2	78.8	n.a.	n.a.	87.9
2001[2]	4.7	4.3	4.5	9.1	8.1	8.6	8.7	7.9	8.3			n.a.

[1]Single responses; [2]Multiple responses; n.a.= not available
Source: Censuses of Canada

suggesting greater assimilation in Toronto and stronger language maintenance in Montreal. For multiple responses, Toronto and Montreal have approximately the same percentage. However, over eighty percent of individuals in Saint-Léonard declare Italian as mother tongue since 1971.

This tendency for greater language loss in Toronto than Montreal is shown dramatically when we look at the age of Italian mother tongue speakers (see Table 2.10). In Toronto, those who claim Italian as their mother tongue are older. Less than 29 percent of those whose mother tongue is Italian in 2001 were under the age of forty in Toronto, compared with almost forty percent in Montreal. In both cities, however, almost one-quarter of those whose mother tongue is Italian consists of seniors aged 65 and over, almost three times their representation in the population at large. Clearly, Italian as a mother tongue is seriously on the decline.

Table 2.10: Population of Italian Mother Tongue by Age, 2001 (single responses only)

	Canada		*Toronto*		*Montreal*	
	Number	*%*	*Number*	*%*	*Number*	*%*
0-14	17,700	3.8	4,785	2.4	10,565	8.7
15-39	122,185	26.0	51,635	26.3	37,575	31.0
40-64	206,780	44.0	90,715	46.3	45,245	37.3
65+	122,825	26.2	48,830	24.9	27,990	23.1
Total	**489,485**		**195,960**		**121,379**	
0-39		29.8		28.8		39.7
40-65+		70.2		71.2		60.3

Source: 2001 Census of Canada

2.3.3 **Home language based on ethnic origin and mother tongue**

A census question inquiring on the language used most often at home was introduced in 1971. This information provides the best measurement of linguistic assimilation and language shift, since the home is considered the most important place where the ethnic language is passed on to the children and the last place where language shift occurs (Veltman 1986). The discrepancy between mother tongue and

home language provides demographers and statisticians with a way of recording the degree of language shift that has occurred as newcomers slowly take up one of Canada's official languages.

Census data for Canada in 1971 shows that barely sixty percent of individuals of Italian ethnic origin declared Italian as home language, whereas almost eighty percent of those declaring Italian as mother tongue reported using Italian most often in the home (see Table 2.11). Considering that only 74 percent of individuals of Italian ethnic origin reported Italian as their mother tongue in 1971, these figures show there has been language shift, but Italian language use has been maintained at high levels when compared with some groups from the same migration period. Once again, language shift was lower in Toronto (seventy percent) and Montreal (67 percent) than in Canada as a whole (sixty percent). However, a slightly higher percentage of Italian mother tongue still spoke Italian most often in the home in Toronto (86 percent) than in Montreal (82 percent), reflecting the recency of immigration in 1971. Unfortunately, the data from the 1971 census cannot be compared to that of subsequent census years due to the separate categorization of people reporting Italian as the only language spoken at home and those reporting other languages with Italian.

Table 2.11: Italian Home Language by Italian Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue, 1971-2001

Year	*Canada*		*Toronto*		*Montreal*		*Saint-Leonard*	
	HL/EO	*HL/MT**	*HL/EO*	*HL/MT**	*HL/EO*	*HL/MT**	*HL/EO*	*HL/MT**
1971	58.2	78.9	69.7	85.7	66.6	81.6	74.9	84.4
1981	45.2	64.0	46.2	67.4	59.1	71.0	69.1	77.4
1986	38.3	59.6	40.9	61.9	51.7	77.9	62.3	74.8
1991	32.2	53.7	34.6	56.8	41.9	59.1	53.4	67.2
1996	35.4	53.3	31.0	47.4	46.6	49.0	49.8	57.1
2001	15.2	23.5	15.1	23.9	21.3	27.1	32.0	36.4

Single responses only; HL= home language; EO= ethnic origin; MT = mother tongue
*Index of continuity

Since 1981, when more than one home language could be reported, individuals reporting Italian only as home language has decreased significantly. A large decline is noted once again in 2001 when slight changes were brought to the census question (as previously discussed). However, it is important to distinguish between home language based on ethnic origin (HL/EO) and home language based on mother tongue (HL/MT). In Canada as a whole in 2001, of the 38.9 percent of Italians by ethnic origin (single and multiple responses) who reported Italian as mother tongue, 97.5 percent use Italian at home, compared to only 37.9 percent of those who declare Italian ethnic origin (see Table 2.12). This means that learning the language in early childhood (whether alone or with another language) increases the possibility of passing it on to the next generation.

Table 2.12: Italian Home Language by Italian Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue in Canada, 2001

	CANADA					
	Ethnic origin	*Mother tongue*		*Home language*		
2001	*N*	*N*	*% of EO*	*N*	*% of EO*	*% of MT*
Single responses	726,275	469,485	64.6	110,270	15.2	23.5
M	371,515	237,285	63.9	49,335	13.3	20.8
F	354,760	232,205	65.5	60,935	17.2	26.2
Multiple responses	544,090	24,505	4.5	371,205	68.2	1514.8
M	269,030	12,590	4.7	178,330	66.3	1416.4
F	275,060	11,915	4.3	192,875	70.1	1618.8
TOTAL	1,270,365	493,990	38.9	481,475	37.9	97.5

EO= ethnic origin; MT= mother tongue
Source: 2001 Census of Canada

As revealing is the fact that the total proportion of individuals reporting Italian as home language based on mother tongue (single and multiple responses combined) in Montreal and Toronto is actually greater than 100 percent (see Table 2.13). It appears that the number of people who speak Italian most often at home is actually greater than those who report Italian as their mother tongue (single and multiple responses combined). This suggests that individuals who married out of their ethnic group and

consequently have a different mother tongue might nevertheless speak Italian at home. We can also assume that individuals who have a mother tongue other than Italian might learn this language as a second or third language and use it at home to various degrees.

In addition, when comparing females and males (for single or multiple responses), females tend to report Italian more often than males. The differential between the sexes is greater in Canada and Montreal for single and multiple responses whereas it is non-existent in Toronto for single responses, but slightly greater in the multiple responses. Therefore, it appears that females tend to use Italian at home more often than males. The sex difference, however small, is consistent with the literature for several ethnic immigrant groups in different geographical areas (Australia and United States) (Clyne and Kipp 1997; Schrauf 1999).

Table 2.13: Italian Home Language by Italian Mother Tongue in Toronto and Montreal, 2001

Responses	*Toronto*			*Montreal*		
	Mother Tongue	*Home language*		*Mother tongue*	*Home language*	
	N	*N*	*%*	*N*	*N*	*%*
Single	195,960	46,810	23.9	121,375	32,*840*	27.1
M	97,395	23,075	23.7	61,080	15,020	24.6
F	98,565	23,735	24.1	60,295	17,820	29.6
Multiple	10,360	162,415	1567.7	5,825	101,*645*	1745.0
M	5,460	77,770	1424.4	2,995	49,215	1643.2
F	4,900	84,645	1727.4	2,830	52,430	1852.7
TOTAL	206,320	209,225	101.4	127,200	134,485	105.7

Source: 2001 Census of Canada

2.3.4 **Home language based on knowledge of official languages**

An interesting difference is noted when examining home language based on knowledge of official languages, which is only published for the 1981 census. For all respondents who know one or both official languages, Italian remains the language used most often at home in Canada. However, differences exist depending on the official language the individual knows (see Table 2.14). For example, Italian is used to a greater

degree (around 85 percent for Canada, Toronto and Montreal) if the official language known is French only, whereas percentages for Italian are closer to sixty percent when reporting English only and both English and French. In addition, males consistently use Italian less often than females for individuals reporting English only and French only (although the difference is only three percent for both categories). However, of respondents who know both official languages, slightly more males report Italian as the home language than females (two percent for Canada, one percent for Montreal and Saint-Léonard, but no difference for Toronto).

Table 2.14: Home Language based on Knowledge of Canada's Official Languages, Population by Mother Tongue and Sex 1981

	OFFICIAL LANGUAGES							
	English HL (%)		*French HL (%)*		*English and French HL (%)*			*None HL (%)*
	English	*Italian*	*French*	*Italian*	*English*	*French*	*Italian*	*Italian*
CANADA								
Males	44	56	16	84	31	13	56	100
Females	41	59	13	87	37	9	54	100
TORONTO								
Males	38	62	10	90	48	3	48	100
Females	37	63	9	91	51	1	48	100
MONTREAL								
Males	36	64	14	86	25	14	61	100
Females	35	65	12	88	29	11	60	100
SAINT-LÉONARD								
Males	33	67	8	92	24	9	67	100
Females	33	67	5	95	29	5	66	100

Source: 1981 Census of Canada

Due to the high concentration of Quebec's population of Italian ethnic origin in Montreal (over 90 percent), both province and city have the same percentages of Italian as home language based on Italian mother tongue for English only (65 percent), French only (87 percent) or both (sixty percent). However, in Saint-Léonard, which has the greatest concentration of Italians in Montreal, 93.5 percent of individuals who know French only as official language reported Italian as home language compared to 67

percent of those who know English only and both English and French. Therefore, English has a greater tendency of being used at home than French, but Italian remains the main language. It is interesting to note that in Saint-Léonard, there is no sex difference in the use of Italian in the home when English only is reported as official language, whereas there is again a small difference when French only is reported (92 percent for males and 95 for females).

The city of Saint-Léonard, founded in 1886, was a largely rural French-Canadian Catholic community that scarcely grew in half a century. In 1951, it had a population of 1,501 of which 21 were of Italian ethnic origin, but in the mid-fifties suburban residential development resulted in a demographic explosion, largely composed of Italian immigrants, creating an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood (see Table 2.15) (Boissevain 1970).

Table 2.15: Profile of the Italian Community in Saint-Léonard, 1931-2001

Year	*Total population*	*Italian population*		*% of Montreal's Italian population*	*MT/EO*	*HL/EO*	*HL/MT**
	N	*N*	*%*				
1931	280	14	5.0	.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1941	340	7	2.1	0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1951	1,501	21	1.4	.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1961	4,893	321	6.6	.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1971	52,035	14,710	28.3	9.2	88.8	74.9	84.4
1981	79,430	27,990	35.2	16.9	89.3	69.1	77.4
1986	75,947	28,115	37.0	17.9	83.2	62.3	74.8
1991	73,130	28,825	39.4	13.9	79.4	53.4	67.2
1996	71,330	26,735	37.5	13.7	87.4	49.8	57.1
2001	69,510	24,805	35.7	11.3	87.9	32.0	36.4

Single responses only to ethnic origin, mother tongue and home language; * Index of continuity
Source: Censuses of Canada

Language transfer as measured by the difference between the number of Italian mother tongue and the number whose home language is Italian[15], is lowest in this municipality (64 percent) compared with census metropolitan area of Montreal (73

percent) and Toronto (76 percent). By the same token, the index of continuity measured as the ratio of Italian home language to Italian mother tongue[16] (for single responses) dropped from 57 percent in 1996 to 36 percent in 2001, but remains above the thirty percent threshold considered necessary to ensure the survival of an ethnic language, and remains the highest among all municipalities. For Metropolitan Montreal, however, the index is 27 percent, just below the threshold. If we were looking at the level of Montreal as a whole, therefore, it could be argued that the Italian language is threatened in Montreal, but when we look at those areas where Italians are concentrated we get a very different impression. Although there seems to be a drastic decrease between 1996 and 2001, it is important to note that the census question on home language was changed in 2001.

CONCLUSION

I interpret these statistical findings for Montreal and especially Saint-Leonard, which is the object of study, in terms of their impact on the hypotheses to be tested by fieldwork in the remainder of the thesis.

In 2001 the census enumerated 667,490 allophones – people with a non-official language as mother tongue – living in Montreal, accounting for almost one fifth (19.7 percent) of Saint-Leonard's population. Italians are still the largest ethnic immigrant group and Italian the leading non-official mother tongue in Montreal, although this population declined from 133,225 (21.3 percent) in 1996 to 127,185 (19.1 percent) in 2001. Language maintenance (whether it is measured as the percentage of Italian ethnic origin whose mother tongue is Italian or the percentage of Italian mother tongue who still

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[15] Language transfer is calculated as follows: $\frac{\text{(pop MT – pop HL)}}{\text{pop MT}}$ x 100 (Statistique Québec 1996).

[16] The index of continuity is calculated as follows: pop HL/pop MT.

speak Italian frequently in the home, or the age composition of the Italian-speaking population) is higher in Montreal than in Toronto, despite a higher concentration and more recent Italian immigrants in Toronto. Italians in Quebec are also much more bilingual in Canada's official languages. But within the Island of Montreal, there exists substantial variations in ethnic language use at home among the four municipalities with the highest concentration of Italians, namely Saint-Léonard, Kirkland, Montreal-North, and LaSalle.

Italian is the language used most often at home for Italians, but a different home language pattern is noted in Saint-Léonard compared to Canada as a whole and to Montreal, based on which official language Italians know. The lack of a common language other than the ethnic language between the immigrants and their children may cause the greater use of Italian at home by 'Francophone Italians'[17] (93 percent in 1981 compared to 65 percent for 'Anglophone' and 'bilingual' Italians). In fact, unlike the pre-WW II immigrants who largely integrated into the French-speaking community, many post-war immigrants learned French, but the majority chose English as the language of instruction for their children because it was perceived as the language of economic success and the language of Canada. As a result, the Italian community in Montreal (like the Allophone community in general) was integrating into the English-speaking community, despite residing primarily in French-speaking areas.

On the one hand this might encourage the maintenance of Italian as the only 'common language' between mothers and parents, and grandmothers and grandchildren. But it also ignited a major conflict between the Italians who wanted the right to educate their children in which ever language they felt was most advantageous

[17] For the purpose to distinguish Italians based on which official language they know, 'Francophone Italians' refers to those who know French only; 'Anglophone Italians' are those who know English only; while the 'bilinguals' are those who know both official languages. However, all can also know Italian.

to them and the Francophone community who saw this tendency as a threat to the survival of the French language. Nowhere was this conflict greater than in Saint-Leonard, where it "presented in microcosm the dilemma facing French-speaking Montreal in the 1960s: public schooling seemed to be functioning as an instrument for the progressive Anglicization of the city" (Levine 1990:68).

In 1963, bilingual programs were introduced in Saint-Léonard by the local Catholic school board. But the overwhelming preference by Allophones, particularly Italians, to continue their studies in English-language secondary schools was noted by the school board. To counter this effect, French-language education was imposed on all Allophones in Saint-Léonard starting in the fall of 1968 (Levine 1990; Painchaud and Poulin 1988), a decision that was negatively accepted by Italians and other allophone parents who responded by forming the Saint-Léonard Parents Association through which they "threatened to withhold taxes, keep their children out of school, and take the school board to court in defence of their language rights in education" (Levine 1990:68).

The unexpected intense reaction led the school board to temporarily put on hold their decision, but the creation of the Mouvement pour l'intégration scolaire (MIS) whose goal was "to politicize the language and education issue beyond the local community, across Montreal and the province" (Levine 1990:69) produced tense confrontations. The conflict escalated to provincial proportions with the Francophone community's increasing awareness of the precarious situation of the French language in Quebec and the involvement of nationalist radicals[18] (Linteau 1988; Levine 1990).

Several events fuelled the already tense climate in Saint-Léonard[19]. The French-language instruction was finally implemented in September 1968 in all schools of this

[18] See Beaujot (1998), Veltman (1998), Chevrier (1997) and Lachapelle (1991) for historical overview on the rise of Quebec nationalism and the language situation in Quebec and Canada.
[19] One event was the MIS-win at the school board elections opposite the Parents Association on May 1968. The MIS took advantage of its majority position in the school board and implemented French-language instruction in all elementary schools of the school board in September 1968 (Levine 1990).

district to which Italians and other Allophone parents responded by initiating a boycott of the unilingual French classes, establishing English-language "basement" classes, and organizing a demonstration in Ottawa in an effort "to alert English Canada to the violation of Anglophone human rights occurring in Saint-Léonard" (Levine 1990:70). However, divisions also existed within the Italian community: as some vehemently resisted 'francizisation' in support of the English language, others were generally advocating bilingualism (Linteau 1988). Tensions increased when a strictly administrative decision[20] by the Francophone-controlled Jérôme Le Royer school board was given 'linguistic meaning' by the MIS who adopted provocative actions mainly supported by separatists, who inflamed the 'English vs. French' linguistic conflict[21] in Montreal and prompted the Independence movement in Quebec at the end of the 1960s[22] (Levine 1990; Linteau 1988; Painchaud and Poulin 1988).

As the school year resumed in 1969, the boycott, the organization of clandestine classes and the illegal registration of Italian children in English schools[23] continued supported by the *Consiglio educativo italo-canadese*[24], while the Ligue pour l'intégration scolaire, an expanded version of the MIS, continued to promote unilingual policies in Saint-Léonard through "boisterous public meetings" (Levine 1990:78). Finally, on September 10, 1969, a "deliberate provocative march" staged by the Ligue pour l'intégration scolaire in support of unilingualism through Italian neighbourhoods of Saint-Léonard ended in a riot involving an estimated thousand marchers and residents.

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[20] The school board decided to change a French-language secondary school - located near the Italian neighbourhoods of Saint-Léonard - to an English-language secondary school. The MIS organized a "sit-in" that gave rise to bomb threats and concerns about street violence during negotiations to end the sit-in.
[21] Anglophone business icons became the target of separatist bombings between 1968 and 1969, giving rise to anxieties in both linguistic communities.
[22] Levine (1990) discusses the linguistic crises in Quebec (1967-1969) and the language policy responses by the provincial governments in place during the following decade.
[23] More than half of the boycotting children were enrolled in English-language Protestant schools.
[24] Several Italian organizations opened during the 60s and 70s after the adaptation phase of the second migration wave (Painchaud and Poulin 1988).

> Despite pleas from Robert Beale [of the Parents Association] as well as public officials to ignore the marchers and remain in their homes, Italians lined the parade route and heckled the demonstrators. Confrontation spilled over into violence and a riot broke out [...]. For the first time since 1957, the Riot Act was read in Montreal [...] (Levine 1990:78).

Since the beginning of the Saint-Léonard crisis in 1967, several policy responses were presented by the provincial governments in an attempt to control the linguistic conflicts and resolve language rights in education[25]. But in 1977, the Parti québécois implemented Bill 101, declaring French as Quebec's sole official language and making French-language instruction mandatory for all immigrants[26] (Linteau 1988; Levine 1990). However, provisions in the law exist: a child whose mother or father received his or her instruction in the English schools of Quebec may receive instruction in English (Article 73, Section A). Either language of instruction for the third generation may generate different linguistic situations among the three generations since the immigrant generation learned French, while their offspring have assimilated into the English-speaking community.

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[25] Bill 85 was presented in December 1968 by the Bertrand government (Union Nationale) and offered "linguistic freedom of choice in education". Despite Premier Bertrand's vow to wait for the report of the Gendron Commission before bringing forth other language legislations, Bill 63 was introduced on October 1969 following the "breakdown of civil order in Saint-Léonard". It continued to advocate freedom of choice in education, as did Bill 85, but it also attempted to reinforce Montreal's dual society by 'promoting French' (students were required a "working knowledge of the French language"). The tense linguistic climate in early 1970 set the stage for nationalist movements and increasing popularity of the Parti québécois. However, between 1970 and 1974, Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa addressed the linguistic conflicts by introducing Bill 28, which focused on reorganizing the administration of schooling on the Island of Montreal (Linteau 1988;Levine 1990). But during that same period, enrolment in Anglophone schools within the Jérôme Le Royer district increased by almost 70 percent, and children of Italian-origin accounted for over 80 percent of the student population (Levine 1990). Based on the report of the Gendron Commission, Bill 22 (The Official Language Act) was presented to l'Assemblée nationale on May 1974 by the Liberal government. The Bill maintained freedom of choice in the language of instruction. However, pressure from the nationalists led Bourassa to end freedom of choice and declared French as language of instruction except for the British and those who could successfully pass an English proficiency test. The Anglophone groups condemned Bill 22 because it generally diminished the status of the English language, and the Francophone groups did not support the Bill because it did too little to protect the French language (Linteau 1988; Levine 1990).

[26] The Saint-Léonard crisis was the turning point of the Italian community's reorganization giving rise to new leadership. The *Fédération des associations italiennes au Québec* (FAIQ) emerged in 1972 and became the *Congrès des italo-canadiens* of the Quebec region in 1974. Over 100 Italian organizations and associations in Quebec became part of this Congrès. It was the only spokesperson for the Italian community with the governments during debates on Bill 22 and Bill 101 regarding linguistic freedom of choice in education (Painchaud and Poulin 1988).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The object of this thesis is to examine the extent and mechanisms of Italian language transfer and maintenance over three generations of Italians in Montreal, taking into account the specific bi-lingual nature of Montreal (Quebec) society and the specific policy framework in effect since 1977 concerning the language of education of allophones. In this chapter, I review the sources and methods used to examine the extent of Italian language maintenance over three generations and the factors that affect this.

3.1 AREA OF STUDY – SAINT-LÉONARD

Research on intergenerational language maintenance and shift are generally conducted at the scale of nations (Reitz 1974; Grenier 1984; Stevens 1986; Jansen 1988; Schrauf 1999; Alba *et al.* 2002), provinces or states (Harrison 1990; Clyne and Kipp 1997; Portes and Hao 1998; Jedwab 1999;), entire metropolitan cities (Sachdev *et al.* 1988; Hogg and Rigoli 1996; Clyne and Kipp 1997; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997, Jedwab 1999), and urban-rural areas (Evans 1996). These studies show geographical variations based on the degree of residential concentration or segregation of the ethnic group, the extent of the ethnic institutional and social network, time since migration, intermarriage and socio-economic status. Chapter 2 provided evidence from censuses and secondary sources on how time since migration, degree of residential concentration and intermarriage underlie geographical differences in the level of Italian language maintenance within Canada. However, immigrant ethnic groups are normally concentrated within much smaller geographic areas, such as individual municipalities, and such fine scale concentration is obscured by data aggregated at larger scales such

as large metropolitan cities or provinces. Moreover the variables recognised in the literature as instrumental in determining inter-generational language continuity likewise operate within the more 'immediate' family and neighbourhood.

Montgomery and Renaud (1994) noted that most studies on residence and ethnic language maintenance and shift do not take the neighbourhood as the principal focus of research. Rather, it is usually other variables such as language used at work or language of education. Charbonneau and Germain (1998) stressed the importance of studying linguistic behaviour within the smaller geographic divisions, especially in Montreal, due to the unique ethnic factor[27] that characterizes this city's residential structure (Langlois 1985) compared to other metropolitan cities in countries that experienced intense post-WW II migration flows. This structure is said to influence immigrants' linguistic integration (acquisition of French, English or both) as well as encourage ethnic language maintenance. Surprisingly, focus at the more local scale has received little attention, and hence factors at the micro level closer to the immigrants' environment, family and household, have been underestimated.

For this reason, Saint-Léonard was chosen to further explore the process of ethnic language shift. This city was a French-Canadian neighbourhood settled extensively by Italians in the 1960s and 1970s, a period of intense migration to Montreal. Residential concentration allowed the Italian community to develop its own institutions, organizations and associations, which in turn facilitate the development and sustainability of ethnic social networks. According to the literature these factors help maintain cohesiveness and encourage intragenerational ethnic language maintenance and intergenerational language continuity.

[27] The island of Montreal attracts the majority of the immigrant population in Quebec. When a quarter or even a third of the population in an area is of the same immigrant group, it has a strong impact on the municipality's life (Séguin and Termote 1993:248).

In this study only immigrant families where at least the first generation lives in Saint-Léonard are included. This was done to eliminate the known effects of residential concentration and institutional completeness on the extent of language maintenance. In Saint-Léonard these are both very high and therefore we would expect to maximize the extent of intergenerational ethnic language maintenance. With forty percent of the population being of Italian origin, we expect that there will be high use of Italian in private, but also in public domains, especially by first-generation immigrants. This will allow us to focus on the role of family and household characteristics in the transmission and maintenance of the language of Italians.

Saint-Léonard also has the highest concentration of foreign-born Italians (18 percent) in Montreal. Those who did not learn an official language well enough to conduct a conversation will only have the ethnic language to communicate with family members. Therefore, language knowledge and habits of the first generation should directly affect the linguistic behaviour of subsequent generations. Consequently, we would expect an inverse correlation between the degree of proficiency in an official language by the first generation and use of Italian in the following generations.

The literature suggests that most Italian immigrant women entered the labour force soon after migration (Iacovetta 1987; Pedraza 1991; Haddad and Lam 1994). As a result, they became exposed to some degree to an official language, which should have helped them integrate or acculturate in the host society. However, we expect that the effect of residential concentration will be stronger despite exposure to an official language at work and sharing the residential area with Francophones; therefore, we expect low linguistic acculturation of the foreign-born in Saint-Léonard.

Among the ethnic institutions available in Saint-Léonard are the associations, organizations and community centre available to the Italian population, as well as an Italian church in this municipality and in its vicinities. These community groups organize

religious events and parties several times a year and are eagerly sought by the older members of the Italian community. This results in constant interaction with other Italians, which sustains not only the language, but also traditional customs and values, whether religious or family oriented. As such, we should expect the second and third generations to maintain these customs and values with consequent effects on language maintenance. For example, the importance of family unity maintained by the traditional weekly visits with parents and in-laws, or the continued family support evidenced in the chain migration process in turn translate into greater interaction between the generations. Consequently, we would expect to find a higher degree of language knowledge and use in families where intergenerational contact is greater. In addition, we should also expect that ethnic language maintenance is higher in families where the traditional customs and values particularly related to gender roles in the family survived beyond the immigrant generation.

Finally, Saint-Léonard is an interesting place to examine the effect of Bill 101 on language use. In 1981, the first census after Bill 101, this city showed high use of Italian at home among 'Francophone Italians'. This ethnic group's attraction for English-language education, especially in Saint-Léonard, created a lack of a common official language between the first and second generations, which probably enhanced the use of Italian in the home[28]. But the implementation of Bill 101 in 1977 prevents immigrant children from being educated in English. Unless parents use the eligibility to English-language education for their children as warranted by the law, having third-generation Italians educated in French may recreate between this generation and their parents the linguistic gap that existed between the parents and grandparents, thus increasing the use of Italian in the home. On the other hand, continued education in English may

[28] As evidenced in Chapter 2.

enhance the use of Italian between the first and the third generation, thus encouraging intergenerational ethnic language maintenance.

3.2 FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT

Gordon's (1964) classic model of immigrant assimilation assumes that language shift normally occurs over (or is completed by) three generations. Studies have therefore focused on the extent of intergenerational ethnic language maintenance to examine the degree to which the ethnic language is being passed on to the next generation. This requires, therefore, that the linguistic behaviour of the Canadian-born second and third generations of Italians be studied.

Studies conducted in Canada (Reitz 1974; Richmond 1967; Lieberson 1970) and the United States (Gordon 1964; Fishman 1966) in the decades following WW II generally focused on the immigrant generation. These studies showed that the post-WW II immigrant groups (from southern Europe) had lower levels of linguistic assimilation than the pre-WW II immigrant groups (from eastern and northern Europe). This was associated with low levels of education or simply the non-assimilative inclination of South Europeans. But assimilation is a long-term process; consequently, time since migration influences intra- as well as intergenerational language shift. As a general rule, longer residence (of an individual or a group) in the host country translates into greater language shift and therefore pre-war immigrants and immigrant groups are more likely to show greater assimilation (and hence language shift) than recent immigrants. Research focusing on most recent immigrant groups, such as the Asians in Canada (Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997, Jedwab 1999) and Australia (Clyne and Kipp 1997), also show low assimilation rates similar to southern Europeans of the second migration wave. It is necessary therefore to include time since migration in any analysis of intra-generational language maintenance.

Traditionally, the survival of ethnic languages from one generation to the next has been examined through analysis of age cohorts using aggregate or public use samples of manuscript census data (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1980; Harrison 1990; Kralt and Pendakur 1991; Evans 1996; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997; Burnley 1999; Jedwab 1999; Schrauf 1999; Alba *et al.* 2002). Such studies highlight assimilation or maintenance trends among immigrant ethnic groups by comparing language data, namely ethnic origin, mother tongue and eventually home language as we did in the previous chapter. These studies consistently show assimilation as the ethnic languages are gradually being replaced by the host country's official language(s). However, this shift is occurring at varying rates and degrees among different ethnic immigrant groups and different geographical areas. Cross-sectional data with independent variables such as education level, socio-economic status, rural versus urban residence, generational distance from immigrant ancestors, may reveal some factors at play in intergenerational language continuity. Many cross-cultural studies point to the ethnic groups' cultural values as influential in the transmission of culture and ethnic language, but have no way of measuring or demonstrating this.

Intergenerational transmission of the ethnic culture is said to occur through three distinct pathways: vertical, horizontal and oblique (Phalet and Schönpflug 2001). Vertical transmission, the most crucial for survival of the ethnic culture beyond the immigrant generation, occurs between generations within the family or community. Horizontal transmission results from peer influence, while oblique transmission is exerted by members of the previous generation other than the parents. Since language is considered as an important characteristic of culture (Gordon 1964), then we can assume that the same pathways are involved in intergenerational transmission of ethnic languages.

Studies of assimilation or integration of immigrants examine the linguistic behaviour of ethnic group members within a variety of private and public domains such as school, workplace, church, home, where the three pathways can be noticed. In the last decade, research increasingly emphasizes the importance of the *home* domain, considered as the ultimate place of transmission and consequently, the last place where the ethnic language will disappear (Fishman 1985). The home is, however, a socially constructed space in terms of language use. The distinct characteristics of each family member (education level, socio-economic status, ethnic identity, age, gender, etc.) and the power relations within the home influence the speakers' linguistic behaviour within this context[29]. Social 'hierarchy' can exist within a generation (gender and/or birth order of children) and between generations (grandparents-parents-children); therefore, just as in the larger social settings, the language used between individuals in the home is grounded on role relations[30] (husband-wife, parent-child, siblings, grandparent-grandchild, etc.) (Fishman 1991).

An individual's social identity defines the linguistic behaviour in specific social settings (Tajfel and Turner 1979) and for many ethnic groups, knowledge and use of the ethnic language has generally been associated with an existing ethnic identity (Reitz 1980). Identifying with an ethnic group is the result of a variety of factors at work within society at large, within the ethnic group and finally within the home (see Phinney 1990 for a complete review on ethnic identity). Parents' role in children's construction of ethnic identity and attachment to the ethnic culture, and consequently the ethnic language, is well documented (Giles *et al.* 1977; Evans 1996; Bankston III and Henry 1998; Halmari 1998; Kurtz-Costes and Pungello 2000; Okagaki and Moore 2000; Phinney *et al.* 2001;

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[29] Hymes (1972) defined the context or environment in which speech occurs as "speech situation" (Eastman 1990:159).

[30] The communication activity, which is guided by rules, is referred to "speech event" and it takes place in speech situations. The *rules* state what language to use in what context (Eastman 1990:162).

Nauck 2001; Phalet and Schönpflug 2001). The importance parents (both from the immigrant generation and subsequent generations) attribute to passing on the ethnic language affects the success, failure or degree of intergenerational transmission. Each parent has a personal and social identity, but also a distinctive linguistic and/or cultural (ethnic) background in the case of heterogamous marriages (parents with different mother tongues) and exogamous marriages (parents of different ethnicity) (Stevens 1985).

Parents are assumed to be the main actors within the home domain (Halmari 1998; Schrauf 1999; Nauck 2001; Phinney *et al.* 2001); they are the source of vertical transmission of the cultural values and they decide the language(s) used within this particular setting. However, research shows that the influence on linguistic behaviour of other authority family members (grandparents, aunts, uncles) (Evans 1996; Xiao 1998; Nauck 2001; Alba *et al.* 2002) as well as siblings residing in the family home (or with whom there is considerable contact) should not be neglected. Therefore, all three pathways of transmission can be present in the 'home': vertical (from grandparent and parent to child), horizontal (between siblings), and oblique (from aunts and uncles to nieces and nephews). In addition, each 'home domain' is endowed with a unique family history, even more so for immigrant minority groups, which affects the potential survival of the ethnic language.

Quantitative studies show that intergenerational ethnic language shift is taking place among immigrant minority groups, but most studies overlook the more 'intimate' or 'fine' mechanisms at work within the home and the family (Grenier 1984; Harrison 1990; Kralt and Pendakur 1991; Clyne and Kipp 1997; Sachdev 1998; Jedwab 1999). Studies based on cross-sectional data do not reveal the particular (personal) characteristics, traits or values within *each* family's generations that actually encourage ethnic language

transmission to the next generation. Studies that compare two generations of different family lineages and migration history also fail in this aspect (Sachdev *et al.* 1988).

Recognition of the importance of parent-child relationships in children's ethnic identity formation, where knowledge of the ethnic language is a variable, recently prompted studies on parent-child dyads of first- and second-generation immigrants (Phinney *et al.* 2001; Nauck 2001). Research focusing on three generations is also recent, but is based on cohort analyses (Schrauf 1999; Alba *et al.* 2002). If we are to examine all three pathways of transmission – vertical, horizontal and oblique – it is necessary to study three generations within the same family. As a result, this research focused on grandparent-parent-child triads in each migrant family.

Some qualitative studies focused on the immigrant generation (Peressini 1988; Evans 1996), the second generation (Fortier 1992; Hogg and Rigoli 1996; Portes and Hao 1998) or both (Halmari 1998). Others rely on first-generation immigrants to collect language data on the second and third generations (Aliaga 1994), or survey the third generation by including questions on the parents and grandparents (Solé 1978). Some studies used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Feuerverger 1991; Bankston III and Henry 1998; Cho 2000; Nauck 2001) in order to collect more insight on the underlying and surrounding conditions that support relationships emerging from quantitative data. Analysis of census data shows that ethnic language shift is occurring and the variables involved are well documented, but the qualitative approach is more appropriate to collect insight on the micro mechanisms at work, specifically the pathways by which language is transmitted, as well as the historical background and degree of interaction that is unique to each immigrant family.

3.3 GENDER

While several studies have pointed to gender differences in intra-generational language acquisition, few studies have used gender or sex as the focus of enquiry, especially of inter-generational language transfer. Earlier studies on linguistic assimilation or integration of immigrant minority groups showed that more females had no knowledge of the host country's language and were generally less linguistically acculturated than their male counterparts (Richmond 1967; Lieberson 1970; Reitz 1974). This difference was explained by women's generally low education level, their employment in mainly "ethnic" enclaves, or the fact that they reside and operate/interact within an ethnic neighbourhood.

However, much more than these structural characteristics women are central in the intergenerational transfer of language. Women have traditionally held childrearing and nurturing roles; thus they are the transmitters of the mother tongue. Some studies showed that females have greater ethnic language maintenance not only within the immigrant generation, but also in subsequent generations (Harrison 1990; Evans 1996; Chiswick and Miller 2001). The immigrant women that are least exposed to the host language will maintain the ethnic language longer to communicate with family members within the home. Less exposed to the host society, these women will also maintain the ethnic culture and values. The patriarchal cultures such as Italian, Greek and Turkish show higher ethnic language maintenance in general (Clyne and Kipp 1997; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997) and in mother-daughter dyads in particular (Nauck 2001). Therefore, if mother-daughter dyads have higher transmission rates, then triads that include the grandmother should also reveal important forces at work that support the transmission of the ethnic language.

We have seen in Chapter 2 how family unity is an important aspect of the Italian culture. As such, the amount of interaction between the generations should affect the

degree of exposure to the ethnic language. Consequently, the degree of knowledge of an official language of immigrant women should impact on the degree of ethnic language use in second and third generations. Once again, a qualitative approach was considered better suited to examine the effect of 'gender' in intergenerational ethnic language maintenance. For these reasons, data for the present research was collected through semi-structured interviews with female generation triads, namely grandmother-daughter-granddaughter, within the same family, where the grandmother is the immigrant generation.

3.4 PROCEDURE AND PARTICIPANTS

In order to control for the normal macro factors cited in the literature as encouraging ethnic language maintenance, it was essential to recruit generation triads in which the grandmother (first generation) was Italian-born, married endogamously, resided in Saint-Léonard and emigrated from Italy to Canada during the second migration wave - between 1951 and 1971. Distribution of questionnaires to homes in Saint-Léonard was considered. However, the advanced age of these first-generation immigrant women and their anticipated reluctance to participate in the research would have made surveying quite difficult. Personal communication was considered a more productive option. It would allow the interviewer - a second-generation Italian immigrant woman fluent in the ethnic language - to explain in simple terms, and greater detail if necessary, the purpose and meaning of the research and questionnaire, as well as to reassure the respondents first-hand regarding their participation (not merely through the Consent Form which many found intimidating). Consequently, participants were personally sought by attending gatherings where potential respondents would be present.

The city of Saint-Léonard has several organizations available to the elderly population of its municipality. In 2002, nineteen organizations were registered with the Community Development Department. Interestingly, sixteen out of the nineteen existing Golden-age groups had directors of Italian origin where members were exclusively Italian. Of the nineteen groups, seven were for women only, seven for men only, and two were mixed. The other three groups had Francophone members and were also mixed. Gatherings usually take place one afternoon per week in recreational buildings located in Saint-Léonard parks as well as the arena. Membership of these groups ranged from fifteen to fifty people. The women-only groups as well as the mixed groups were considered as the best option to reach first-generation Italian immigrant women. After contacting the 'president' of each group, a visit during one of the gatherings took place. The Francophone groups were also contacted, but only one had members of Italian origin (two couples) and they declined participation. In all, six out of the nine potential groups were visited.

A pilot survey was conducted using a short questionnaire, which required less than ten minutes to complete, in order to gather a sample group. As expected, there was still some reluctance to participate; explanations on the research and its purpose were given in Italian and time was dedicated to answer any questions regarding participation. The women's main concern was fear of being contacted by strangers following their participation. Care was taken to emphasize anonymity, privacy and confidentiality of responses. Despite extensive reassurance, many chose not to participate.

Questionnaires were distributed to all women willing to participate, however, the large majority preferred that I ask the questions and record the answers. As I met with each one individually, the women who could read took the time to read the Consent Form and look over the questionnaire. Although meeting each participant individually was time consuming, there were several advantages associated with it. Firstly, it allowed

the recording of additional information some women shared as they answered the questions on language use. Secondly, it gave me the opportunity to reassure the women who were still skeptical to sign the Consent Form even though they were interested in participating. Thirdly, although the questionnaire was written in Italian, many needed additional explanations. Lastly, this approach allowed the participation of women who could not read, whether they were illiterate or they simply had very bad vision due to their advanced age.

Fifty-four women answered the questionnaire. Their ages at the time of the survey ranged from 58 to 85 years. All women migrated in the post-WW II period but their age at the time of migration ranged between 11 and 53 years. The spouses were of Italian ethnic origin and born in Italy. Of this first sample, nine did not meet the inclusion criteria (two resided in Montreal-North, one woman's daughter resided in Cleveland, U.S.A., three had sons only, another three had grandsons only), while six stated they did not want to participate further in the research. Therefore, there remained 39 potential generation triads.

Thirty-one women were contacted, and twelve agreed to an interview of which six are part of the generation triads. Reticence to participate was expected from the immigrant generation; however, it was hoped that by having previously met the interviewer would make these women feel more at ease and thus encourage participation. Unfortunately, it was not the case. Being initially approached in a group had an overall positive effect on participation as some women encouraged the less eager ones, but the individual participation created more reluctance. Reasons for refusing an interview were numerous, but the most common was lack of time (busy babysitting grandchildren), not interested for fear of being contacted by strangers that did not speak Italian, or their husbands and/or daughter were, or would be, against it.

The necessity of having their daughter and granddaughter participate was explained prior to the interview. Yet, the number of first-generation interviews is twice that of the generation triads. The reason for this difference is that at the interview session, two women preferred not having their daughters contacted because of their busy schedules. In addition, the phone numbers of the daughters were asked at the interview session, therefore, they were contacted only after the interview with their mother. Some second-generation women kept postponing rather than directly refusing, eventually appointments were never rescheduled, while others simply never returned calls.

Therefore, to insure having generation triads, a different strategy was employed, which proved to be a little more fruitful. The immigrant generation was initially contacted by phone and the purpose of the interview was explained to them. Speaking with the daughter prior to scheduling an interview was suggested, thus making the interviews more readily accepted. This was especially helpful when some hesitation was sensed. If the daughters agreed to participate, appointments were set with both generations. Some of the women contacted in this manner resulted in interviews being conducted with all three generations present, which was not expected. The age of the second-generation women ranges between 42 and 49 (M= 46.5). The median age of the third generation is 16.5. Four of the six young women were under 18, thus the parent's consent was required; two are aged 23 and 24 years old. All still resided in the family home.

3.5 QUESTIONNAIRES – Pilot survey and semi-structured interviews

Six questionnaires were prepared; one for the sampling survey and five for the semi-structured interviews of which three were for the third generation since the age of this cohort can range from pre-schoolers to adults – married or single. Therefore, questions on language use are worded according to the age group and their respective

social contexts. The questionnaires for the first generation were in Italian, while those for the second and third generation were in English (or French if necessary). A Consent Form for participation and permission to record the interview was included. In the case of minor children, one parent had to consent to the participation of the child and to have the interview recorded.

3.5.1 **Pilot survey questionnaire**

The main purpose of this pilot survey (Appendix A) was to identify first-generation Italian immigrant women with diverse linguistic and personal backgrounds in order to conduct the second part of this research. The questionnaire had thirteen questions most of which were of binary type, and a letter requesting an interview which the respondents were free to accept or think it over (in which case they would give their telephone number), or to refuse.

The questions inquired on place of birth and date of migration (respondent and their spouse), and on the presence of one daughter who had a daughter both residing in the Montreal Metropolitan area. The date of birth was also asked in order to define the age at migration since the literature suggests it is influential in learning a second language. Finally, questions on general language knowledge and language use in a few contexts were also included.

3.5.2 **Semi-structured interview questionnaire - First generation**

The questionnaire is in Italian, is seven pages long and has 97 questions, which are grouped into five sections (Appendix B). The interviews were tape recorded with the consent of the participants. The duration of the interviews ranged between one hour and two hours and fifteen minutes. Respondents were at liberty to take as much or as little time as they desired to answer the questions. All measurement scales are 5-point Likert type. A choice of five responses was deemed appropriate as it provided a satisfactory measure of language use and competency for the purpose of this study. It was felt that a

greater number of responses would result in greater confusion for the older generation. The same measures were maintained for all generations for consistency and comparability.

The first section of the questionnaire collected demographic information on the respondent, the spouse and the children such as place and date of birth, year of marriage, year of arrival in Canada, years of schooling of the respondent and the spouse, as well as the children's language of education at elementary school and their present occupation. The second section measures linguistic communicative competence in French, English, Italian, a regional dialect, and any other language they knew. Distinction between Italian and a regional dialect was considered important for several reasons. First, we have seen in Chapter 2 how the 'regional origin' of Italian immigrants was a factor in residential concentration. Second, many may speak only the regional dialect and that is the 'Italian' passed on to the second generation. The regional dialect may also limit participation within the larger Italian community and consequently, may not be passed on to the children. Others may have had the opportunity to learn Italian, but continue to use the regional dialect only to communicate with older relatives.

Competence in each language listed was measured through self-assessment by asking respondents how well they perceived themselves to speak, read, write and understand English, French, Italian and their regional dialect on a 5-point scale ranging from "Not at all" to "Very good" (adapted from Davis 1994). Reliance on self-rating is debatable as individuals may tend to over evaluate their competence (Delgado *et al.* 1999). However, to avoid over- or under-assessing language knowledge, the women were asked to identify up to three languages they found easy to use, starting with the easiest one. This question also hoped to detect if the standard Italian replaced the regional dialect, and which official language, French or English, they feel more at ease using if degree of knowledge is equal. In order to have the complete linguistic

environment surrounding these women, they were also asked to assess their husband's linguistic competence. Five questions on language acquisition (respondent and husband) are also included in this section.

Section 3 measures ethnic identity. Phinney (1990) emphasizes the importance of inquiring into ethnic identity before asking questions on the main purpose of research because it may influence the respondent's feeling of belonging to an ethnic group. Ethnic identity is measured with five questions using a 5-point scale asking respondents to what extent they regard themselves as Italian, Italo-Canadian, Italo-Quebecer, as well as their sense of belonging to a linguistic group, Francophone and Anglophone.

In section 4, language use is measured by 43 questions asking respondents how frequently they use Italian, French, English and their regional dialect (from 1, never, to 5, always) in each of nine situations that include private and public domains. The language habits of the spouse was also asked and provided when possible. Domains are the contexts in which communication takes place between individuals, and speakers in multilingual environments may use a different language based on the context they are in (Davis 1994). The host language is usually used in public domains since it is the dominant language of the host society, and it is in these domains that contact with the host language first occurs. Examples of public domains are workplace, shops, services, government institutions and the media. On the other hand, the ethnic language tends to persist in private domains since the speaker is not constrained to use the dominant language. These domains include friends, community groups, church, neighbourhood and most importantly, the home. The ethnic origin of the individuals generally in contact with each domain helps determine if the respondents are confined to an ethnic environment. Language use and frequency of use of each language in each domain will reveal if and where Italian has been displaced by English and/or French, and to what degree. The language used in public and private domains will reflect the degree of

integration or acculturation to the larger host society, in this case the Francophone society of Quebec.

Finally, through 37 open-ended questions, section 5 inquires on the family's history regarding immigration experience, exposure to official languages, residential mobility, family interaction and importance attributed to Italian culture, values and the language. This section also serves as a checklist for any information that was not obtained in the previous sections since respondents were not restrained by the 5-point scale answers present in some sections, or by the structure of the questionnaire. In fact, respondents could elaborate on their answers if they wished, and open-ended questions were inserted when deemed appropriate to the natural flow of the interview. The open-ended questions should provide details that explain change in linguistic behaviour since migration. In fact, an individual's life cycle phases[31] influence changes in language usage and can affect language maintenance and shift (Clyne 1982:58).

3.5.3 **Semi-structured interview questionnaire - Second generation**

The questionnaire for the second generation is six pages long and has 99 questions divided into five sections (Appendix C). All participants consented to have the interview recorded, which lasted between one hour and one hour and thirty minutes for each participant. Similar to the first generation, respondents were free to elaborate on their answers at all times.

The first section of the questionnaire collects demographic information on the respondent and their husband. Section 2 has a total of twelve questions, measuring linguistic background, language competency of the respondent and their partner, and ethnic identification. The answer scales are similar to the first-generation questionnaire. The questions also inquire about children's linguistic background as well as residential

[31] Examples of life cycle phases are migration, leaving the parental home, birth of each child, each child starting school, death of ones parent(s), death of a spouse, etc. (Clyne 1982:58).

movement of the respondent. To control for marriage effect in linguistic behaviour with family members, ethnic origin and basic knowledge of official languages of the partner's parents are also asked. In the third section, 45 questions measure language use in private and public domains, similar to the first generation. These are essential to identify the extent and completeness of language shift and maintenance.

Section 4 consists of fourteen open-ended questions on family interaction (all generations), ethnic values, culture and language; important elements to identify some of the underlying causes behind the extent and nature of language maintenance. As for the first generation, these questions also serve as a checklist for any information missed in the previous sections. In section 5, twenty questions briefly inquire on the respondents' language use and linguistic environment in past life stages (childhood, adolescence and early adulthood) in order to assess intra-generational change in the linguistic behaviour of these women. Indeed, the literature stresses how childhood and adolescence are important life stages that influence the nurture and attachment to the ethnic language, culture and values through parents and peers (Phinney *et al.* 2001).

3.5.4 **Semi-structured interview – Third generation**

Since this generation can be of very different age groups, it was deemed preferable to prepare three different questionnaires aimed at pre-schoolers, elementary students, and teens and young adults (Appendix D). However, only the latter questionnaire was used due to our sample, therefore, only that questionnaire is included and described.

The questionnaire for teens and young adults consists of eighty questions, is four pages long, and is similar to that of the second generation. Section 1 collects demographic information, while six questions in section 2 measure ethnic identification using 5-point scale answers. In section 3, five questions inquire on language knowledge and measure language competency through self-assessment questions, whereas

section 4, questions using 5-point scale answers identical to the other generations measure language use in various private and public domains; however, these questions also solicit additional information, for example ethnic origin of individuals in their social network, frequency of contact with relatives in Canada and in Italy, etc. In addition, it was important to consider that within this age group, some women could be married and with children (the fourth generation); therefore, this section also includes a series of questions regarding language use with their boyfriend or partner and his parents, as well as children. Finally, the twelve questions in section 5 are open-ended and focus on attitude towards ethnic language, culture and values, as well as involvement in the Italian community.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, the samples from the three generations cannot be considered representative of the Italian community in Montreal or even in Saint-Léonard. The data collected is therefore void of statistical significance. However, the major aim of this thesis is to explore within each family triad, the characteristics that encourage maintenance of the ethnic language beyond the immigrant generation, and its relationship to ethnic identity in the third generation. The interviews do provide the depth of information necessary to further explore the process of intergenerational ethnic language maintenance, information unavailable through census data or quantitative studies.

CHAPTER 4

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND OVERALL LANGUAGE USE AND PROFICIENCY OVER THREE GENERATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Fifty-four first-generation Italian immigrant women answered the preliminary questionnaire. While two live outside Saint-Léonard, the others are born in Italy and immigrated to Montreal during the peak wave of post-war immigration, 1951-1971, and were living in Saint-Léonard. The first section of this chapter is based on the analysis of the responses of all 54 women. Clearly, the selective nature of the sampling method means that this group is not representative of the population of Italian women living in Saint-Léonard, nevertheless their responses should provide a general overview of the linguistic profile and behaviour of these immigrant women. Specifically, this section will look at the type and degree of exposure to official languages as well as the general language use outside and inside the home based on employment, age at migration and years since migration. The questionnaire was deliberately short and simple since its prime purpose was to identify triads for more detailed interview, and for this reason many details which would have been useful testing the impact of employment, age at migration and years since migration on language use and maintenance were not asked.

From these fifty-four women, twelve first-generation Italian immigrant women participated in the semi-structured interviews. Of these, two women preferred not to have their daughters (and consequently granddaughters) contacted. Of the remaining ten, six daughter-granddaughter dyads agreed to an interview.

4.1 LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT AT WORK AND LANGUAGE USE – Pilot Survey

The work environment is conducive to linguistic assimilation as it usually exposes the immigrants to the host language. Daily interaction increases proficiency and

eventually increases use in other domains (Gordon 1964). The questionnaire asked, "Did you work in Canada? If yes, what language did you use at work?" Although the questionnaire did not specifically ask the number of years in the workforce, and hence the number of years exposed to a language other than Italian, which affects the likelihood of acquiring a second language (Reitz 1980), many women automatically volunteered the information.

Only five women were never employed, so most (49) did work at some time since their arrival in Canada. For those who worked, it appears that Italian and French were equally used as the language at work since 41 women declared using Italian only or with French and/or English to varying degrees, while 39 declared using French alone or with another language at varying degree (see Table 4.1). However, Italian predominates as language environment for 35 women compared to 14 for English and French combined (alone or predominant).

Table 4.1: Linguistic Environment at Work – pilot survey

Languages at work		*Women N*	*Language exposure*			*Total*
			Italian	*French*	*English*	
Never worked		5				5
Ethnic only	I	7	X			
Mostly ethnic	If	7	X	X		
	Ie	2	X		X	
	Ief	2	X	X	X	
Ethnic and official	IF	11	X	X		
	IE	1	X	X	X	
	IEF	5	X	X	X	35
	Fi-EFi	6	X	X		
Official only	F	6		X		
	EF	2		X	X	14
TOTAL		54	41	39	12	54

Note: Upper case letters are languages used most often and lower case are languages used least often.

Of the two official languages, women were mainly exposed to French rather than English, since only 12 declared using English along with other languages. Some women

indicated that English was used only by the bosses (usually to give instructions regarding work), while French and Italian were sometimes used by bosses but generally by co-workers, thus the degree of interaction was much greater.

The question on language use outside the home asked, "Do you use a language other than Italian outside the home? If yes, which other language do you use?" If the answer was "Yes", then they were asked, "Do you use this other language always, or occasionally?" Several women felt that "Occasionally" did not fully represent their behaviour and mentioned that they used it "only when necessary". These answers are combined in Table 4.2, and we can observe that French is used outside the home, but only when necessary. In fact, Italian is used most of the time and the use of one of the official languages is limited to when their interlocutors do not understand Italian. Residence in an area with a high concentration of Italian population and an extensive ethnic institutional network play an important role in permitting the use of Italian in the public domain. The use of English is extremely limited. This may reflect poor proficiency in English, the predominance of French among non-Italian residents of the neighbourhood, as well as a stronger promotion of French since Bill 101.

Table 4.2: Present Language Use Outside the Home Domain – pilot survey

Languages	*Only*	*When necessary or occasionally*
Italian	7	
French		38
English		1
French or English		8
Total	7	47

The workplace is considered one domain where linguistic integration occurs, but this is assuming the linguistic environment is conducive to it. Of the 49 women who participated in the workforce, the actual number of years is known for 28 women only, and it ranges between 3 and 45 years, but the majority worked between 11 to 20 years

(see Table 4.3). Of these women, only three mentioned using English or French outside the home depending on the situation or the place. Two women answered using Italian only, and the remainder (23) answered using English or French only when necessary; in other words, when they could not use Italian. Therefore, Italian remains the main language used in public domains despite exposure to French for many years, and consequently we assume they gained some proficiency in this language.

Table 4.3: Number of Years in the Workforce - pilot survey

Years worked	*Women N*
None	5
1 ≤ 10	6
11 ≤ 20	10
21 ≤ 30	6
31 ≤ 40	6
41 ≤	2
Total	33

More interesting still is that the women who use Italian only are not necessarily those that never worked or who worked in essentially Italian environments (see Table 4.4). Therefore, we can assume that other factors, whether personal attitude or the nature of their linguistic contacts, encouraged acquisition of an official language and its use outside the home.

Table 4.4: Linguistic Environment at Work and Corresponding Language Use Outside the Home Domain – pilot survey

Languages at work		*Languages used outside the home*				
		Women	*Only*	*Sometimes*		
		N	*I*	*F*	*E*	*F - E*
Never worked		5	2	2	1	-
Mostly ethnic	I	7	5	2	-	-
	If	7	-	7	-	-
	Ie – IE	3	-	2		1
Ethnic and official	IF	11	1	9	-	1
	Ief -EFI(i)	8	-	6	-	2
Mostly official	Fi	5	1	3	-	1
	F	6	-	6	-	-
	E F	2	-	-	-	2
TOTAL		54	9	37	1	7

4.2 LANGUAGE USE AT HOME – CHANGE OVER TIME

To assess changes in home language, the women were asked "What language did you speak at home during your children's childhood?" The women could name more than one language. Another question asked, "Do you speak only Italian at home now? If yes, with whom? If no, what other language do you speak at home now? With whom do you speak this language?" There is clearly a change in language use at home over time. In the past, most women used exclusively Italian (30), Dialect (11) or both (9) in the home. The number of responses combined[32] is 50 out of 54, whereas women who spoke Italian or dialect along with an official language totals three responses[33]. One woman declared 'Italian and Spanish', which she learned in Argentina, South America, where she lived with her husband and children for fifteen years prior to migrating to Canada in 1972.

[32] The Canadian census does not distinguish between Italian and dialect; therefore, we join these two languages under the same category.
[33] The home languages for these women were Italian and French, Italian and English and dialect and English.

The process of language shift begins with the immigrant generation learning the host language through exposure with family members who have achieved some degree of proficiency in the dominant language (Veltman 1983). Therefore, the question on language use at home in the present was asked to see if the acquisition of an official language would translate into increased use of the language at home. To distinguish the effect of outmarriages in the second-generation, the women were asked to specify which language they use with the immediate family members (spouse, children, grandchildren) as well as with sons- and daughters-in-law.

The results in Table 4.5 show that the use of Italian alone has slightly increased to 34 responses while dialect (either alone or with Italian) has dropped significantly from 20 to 8 responses. The regional dialect appears to become gradually replaced by Italian, or as many women refer to it by "an improved dialect". If we combine Italian only and dialect responses, the total is 42, which is 8 less than 'in the past'. Therefore, although Italian is being used more than a dialect, overall there is slightly less use of the 'ethnic language' in the home. In addition, it appears that English is now more often spoken than French (9 versus 4), probably as a result of exposure of first generation mothers to their children's language of instruction.

Table 4.5: Present Language use at Home with Family Members – pilot survey

Italian and dialect		*Ethnic language and English*	*Ethnic language and both official languages*	*Ethnic language and French*	*Italian and Spanish*	
I	34	I E 3		I F 1	I S 1	39
D	4	D E 1	D E F 1			6
I D	4	I D E 2	I D E F 1	I D F 1		8
		E 1				1
Total	42	7	2	2	1	**54**
E		9				
F			4			

Another change is the various combinations of languages where use of an official language along with Italian and/or a dialect has increased. But what is most interesting is how the languages are used in specific situations or with specific people. For example, the regional dialect is used with the spouse (usually from the same region) and the children[34]. However, Italian is used with the grandchildren who do not understand the dialect, as well as with sons- or daughters-in-law who are of Italian origin but from a different Italian region, hence do not speak the same dialect. Finally, the women that have a little knowledge of either or both official languages generally use it with grandchildren and with in-laws who do not understand Italian or the dialect. Some women also use interchangeably Italian and the dialect with their spouses and children.

Interestingly, the woman who used Italian and Spanish at home in the past continues to do so with her children and grandchildren, even though she has been living in Montreal for thirty years. She explains the persistent use of Spanish over time by simple attractiveness and popularity of this language with her family members. Despite living here longer than she did in Argentina, she has yet to learn French or English as well as she did Spanish. She explained that as an immigrant in both places, pressure to learn the dominant language in order to function in the host society was much greater in Argentina than in Quebec.

Finally, the slight increase in the use of English or French suggests that women who worked are those who have adopted one or both official languages in the home following years of exposure and possibly increased proficiency in the language(s). In fact, we note that some women worked over twenty years in a French- or English-speaking environment (for example respondents # 2, 4, 5, 7, 29, 35, 43, 44 and 52), yet

[34] Sociolinguists refer to this language situation as diglossia. It is when speakers who speak two or more languages of the same variety, such as Standard Italian and a regional dialect, use each one in specific contexts, for example dialect with fellow villagers and Italian when in the presence of Italians from other regions (Fishman 1972a).

they still use the ethnic language at home. Therefore, other factors must encourage use of the ethnic language within the home. Table 4.6 (see page 146) shows each person's 'evolution' in home language based on language at work, years of employment, age at migration and years since migration. The following paragraphs will pertain specifically to this table.

4.3 AGE AT MIGRATION, YEARS SINCE MIGRATION AND LINGUSITIC PROFILE

The literature suggests that the younger the age at migration, the greater the chances to acquire the host language and consequently integrate, or assimilate linguistically (Veltman 1991). This questionnaire asked for year of birth and year of migration in order to determine the age at migration. For this group, the age ranged from 11 to 54 years and the median is 25, comparable to 23.7 for Italian immigrants of post-WW II migration wave (Iacovetta 1987:7). Four women were under 16 (and hence of school age) when they arrived in Canada. Compared to the older women, these young immigrants should have had a greater opportunity to learn either or both official languages, especially if they attended school. Unfortunately, this survey did not have questions on education. Nonetheless, the 'younger' immigrants at the time of migration are not necessarily the ones who use either, or both, official languages outside the home. However, these women (# 28, 31, 34 and 35 in Table 4.6) all understand both official languages and they worked in a linguistic environment where one or both official languages were used.

Respondents # 36, 37 and 44 were over thirty years old when they migrated to Canada, yet they also understand both official languages. However, # 36 was employed for 33 years in a bilingual environment (English and French), while respondents # 37 and 44 both worked for 26 years in an Italian and English environment (see Table 4.6). But within the entire sample group, of the ten women that were 35 years and over at the time

of migration seven have the lowest use and knowledge of an official language (for example, respondents # 8, 12, 23, 26, 38, 50 and 53). Of the nine women who use only Italian outside the home, four were over 35 when they came and the average age is 45 compared to 31.5 for the entire group. Therefore, age appears to inhibit language acquisition, thus supporting the literature. However, of these two groups of women with low or no use of an official language outside the home, two never worked (# 23 and 42), while six worked in Italian environments (# 8,11, 12, 17, 50, 53) and three worked in a French and Italian environment (# 16, 20, 38), but only for ten years or less. Hence, several factors must be taken into consideration when examining the linguistic integration of immigrants, as one factor alone, such as age at migration, might not be a strong enough determinant.

Years since migration is also suggested to influence the degree of knowledge of a host language (Veltman 1991). All women surveyed migrated in the post-WW II migration wave, between 1950 and 1975. However, this 25-year range can yield different results in official language proficiency. In this sample, residence in Canada averages 42.5 years with more than three-quarters living over forty years in Canada. Therefore, as we might expect, time since migration varies much less than age at migration among this group.

As mentioned previously, proficiency was not assessed in this survey, but if we examine linguistic behaviour outside the home and the answers regarding which language they 'understand only', there is very little difference between the women. In Table 4.6, the responses show that 37 women understand English, and we can assume they have some understanding of French since the majority speak it "when necessary".

Perhaps women who migrated at a young age and have lived the longest time in Canada have acquired greater proficiency in the host language than those who migrated at a later date and at a more advanced age. Ten respondents (# 2, 15, 28, 31, 34, 35,

41, 43, 52 and 54) were twenty years old or less when they arrived in Canada and time since migration ranges between forty and fifty years (in 2002). Their linguistic abilities in an official language appear to be slightly superior. But in four cases (# 2, 28, 31 and 35) we are tempted to conclude that the language at work was influential in language acquisition since these women understand both English and French, as do # 34 and 54. However, these two women worked in French-speaking environments, as did # 15 and 43. Respondent # 41 worked in an Italian-speaking environment, so work had little influence in her acquisition of an official language. Therefore, age at migration and years since migration can be influential, but the complete nature of immigrants' linguistic contacts should also be considered if we are to discover where and how these women learned an official language if not at work.

The typical first generation Italian immigrant in this larger sample is 70 years old, has lived 46 years in Canada and migrated on average between 1950 and 1965. Most worked for some time, but the language of work was Italian for most, and when an official language is used it is normally French. When we look at which official language is used outside the home domain, it is usually the language used at work, namely French. Several women mention they understand a little English, French or both when people speak it to them; however, they could not have a conversation in one of those languages; they could only understand or speak enough words to manage within the public domains where Italian could not be used, or with grandchildren who do not understand Italian (or dialect). In the next section we will present the demographic and linguistic profile of the 24 women interviewed: twelve from the first generation and six from each second and third generations.

4.4 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE, LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY BASED ON SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Twelve first-generation immigrant women answered the semi-structured questionnaire. Of these, only six were ultimately part of the family triads. At the choice of each respondent, the semi-structured interviews were conducted in Italian for the first generation and in English for the other two generations. All participants consented to have the interview recorded. Since information on their husbands was integral to the questions asked, some spouses were present during the interview and shared some ideas. For those whose husbands deceased, their linguistic ability and language use pertains to the period prior to their death. The names of the women interviewed were changed to preserve their anonymity. However, in order to distinguish the different family triads, each woman belonging to the same family was assigned a name starting with the same letter (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7: Assigned Names of Interview Sample – three generations

Interview #	*First*		*Second*		*Third*	
	Name	*Age at interview*	*Name*	*Age at interview*	*Name*	*Age at interview*
40	Adele	71				
27	Beatrice	74				
23	Concetta	81				
36	Donna	75				
24	Evelyne	69				
13	Francine	67				
39	Irma	71	Irene	49	Isabella	24
54	Julie	65	Judith	46	Janice	14
21	Liana	71	Laura	47	Lydia	17
2	Marcella	61	Maria	42	Miranda	16
19	Nora	72	Nicole	47	Natasha	23
5	Sara	59	Sylvia	42	Sabrina	14
Average		69.7		45.5		18
Median		71.0		46.5		16.5

We will first present the linguistic behaviour of the three generations in private and public domains. The data collected on language use represents which language is

used in specific settings and with what order of priority, not how many times one speaks it. The purpose was to establish the linguistic behaviour since the literature stresses that knowledge alone is not enough for intergenerational survival of languages, but rather its degree of use within specific domains (Fishman 1991). In addition, it would reveal if a particular domain were reserved to the ethnic language. We will also look at the degree of proficiency in the ethnic language of the second and third generations, as well as the first-generations proficiency level in Canada's official languages. We will then examine if the results support the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 3. The domains used to measure language use reflect the structural dimension of Gordon's (1964) overall assimilation model discussed in Chapter 1. If our sample follows the language shift model, we should expect the third generation immigrants to have an official language as their mother tongue, and their proficiency and use of Italian should be nil or very low. The demographic profile of the spouses of the first and second generation women will also be part of the results since their background contributes to the linguistic exposure of the children.

4.4.1 **The first generation**

The first-generation immigrant women were in their sixties and seventies at the time of the interview (median = 71). Ten women were from southern Italy (Sicily - 5, Molise - 3, Campania - 1 and Basilicata -1) and two from central Italy (Abruzzo) (see Table 4.8). Three of the first-generation women (Nora, Liana and Irma) who are also part of the family triads are widowed. Questions regarding language knowledge and use of the spouses were still asked since these men passed away when the children were adults, thus undoubtedly affecting the linguistic environment the children were exposed to growing up. The majority of the participants and their spouse are not only from the same region, Sicily, but they are also from the same province, Agrigento, and most from the same village, Cattolica.

Table 4.8: Regional Origin of First-Generation Immigrant Couples – semi-structured interview

		Respondent			Spouse			
#	NAME	Village	Province	Region	Village	Province	Region	Year deceased
5	**Sara**	**Cattolica**	**Agrigento**	**Sicily**	**Cattolica**			
23	Concetta	Cattolica	Agrigento	Sicily	Cattolica			1975
39	**Irma**	**Cattolica**	**Agrigento**	**Sicily**	**Cattolica**			**1999**
2	**Marcella**	Montallegro	Agrigento	Sicily	Cattolica	Agrigento		
40	Adele	S. Lucia Del Mela	Messina	Sicily	Barcelona	Messina		
19	**Nora**	**Gildone**	**Campobasso**	**Molise**	**Ferrazzano**	**Campobasso**		**1981**
21	**Liana**	**Larino**	**Campobasso**	**Molise**	**Larino**			**1985**
54	**Julie**	**Casalciprano**	**Campobasso**	**Molise**	**Casalciprano**			
36	Donna	S. Maria Vico	Caserta	Campania	Gildone	Campobasso	Molise	
27	Beatrice	Torrevecchia	Chieti	Abruzzo	Montenerodomo	Chieti		
13	Francine	Corfinio	L'Aquila	Abruzzo	Popoli	Pescara	Abruzzo	
24	Evelyne	PescoPagano	Potenza	Basilicata	same			

This appears to support the literature, which suggests that entire villages moved to Canada (Painchaud and Poulin 1988; Jansen 1988). All the women have the same regional dialect as their husbands except one, Donna; she is from Campania and her husband is from Molise.

As prescribed by Southern Italian culture, these women all married at a young age with husbands considerably older than them (see Table 4.9). Irma was the youngest bride at 14 and Liana was the oldest at 24; the youngest groom was 23 and the oldest was 33. The husbands were 2 to 12 years older than their spouses (mean = 7). Sicilian women were on average younger and the age difference with their spouses the greatest (always > 8).

Table 4.9: Age at Marriage and Age Difference of First-Generation Immigrant Couples

Name	*Region*	*Age at marriage*		*Age difference*
		Women	*Spouse*	
Irma	**Sicily**	**14**	**24**	**10**
Sara	**Sicily**	**17**	**29**	**12**
Concetta	Sicily	18	26	8
Marcella	**Sicily**	**18**	**28**	**10**
Beatrice	Abruzzo	19	24	5
Francine	Abruzzo	19	24	5
Julie	**Molise**	**19**	**25**	**6**
Adele	Sicily	19	28	9
Donna	Campania	20	23	3
Evelyne	Basilicata	22	28	6
Nora	**Molise**	**23**	**25**	**2**
Liana	**Molise**	**24**	**33**	**9**
Average		19.3	26.4	7

Note: Names in bold are the women who are part of the family triads.

All the couples migrated between 1950 and 1965, but not all these women immigrated to Canada as married women. Nora and Francine migrated at an earlier date sponsored by family members (see Table 4.10). They later married by proxy and sponsored their husbands. In addition, the interview revealed that two of the twelve

couples did not migrate directly from Italy; Marcella and Donna lived in Venezuela for six and three years, respectively, prior to migrating to Canada in 1960. Both have spouses of Italian origin, but Marcella migrated with her family to Venezuela where she met and married her husband, while Donna moved to Venezuela with her husband. They were not excluded from the preliminary analysis as we hope they can share interesting experiences on the adaptation process in different linguistic environments.

Table 4.10: Migration Profile of First-Generation Immigrant Couples

Names	*Age at migration*		*Year of migration*		*Years since migration*		*Year of marriage*
	W	M	W	M	W	M	
Francine	17	24	1952	1954	51	49	1954
Marcella	**19**	**29**	**1960**	**1960**	**43**	**43**	**1959**
Julie	**19**	**19**	**1956**	**1950**	**47**	**53**	**1956**
Sara	**21**	**21**	**1964**	**1964**	**39**	**39**	**1960**
Evelyne	23	23	1956	1950	47	53	1955
Nora	**23**	**26**	**1953**	**1954**	**50**	**27**	**1953***
Liana	**24**	**27**	**1955**	**1949**	**48**	**36**	**1955***
Beatrice	25	27	1953	1950	50	53	1947
Irma	**26**	**34**	**1957**	**1955**	**46**	**44**	**1945***
Adele	29	35	1960	1960	43	43	1950
Donna	33	36	1960	1960	43	43	1947
Concetta	41	47	1962	1960	41	15	1939*
Average	25	29			45.7	41.5	
Median	23.5	27			46.5	43	

W= wife; H= husband
*deceased at time of interview

For the other women, some traveled to Canada soon after their marriage, while others joined their husbands a few years later with their children. The average number of years since migration is 41.5 for the men[35] and 45.7 for the women. The age at migration ranges between 17 and 41 (median= 23.5) for the women, while it is between 19 and 47 (median = 27) for the men. Therefore, even though the women migrated a few years later, the average age is still lower, mostly due to the age difference between husband and wife.

[35] For the deceased, Years since migration only includes from year of migration to year of death.

Consistent with the history of Italian migration (see Chapter 2), these men and women were sponsored as part of a chain migration. Irma recalled part of the family 'chain' that eventually brought her family here to Montreal. Her mother-in-law migrated first with a son and his wife, and she sponsored Irma's husband and one of her sons. Irma's brother-in-law sponsored her eldest son; and she came a few years later with her other two children, sponsored by her husband. This 'chain' took place with all his siblings and their families; consequently, her husband has a large family in Montreal and keeps contact regularly. The sponsors lodged the new migrants and this cohabitation lasted from a few months to several years. For example, Sara and her husband lived four years with her husband's sister, while Marcella and her husband lived with her mother for six months before moving into their own apartment next door. As Sara explains,

> You couldn't afford a home when you arrived here, so we had to help each other out. The only way was to share a place to live. We help them with a little money and they help us save a little money for our own place because we came with almost nothing, but we had the will to work and improve our financial situation.[36]

However, some men migrated on their own, like Evelyne's husband who came to Canada in response to the government's quest for migrant workers during the post-war period.

Cohabitation was one way of coping with the financial burden of migration, but many women, like most Italian immigrant women of the post-war period (Iacovetta 1987; Haddad and Lam 1994), also entered the labour force to make ends meet. Aside from Concetta, who migrated at an older age, all the other women were employed at some time and are now retired. The average was 22.4 years (median = 25). Most women started working within days or weeks after arriving in Montreal; for example, Donna started 3 days after arrival, while Nora recalled starting at her first job within weeks of migrating. Some searched for jobs on their own, but the majority asked relatives,

[36] Free-style translation.

neighbours or other fellow villagers to introduce them to their current employer hoping for a position, usually in the clothing industry. Once they found a job, they were generally loyal to their employer, thus resulting in little change in the linguistic environment.

The number of years of education for this sample group ranges from 2 to 7 for the women (median = 3.5) and from 2 to 19 (median = 5) for the men (see Table 4.11). Therefore, the overall education level is low for both sexes, which is consistent with studies on Italian immigrants (Richmond 1967; Reitz 1980; Jansen 1988; Painchaud and Poulin1988; Ramirez 1989a). One exception from this group is Francine's husband who emigrated from Italy with a degree from the School of Fine Arts in Florence. In all but three cases husbands had a few more years of education than their spouses.

Table 4.11: Women's Number of Years in the Labour Force and Years of Education of First-Generation Immigrant Couples

Name	*Years worked*	*Years of education*	
	N	*Women*	*Spouse*
Marcella	**30**	**2**	**2**
Evelyne	13	2	4
Beatrice	20	2	5
Nora	**3**	**3**	**unknown**
Concetta	0	3	5
Donna	40	3	5
Julie	**33**	**4**	**7**
Sara	**27**	**5**	**3**
Adele	25	5	3
Francine	10	5	19
Irma	**31**	**6**	**6**
Liana	**15**	**7**	**5**
Average	20.6	3.9	5.8
Without 0	22.5		
Median	22.5	3.5	5
Without 0	25		

The average age of this sample group is 70 at the time of the interview. Age at marriage is 19 for the women and 26 for their husbands, where the greatest age

difference is among the Sicilian couples. All couples migrated on average 46 years ago; age at migration is 25 for the women and 29 for their husbands.

4.4.2 **The second generation**

The six second-generation immigrant women reside in Laval (2), Saint-Léonard (2), Rivière-des-Prairies (1), and St-Bruno (1). The age of this sample group at the time of the interview was between 42 and 49 years old (average = 45.5), and they are all employed. Two women, Sylvia and Irene, were born in Italy, but arrived in Canada at the age of 3, young enough to be considered as Canadian-born. Judith and Laura's husbands are Canadian-born, while the other men are all born in Italy and were between 5 and 16 years old at migration[37]. Four couples share the same Italian regional background, and consequently the same dialect, two do not (see Table 4.12). Surprisingly, 'regional' inmarriages appear to have survived in the second generation for these families.

Table 4.12: Regional Origin, Mother Tongue and Age at Migration – second-generation women

Regional origin			*Mother tongue*		*Age at migration*
Women (or parents)		*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Men*
Irene*	Sicily	Sicily	D	D	5
Sylvia*	Sicily	Sicily	D	D	10
Maria	Sicily	Sicily	D	D	16
Judith	Molise	Molise	D	D	-
Nicole	Molise	Puglia	D	D	11
Laura	Molise	unknown	D	I	-

*Migrated at age 3.

The age at marriage for these women is relatively similar to their mothers': 20.5 (ranging from 17 to 23 years old) compared to 19.3 for their mothers, while the husbands married somewhat younger: 24.2 compared to 26.4 for the first generation.

[37] Laura was recently widowed (1997) and Irene divorced in 1995, but they have not remarried. Just like the previous generation, information on their former partners was still collected as much as possible since the children (third generation) were also exposed to the fathers' linguistic behaviour.

Consequently, there is a smaller age difference between couples of this generation compared to the previous generation (see Table 4.13). However, the greater age differences are among the Sicilian couples.

Table 4.13: Age at Marriage and Age Difference – second generation

Second Generation				*First generation*	
	Age at marriage		*Age*		*Age*
Names	*Women*	*Spouse*	*difference*	*Names*	*difference*
Maria	17	24	7	Marcella	10
Irene	20	25	5	Irma	10
Sylvia	20	25	5	Sara	12
Laura	21	22	1	Liana	9
Judith	22	23	1	Julie	6
Nicole	23	26	3	Nora	2
Average	20.5	24.2	3.7		8.2

The education level of the second generation is greater than their mothers'. All women have a high school diploma. Judith and Nicole completed one or more years of post-secondary education. All the women attended English language schools except for Judith who attended bilingual elementary studies for a few years before switching to English. The men's education level is somewhat more diverse at large. The Canadian-born Italians have a university degree, while the others are high school graduates. All men received English-language education except for Judith's husband who, like his wife, also resided in Saint-Léonard during his childhood years and attended bilingual classes for a few years in elementary school, until they were abolished.

All these couples have children in their teens or adulthood, but Irene is the only grandmother. The majority of these parents chose English-language instruction for their children, but Laura and Judith chose French immersion[38] programs at the elementary

[38] The French immersion programs were introduced following the introduction of Bill 101, which made French-language instruction mandatory for all immigrants. This was a popular program among families with children previously enrolled in the English-language school system. This program resembled the bilingual program, but eventually levelled off the number of hours taught in English.

level (see Table 4.14). When asked to justify their choices, the most common answer was simply because they were educated in English.

Table 4.14: Year of Birth and Language of Education - children of the second-generation immigrant couples

Second generation women	*Third generation*				
	Sons		*Daughters*		
	Year of birth	Language of education	Names	Year of birth	Language of education
Maria	1982	E	Miranda	1987	E
Nicole	1986	Fi - E	Natasha	1980	E
Sylvia	1984	E	Sabrina	1989	E
Laura	1980	Fi - E	Lydia	1985	Fi - E
Judith	0		Janice	1989	Fi - E
			Janice's sister	1984	Fi - E
Irene	1973	E	Isabella	1979	E
	1975	E			

4.4.3 **The third generation**

This sample group consists of four teenagers aged between 14 and 17, and two young adults aged 23 and 24. All were born into homes where both parents are of Italian origin, whether Canadian- or foreign-born. Although four of these young women are of Italian mother tongue (includes both Italian and dialect), all six had some knowledge of English, French or both upon starting school (see Table 4.15). In addition, all attended Italian language classes whether on Saturday mornings or in elementary school a few hours per week during lunch hour, except for Janice. Residential location has remained unchanged for all except Isabella who moved back to Saint-Léonard in 1998. Prior to her move, she lived in Nouveau Rosemont, where the neighbourhood was also predominantly Italian.

Table 4.15: Mother Tongue and Language Known at School Entry based on Parents' Birthplace – third generation women

Names	*Parents*		*Total languages known at school entry*
	Both native-born	*Native- and Foreign-born*	
	Mother Tongue		
Lydia	D		D – E
Miranda		D	D –E
Sabrina		I	I – F
Natasha		I	I – E
Isabella		E	E – D
Janice	E		E - F

At the time of the interview, the teenagers were all full time students, while Isabella and Natasha worked full time. Natasha recently completed her undergraduate studies, while Miranda, Sabrina and Janice were still in high school; Lydia was attending college. The language of instruction was English with the exception of Janice and Lydia who were in French immersion at the elementary level. Lydia attended bilingual high school and pursued her post-secondary studies in English. Aside from Isabella, whose education level is that of the second-generation women, this younger generation seems to be aiming for a higher education.

The second-generation immigrants of the family triads are in their mid-forties and have completed secondary studies in English. They all have partners of Italian ethnic origin (foreign- or Canadian-born). Their daughters, the third generation of the triads, are on average 18 years old and are also educated in English. Four out of six are of Italian mother tongue. We will now examine if and how the ethnic language survived in the third generation, particularly in which domains and what factors may be at play.

4.5 INTERGENERATIONAL CHANGE IN LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DOMAINS

In Chapter 2, we have seen that linguistic continuity is measured by the percentage of ethnic mother tongue speakers that report it in the Canadian Census as

"the language used most often at home". It is in this domain that an individual first learns to communicate in a language, the mother tongue. If the ethnic language is not used in the home, the most private domain, then it has little chance to survive elsewhere since the host language dominates in public domains. However, living in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood, or having an interpersonal linguistic network where the ethnic language dominates may well encourage the continued use of the ethnic language (as discussed in Chapter 2).

While use implies knowledge, does knowledge of a language automatically result in its use? This is particularly important when examining ethnic language survival at the second and third generations. In ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, does the survival of an ethnic language necessarily require a greater degree of use in the home compared to other languages? The same question can be asked of the first generation regarding the host language. Does the ability to "conduct a conversation in an official language" (as asked in the Canadian census) automatically result in greater use of that language in public and/or private domains and consequently lead to linguistic acculturation, or integration? In the following sections we will describe the linguistic behaviour of the three generations of women in public and private domains.

4.5.1 **Linguistic behaviour in public domains**

The questionnaires for the first and second generations specifically asked each respondent to identify all the languages used in a variety of public domains where interactions of a more impersonal nature occur (secondary level - see Chapter 1). These include economic and occupational contexts, relations with the various levels of government, education and the media. The respondents rated on a scale from 1 (never) to 5 (always) how often they use a language in a number of settings that represent these domains (see Table 4.16). Due to the importance Italians attribute to traditional cooking (Gans 1962; Laroche *et al.* 1999), food stores were separated from other stores.

'Personal Services' includes settings where interaction requires a clear understanding of the information being exchanged and where there is a greater degree of interaction or a more 'personal' relationship.

Table 4.16: Categories and Sub-categories of Public Domains

Government affairs	*Economic activities*		*Services*		*Work*	*Education*
	Stores					
	Food	*Other*	*Personal*	*General*		
Federal	grocery	Clothing	hairdresser	hospital	coworkers	daycare
Provincial	bakery	Pharmacy	esthetician	clinic	boss	school
Municipal	market	house articles	family doctor	bank	public	
			pediatrician	post office		

The third generation was asked the same questions, but fewer were on language use in public domains since it was assumed that parents usually accompany their children; therefore, they interact with the same dentist, family doctor, hairdresser, etc. However, two third-generation women are young adults; they might have developed their own network of contacts, but the mothers specified it if that was the case.

4.5.1.1 First generation

The first generation was asked twenty questions on how often they use English, French and Italian in the three main categories of public domains. In Table 4.17, we can see the number of times each language was used (rated between 2 and 5) in each category, whether in single or multiple responses. Italian and French appear to be used just as often in the 'Stores' and 'Services' categories, but French dominates over English for government affairs.

Table 4.17: Language Use in Government Affairs and Economic Activities – first-generation women

Language	*Government affairs*	*Economic*	
		Services	*Stores*
Italian	1	19	22
French	21	19	19
English	14	2	2

However, if we examine each category in greater detail, we note that Italian dominates for 'Personal Services', while French is more consistently used in 'General Services' (see Table 4.18). The same is noted for 'Stores', where Italian dominates in 'Food', whereas French is used more consistently in 'Other' (see Table 4.19). If we look at the respondents' individual linguistic choices in the 'Economic' categories, we note that four women (Concetta, Irma, Liana and Adele) consistently use Italian only or predominantly in almost all settings, suggesting their linguistic abilities (speaking) in either official language are rather poor.

Table 4.18: Language Use in Economic Activities, Services Category – first-generation women

Languages		*Services*				*Total*	
		General		*Personal*			
Mostly ethnic	I	----	0	**M - S** - E - A - D	5	5	17
	If	C - **I** - A	3	C - **I**	2	5	
Ethnic and official	IF	**L**	1	**L**-B-**J** -**N**	4	5	
	IFE	D – **J**	2	----	0	2	
Mostly official	Fi	**M** – E -B	3	----	0	3	3
	F	F – **S** - **N**	3	F	1	4	4
TOTAL			12		12	24	24

Note: Only the women's initials are entered and the women from the family triads are in bold character.

Table 4.19: Language Use in Economic Activities, Stores Category – first-generation women

Languages		*Stores*				*Total*	
		Food products		*Other*			
Mostly ethnic	I	**S** – C	2	**M**–C	2	4	18
	If	F- **N**- **L**- E- B- D- **I**- A	8	**N**–**L**–**I**	3	11	
Ethnic and official	IF	----	0	**S**–B–A	3	3	
Mostly official	Fi	----	0	F	1	1	3
	Efi	**J**	1	**J**	1	2	
	F	----	0	E–D	2	2	2
TOTAL			11*		12		23

Note: Upper case letters are languages rated 4-5; lower case letters are languages rated 2-3.
*Marcella is not included because her husband goes grocery shopping (he uses Italian only).

Language use in government relations presents a different linguistic picture. A clear difference exists between federal, provincial and municipal departments. English appears to be more widely used than French when dealing with federal and provincial governments (see Table 4.20). However, the six respondents that answered receiving federal and provincial correspondence in English do so because it is the children who read it. In fact, four of the six are homeowners and receive their municipal correspondence in French like the rest of the group, and they also use French when communicating by phone. Marcella even mentioned using Italian with employees at the municipal office, "if when I call or go [there and] the person I talk with sees that I'm struggling with French, they try to look for someone who speaks Italian, and often they do. So I rarely have problems."

Table 4.20: Language Use in Public Domains, Government Affairs- first-generation women

Government affairs	*Languages*	
	English	*French*
Federal	D – **J**	
Provincial		D – **J**
Federal and provincial	**M- S- L-** C- B- **I**	F- **N**- E- A
Municipal		All women

The media is suggested as an assimilative institution, as it conveys the values of the host society, and reading the newspaper is frequently considered as a sign of acculturation (Richmond 1967). The results in Table 4.21 clearly point to high interest in the ethnic media, especially the radio and newspapers. However, of the two official languages, French-language media dominates over English. Some women are not listed in the table because they either do not watch TV or listen to the radio (Concetta) or they simply do not read the newspapers, whether in Italian or in any other language (Liana and Beatrice).

Table 4.21: Language Choices Involving the Media – first-generation women

Languages		*TV*	*Radio*	*Newspapers*	*Total*	
Mostly Italian	I	F-B	all	**N**-C-D-**I**-A	13	13
	If	**S-N-L-I**-A	**S**-F-A	**S**-F-E	11	15
	Ife	**M**-D	**J**	**J**	4	
Italian and official	IF	E	---	**M**	2	3
	IFE	**J**	---	---	1	
Mostly official	Fi	---	**L**	---	1	1

In this sample, all the first-generation women worked except for Concetta. These women were mainly exposed to linguistically mixed environments at work, but Italian and French are predominant (see Table 4.22). For some women, French was generally used with bosses, while Italian was used with co-workers. Only three women (Donna, Adele and Julie) worked in an English language environment, but at varying degree of exposure since Julie worked predominantly with French-speaking women.

Table 4.22: Language Environment in the Workforce – first-generation women

Languages		*Names*	*Total*	
Mostly ethnic	If	**Marcella - Irma**	2	7
	IF	Francine- **Nora-Liana** - Beatrice	4	
	IE	Adele	1	
Mostly official	Fi	**Sara**	1	3
	Fie	**Julie**	1	
	Efi	Donna	1	
Only official	F	Evelyne	1	1
TOTAL			11	11

However, work environments were also ethnically mixed. Liana remembers that her co-workers were from various ethnic groups, but she was the only Italian; whereas Irma explained, "where I worked, we were just as many Greeks as Italians. But the Greek women learned Italian and spoke it with us."[39] Eight women said they learned French at work, except for Donna who learned English at her first job. She worked fifteen years at

[39] Free-style translation

a manufacture where the bosses were English-speaking and the workers were from various ethnic groups who used English most often. However, at her second job where she worked for 25 years, the bosses and co-workers were all Italian, but she spoke English quite regularly.

4.5.1.2 Second generation

The children of the immigrant generation are the 'in-between' generation of the language shift process. Based on the three-generation model, if the first generation maintains the ethnic language at home despite learning an official language, it is incumbent upon the second generation to transmit the ethnic language to their children as mother tongue. The home is the ultimate place of transmission (Fishman 1985), but the linguistic environment one is exposed to within the dominant society may ultimately define linguistic choices in the home. We have seen in the previous section that this group's first language was essentially a dialect and all were educated primarily in English, as were their children with a few exceptions who were in French immersion. But with Bill 101, French is the official language thereby influencing the degree of use of this language at least in public domains, and probably in private domains. Consequently, we must examine the linguistic behaviour of the second generation in post-1977 and how it impacts on their children.

Table 4.23 lists media language preferences for the second-generation women of the family triads, and their husbands. We can see that English-language media is dominant among this group, but three women (Irene, Maria and Laura) also watch Italian TV programs. Among the men, Maria's husband watches as much Italian as French-language TV shows. This may be explained by his late migration to Canada and thus a strong attachment to his native culture and mother country. But it also reflects integration within the Francophone society contrary to his wife Maria who is more English-language

oriented. In terms of cultural interests, a preference for Italian singers and movies is definitely greater than for French language ones.

Table 4.23: Language Preferences in the Media – second-generation couples

Languages			*TV*	*Radio*	*News-papers*	*Movies / videos*	*Singers/ Music*
Ethnic	I	H	M	M	M		I
		W	M				M-S
	i	H	L		N	N-J	
		W	I-L			All	N-L
Official	E	H	all	N-L-S	L-J-S	N-L-J-M-S	
		W	all	N-L-J-M-S	L-J-M-S-I	All	N-L-J-M-S
	e	H			N		
		W		I	N	N	
	F	H	J-M	M	L-M		
		W		I	J-M		I
	f	H	N-L-S	N-J-S	N-J-S		
		W	N-L-J-S	N-S	N-L-I-S	N	

Note: H= husband; W=wife
Note: Upper case letters are languages rated 4-5; lower case letters are languages rated 2-3.

These women's overall linguistic behaviour in public domains is of a multilingual nature; English, French and Italian are used almost as often in the 'Stores' category (see Table 4.24). But, the use of Italian is mainly restricted in 'Food' while French dominates in 'Other'. Some mentioned going specifically to Italian produce stores where they address the older clerks in Italian and the younger generation in English, unless they are addressed in Italian first. Irene and Nicole were the most flexible regarding language choices mentioning they felt just as comfortable using each language and they adapt according to where they are and whom they encounter. In 'Services' category, French is the language used in more impersonal settings (General) while both official languages are used in 'Personal' services.

Table 4.24: Languages Used in Various Public Domains – second-generation women

Languages		*Stores*		*Services*		*Government*		
		Food	*Other*	*Personal*	*General*	*Fed*	*Prov*	*Mun*
Ethnic	I	N-L-J						
	i	I-M	N					
Official	E	I-N-S-J		I-J	I	all	S-M-L-J-I	
	e	M	N	N-S-L				
	F	I-M-L-J	N-S-M-L-J	N-S-M-L	all		N	N-S-M-L-J
	f	N						

The language environment at work varies slightly for these couples (see Table 4.25). English remains the language used most often in all settings. While some women are exposed to French, Judith works in an entirely Anglophone environment. As a lunchtime coordinator in an English elementary school in Laval, Maria interacts with children and their parents or their caregivers; therefore, she uses Italian occasionally, but like Nicole, she will also use Italian with co-workers.

Table 4.25: Language Environment at Work – second-generation women

Languages	*Public*	*Co-workers*	*Supervisor/Boss*	*Previous job*
English	J-M-I-L-N-S	J-M-I-L-N-S	J-M-S	J-M-I-L-N-S
French	M-I-N-S-L	I-N-S	I-L-N	
Italian	M	M-N		

In sum, these women use French in public domains where impersonal interactions take place, while English, and Italian to a lesser degree, are used in 'Personal' public contexts, in ethnic grocery stores. Their work environment is predominantly English with some use of French.

4.5.1.3 Third generation

Within the home, the third generation is exposed to the language choices their parents make whether through their linguistic behaviour or choices in the language of media. Miranda, Maria's daughter, has the greatest exposure to the ethnic media (see Table 4.26). Although she is just a teenager, she will read the Italian newspapers

occasionally. She also shares the same language interest as Isabella in the cultural domain, but we have seen in the previous section that Isabella is in a relationship with a young man who resides in Italy; therefore, the exposure may not necessarily be from within the home. However, we note that her mother, Irene, also has an inclination for Italian music and singers. Italian-language videos are also a popular choice, usually initiated by the mothers (see Table 4.23). Overall, the dominant language choice related to the media is English. Similar to the second-generation we definitely note the low interest in French-language culture compared to Italian.

Table 4.26: Language Preferences in the Media – third-generation women

Languages		*TV*	*Radio*	*Newspapers*	*Movies videos*	*Singers music*
Ethnic	I i			 M	 I-N-M-S	I-M N-J
Official	E e F f	N-L-M-J-S M-J-S	all N-L-M	N-L-M-J-S J 	all	all

4.5.2 **Linguistic behaviour in the private domains**

The private domains are where interactions of the primary level occur (see Chapter 1). These domains include the home, the extended family and the ethnic community such as friends, neighbours, church affiliation and memberships in various organizations, associations, etc. When the ethnic language becomes gradually replaced in these domains by society's dominant language, then its survival is threatened; of particular importance is the home domain where an individual first learns a language, the mother tongue.

4.5.2.1 First generation

Tables 4.27 and 4.28 list the linguistic behaviour of the first-generation women and their husbands with immediate family members. These women use the ethnic language slightly more often than the men, and both use it more with the second than

with the third generation. In addition, there is a generational difference in the use of the dialect and of Italian, where the former is used more consistently with the spouse and the children, but Italian is used with the grandchildren. However, the men seem to use the dialect slightly more with the children and grandchildren than their spouses do.

Table 4.27: Languages Used at Home – first-generation women

Languages used		*With Spouse*	*Children*	*Grand-children*	*Total*	
Ethnic only	D	**M-S**-F-**N***-**L***-C*-D-**I**-A	**M-S**-F-**N***-**L***-**I**		15	
	DI	B	A	**M**	3	
	I	E	C-E-B-D	**S**-F-**N**-C-B-**I**	11	
Total		11	11	7		29
Mostly ethnic	IDe	**J**			1	4
	Ie		**J**		1	
	If			E - A	2	
Ethnic and official	IE			**J**	1	
	Edi			**L**	1	3
	Ei			D	1	

*husband is deceased – language use when was alive

Table 4.28: Languages Used at Home with Family Members – spouse of first-generation immigrant women

Languages		*Wife*	*Children*	*Grand-children*	*Total*	
Ethnic only	D	**M-S**-F-**N***-**L***-C*-D-**I***-A-B	**M-S**-F-**N***-**L***-**I***	**I***	17	
	Di			**M-S**-F	3	
	DI		A		1	
	I		B- D-C*	B-D	5	
Total		10	10	6		26
Mostly ethnic	IDe	**J**			1	5
	If	E	E	E-A	4	
Ethnic and official	IE			**J**	1	2
	Ei		**J**		1	

*husband is deceased – language use when was alive

In fact, initial studies on linguistic behaviour suggest that women more than men tend to move towards a language of higher prestige (Labov 1972), in this case from a regional dialect to standard Italian. Marcella uses dialect and Italian most consistently with her husband and the next generations. Evelyne's husband uses French with her

occasionally even though she only speaks to him in Italian, unlike Julie and her husband who also use an official language with each other.

During the semi-structured interview, the first-generation women were asked the ethnic origin of their children's partners. Eight women reported that at least one of their children married non-Italians (Adele, Julie, Marcella, Nora, Donna, Liana, Concetta and Francine), where three were the daughters, and all but one was the youngest child (Francine). However, we saw in the previous chapter that the daughters in the family triads all had partners of Italian origin, some even from the same region. This suggests greater inmarriages for women than for men, which is consistent with the literature (Stevens and Swicegood 1987; Ram 1990; Roy and Hamilton 2000). Table 4.29 shows that English and French are limited to the non-Italian partners and that Italian is used more often than a dialect. However, Adele speaks Italian with her daughter-in-law who is of English mother tongue, but is fluent in Italian having temporarily lived in Italy with her East European parents; Francine speaks Italian with her Cuban son-in-law.

Table 4.29: Languages Used with Children's Partners – first-generation women

Languages		*Respondent*	*Total*		*Spouse*	*Total*	
Ethnic	D	**I**	1	11	**I*- S**	2	11
	ID	**M**	1		**M**	1	
	I	C-**S**-F-**N**-**L**-B-**J**-A-D	9		F-**N***-**L***-C-B-**J**-A-D	7	
Official	E*n*	D-**J**	2	3	E-**J**	2	3
	e*n*	**L**	1		D	1	
	F*n*	**M**-E-D	3	4	E	1	2
	f*n*	**N**	1		**M**	1	

Note: *n* means language used with non-Italians
*husband is deceased – language use when he was alive

The literature suggests that religion contributes to maintain the cohesiveness of the ethnic community (Reitz 1980). We have seen in Chapter 2 that many Italian churches were built to accommodate this community in Montreal. These women have remained loyal to the Italian churches (see Table 4.30). The majority mentioned

regularly attending mass in Italian at Madonna del Carmine, but also in nearby schools or more recently at the new Leonardo da Vinci cultural centre. Francine and Julie however, also occasionally go to a French-language church, which is closer to their home.

Table 4.30: Religion and Contacts – first-generation immigrant women

Languages		*Mass services*	*Contacts*
Ethnic	I	all	all
	D		C-A-**J-I**
Official	F		D-**J**
	f	F–**J**	F-**N**
	E		
	e		**J**

Note: contacts include friends, neighbours, and acquaintances

The network of individuals one interacts with outside the family circle is also indicative of structural assimilation (Gordon 1964). Since all live in the predominantly Italian neighbourhood of Saint-Léonard it is not surprising that the ethnic language (Italian or dialect) is used most often with neighbours, followed by French (see Table 4.30). Francine and Donna have Francophone neighbours and friends from work, while Nora occasionally uses French with a neighbour. The high use of Italian also results from their membership in the Golden Age clubs where they were initially approached to participate in this research, and some women attend more than one. In addition, some of these 'clubs' are even grouped by Italian region. For example, some have mostly Sicilian members, while in another they will be predominantly Molisane. Five women (Sara, Beatrice, Francine, Adele and Donna) also mentioned being members of Italian regional associations, and membership varies between 10 and 25 years. Julie is also a member at a predominantly French-speaking club (gym) where she uses both official languages to varying degree.

The ethnic language, whether Italian or a regional dialect, remains the language used most often in private domains such as with friends, neighbours, church, community groups, or more importantly, the home. However, of the official languages, French is generally used with neighbours, while English is used with family members.

4.5.2.2 Second generation

Six daughters of the first-generation women were also asked what languages they use with family members including their parents, the immigrant generation. This helps determine if the older generation realistically assessed language use in their family. It also allows us to test if the language habits correspond to what the literature suggests; that the second generation use the ethnic language mainly to communicate with their parents, as well as with older members of the extended family and of the immigrant community.

Based on the results of language use with parents, it appears the daughters also use a dialect most often with their parents and with their partner's parents (see Table 4.31). However, Nicole and Maria also use Italian and English, respectively. Nicole's use of Italian is explained by her husband's different regional origin, and consequently a different dialect; he migrated from Puglia, while Nicole's parents are from Molise. As a result, Italian is the language of communication with their respective in-laws.

Table 4.31: Languages Used with the Immigrant Generation – second-generation women

Languages	*Respondent's*		*Partner's*	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Ethnic only D I Id	N-L-I-S J	N-L-I-M-S J	I-M-S N	I-M-S-L-J N
Ethnic and official De	M			
Official only E			L-J	

However, Nicole mentioned that having learned his dialect, she would occasionally use it with his relatives who speak it all the time, but he would only speak Italian to her mother. Laura and Judith, however, use English with their mother-in-law who are Canadian-born Italians.

If we look at the linguistic behaviour in the home with the immediate family, we note that English is the language used most often; however, Italian or a dialect is also used but to a lesser degree (see Table 4.32). Maria is the only woman who uses her dialect as often as she does English when speaking to her children and her spouse. When Laura's husband was alive, she always spoke English with him, as did Irene with her ex-husband (a foreign-born Italian). However, Irene explains,

> I always spoke English to my kids because my husband did not like Italian. He was against Italian. He even changed his name from Giovanni to John[40]. Usually Italians want to keep their culture, but not him.

Nevertheless, Irene now occasionally uses the dialect with her children. Nicole is the only woman in this sample who will occasionally use Italian with her daughter, but not with her son. Interestingly, it is when she gets upset at her. When she was asked why Italian, she answered with a laugh, "I don't know, I guess because it just comes out more easily in that language."

Table 4.32: Languages Used in the Home – second-generation women

Languages		*Spouse*	*Children*	*Children's partners*	*Total*
Ethnic only	I			I (in Italy)	1
Ethnic and official	DE	M	M	E	
Mostly official	Edi	J-S			
	Ed		I		
	Ei	N	N (daughter)		8
Official only	E	L-I	N (son)	J-M	5

[40] The name was changed to maintain anonymity.

The language used with siblings, their partners and children, and the extended family (cousins, aunts and uncles) is predominantly English (see Table 4.33). Despite this, we note that dialect is still used, although at a lesser degree. Consistent with the literature, which suggests that the ethnic language is generally used to communicate with older relatives, it is in fact used more often with aunts and uncles, which are for the most part from the immigrant generation. However, only Maria mentioned speaking dialect and Italian with her nieces and nephews. In fact, she uses the four languages almost to equal degree, but Italian and dialect slightly more often than English and French. She describes her language habits as follows:

> One of my sisters-in-law is French-Canadian so her children speak only French, and that's the language I use with them. I use Italian with my other sister-in-law who is not Sicilian like us, and English and dialect with the others.

This linguistic behaviour is common in larger families where mixed marriages (whether ethnic or linguistic) have greater chances to occur.

Table 4.33: Languages Used with Siblings and Close Relatives – second-generation women

Languages		*Siblings*	*Their partners*	*Cousins*	*Aunts-Uncles*	*Nieces-Nephews*	*Total*
Ethnic only	D				N-L-I-S	M	6
	I					M	
Ethnic and official	De				M		8
	Ed	N-M-I	I-M	M		I	
Official only	E	L-J-S	N-L-J-S	L-J-S	J-I-S	N-L-I-S-M	18
	F		N			M	2

If we examine language use within the friendship network, we note that English dominates even though the individuals are of Italian origin (see Table 4.34). Nicole is the only one who has French-Canadian friends with whom she speaks French. However, a recurrent comment when discussing language use was how Italian or the dialect is used occasionally, in particular situations. For example, Maria uses the ethnic language with her friends when she wants to say

a joke that can only be effective in the original language. Nicole and Irene made the same comment.

Table 4.34: Languages Used out of the Family Circle – second-generation women

Languages		*Friends*	*Neighbours*	*Activities*	*Church*	*Total*
Ethnic	I i	L-M I-N	N-L	M-L-S	I-N-S	12
Official	E F	I-L-N-J-M N	L-I-M N-J-S	S-L N-L-J-M	L-J-M-S M	14 9

Religion holds an important place with the immigrant generation, but not so with their daughters, who attend mass only occasionally, and usually in English. In fact, Italian mass services are usually associated with special ceremonies (funerals, weddings, death anniversaries, etc.). However, attendance at religious festivals (celebration of the Patron Saint of their village or of the Madonna), a tradition strongly maintained by the immigrant generation, has also remained popular with the second generation. In fact, these women attend as a family, therefore exposing their children, the third generation, to Italian culture and consequently to the ethnic language since the elder population is usually the largest attendance at such festivities.

4.5.2.3 Third generation

As previously mentioned, these young women are all of Italian mother tongue (Italian or a dialect) except for Janice and Isabella (English). However, Isabella knew her mother's dialect by the age of five. English is the usual language of communication for this group when interacting with friends, but Italian is also used at a lesser degree by four of the young women (see Table 4.35). Even though they all have friends of Italian origin, Sabrina and Janice, the youngest of the group, use English exclusively.

Table 4.35: Languages Used Outside the Family Circle – third generation women

Languages		*Friends*	*Neighbours*	*Activities*	*Church*	*Total*
Ethnic	I i	I-N-L-M			I	5
Official	E e	I-N-L-M-J-S	I-L-M-J-S	I-N-L-J-S	M-J-S	19
	F f			I-L-M-J-S	M	6

Natasha, who attended university, mentioned having some non-Italian close friends, whom she met during her college years. Just like their mothers Irene and Nicole, Isabella and Natasha explained that they do not necessarily have entire conversations in Italian. Rather, Italian is mixed within a conversation held in English, where some Italian words, expressions or entire sentences are occasionally slipped into the conversation. Sociolinguists define these language situations as codemixing (when words of different languages are mixed within the same sentence) and codeswitching (when complete sentences are of a different language while conversing) (Eastman 1990:173).

Interestingly, when contact takes place out of the more intimate network, the use of French equals that of English with some exceptions (see Table 4.35). The more public nature of these settings, such as a gym, sports activities or lessons, means that they are not limited to their intimate group of friends; rather they are exposed to the larger host society. In public domains (e.g., stores, municipal library) the French language dominates. Regarding religion, this generation practices even less than their mothers, and when they do it is generally in English. Natasha and Lydia mentioned not going to church unless it is for a special ceremony (funeral, wedding, etc.), while the others attend mass with their parents. However, receptions and festivals organized by ethnic associations and churches still attract these young people. All attend them even though as Natasha explains regarding the religious events, "I don't go for the whole procession

of the Madonna. I only show up for the fireworks and the meal, when the other young people show up."

As already mentioned, family unity is important to the Italian culture; therefore, these young women could be in regular contact with their grandparents and the extended relatives whose age range can vary from their own (cousins) to their grandparents' age (their parents' aunts and uncles). Consistent with the literature, the generation effect in linguistic behaviour is noticeable in Table 4.36. Italian and dialect are clearly the languages used with the older generations, except for Janice who rarely uses Italian at all, and Lydia who uses dialect and English equally. Most obvious is the difference between the 'older' and the 'younger' aunts and uncles, as most of the interviewees labeled them. However, when they were asked what age divided the categories, ages ranging between 40 and 45 were the most common.

Table 4.36: Languages Used with Close Relatives – third-generation women

Languages		*Grandparents*				*Aunts – Uncles*		*Cousins*
		M GM	*M GF*	*P GM*	*P GF*	*Older*	*Younger*	
Ethnic	D	I-L-M	I-M	I-N-L-M	I-M	M		
	I	N-S	S	N-S	S	N-J		
	d	N						
	i	L-J		J	J			
Official	E	J	J	I-L-J		L-S	M-N-J-L-S	N-L-M-J-S
	e					N		
	F				J			M
	f	N				N		

In fact, it represents the grandparents' average years since migration; therefore, we can assume that the 'younger' aunts and uncles are the Canadian-born Italians or those who migrated at a very young age, consequently, they are more fluent in English or French.

The literature suggests that by the third generation, the home language and their mother tongue is normally the host language. In the home, the last place where the ethnic language is expected to survive, English is the usual language for this group (see Table 4.37). Sabrina, whose mother tongue is Italian, never speaks it with her parents,

but it is the only language she uses with her grandparents. Miranda continues to speak dialect and English with her mother and brother, and only dialect with her father, who immigrated at sixteen years old. Janice, who is of English mother tongue, did not know Italian or a dialect prior to entering school and never took Italian classes, occasionally uses Italian with her parents and grandparents. But of the two language varieties, dialect is used more consistently than Italian. Interestingly, none speak French with their immediate family members, but Natasha and Janice use French occasionally with the immigrant generation.

Table 4.37: Languages Used at Home – third-generation women

Languages		*Mother*	*Father*	*Siblings*
Ethnic only	D		M	
Ethnic and official	DE	M		M
	Ed	I-L		
	Edi	N	N	N
	Ei	J	J	
Official only	E	S	I-L*-S	I-L-J-S

*Language she used with him before passing away.

Unlike the language shift model, this generation continues to use the ethnic language, but the degree of use varies by individual and by context. In the next sections we will examine how their degree of proficiency and that of their mothers', as well as their grandmothers' degree of knowledge of Canada's official languages affect the third generation's use of the ethnic language.

4.6 LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

In order to determine their levels of linguistic abilities, each respondent was asked to self-assess their ability to speak, read, write and understand French, English, their regional dialect, Italian and one other language they know to some degree, on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very good). In our small sample of 24 women

(twelve first-generation, six second-generation and six third-generation), the degree of ability to speak a language might help explain its degree of use in public and private domains, and subsequently, their degree of linguistic acculturation. On the other hand, the degree of knowledge of the dialect or Italian in the second and third generations will help determine if greater knowledge encourages greater use and consequently ethnic language maintenance.

4.6.1 **First generation**

There are four aspects to language skills and in increasing order of difficulty they range from understanding to speaking, reading and finally writing (Delgado *et al.* 1999). Our sample of women follows this range of language skills for English and/or French (see Appendix E). The majority of these women have greater understanding and speaking abilities in French than in English. Four women (Sara, Liana, Concetta and Irma) have very low speaking ability (2 on the 5-point scale) in French, meaning they can only say a few words in that language and also have less or no knowledge of English. In fact, three of these women (Concetta, Liana and Irma) use Italian most often in public domains. They can be considered as not being linguistically integrated. The other eight respondents answered "average" and "good", often adding that they could conduct a short conversation in French. With the exception of Donna, the rest all have poor to no speaking ability in English. However, Julie mentioned she recently started English-language courses, so she is improving quickly since she uses it occasionally with her husband.

As a way to measure their accuracy in assessing their language knowledge, the respondents were asked, "Which language do you find easiest to use?" The questionnaire also asked if there was a second or a third easiest language (see Table 4.38). Clearly, the degree of ease in a language often correlates with their self-assessment of language knowledge; the easiest language was given the highest rating

in speaking ability, except for Donna and Francine. In fact, Donna omits dialect in her responses to easiest languages, so we can assume that Italian included both varieties. On the other hand, Francine rated French higher than Italian, yet she mentioned the latter as easier to use. The same occurred with Donna who answered English as second easiest language, but it was rated lower than her dialect. This may suggest that knowing a language better might not directly equate to greater ease in speaking it.

Table 4.38: Self-Assessment of Language Proficiency – first-generation women

Names	*Easiest language*			*Speak*					*Understand*				
	1st	*2nd*	*3rd*	*F*	*E*	*D*	*I*	*S*	*F*	*E*	*D*	*I*	*S*
Donna	I	E	SF	3	4	4	4	3.5	4	5	4	5	4
Francine	DI	F		4	2	5	3	2	5	2	5	5	2
Julie	**DI**	**F**		**4**	**2.5**	**5**	**5**		**4**	**3**	**5**	**4**	
Marcella	**D**	**I**	**SF**	**3**	**2**	**5**	**4**	**4**	**4**	**2.5**	**5**	**4**	**4**
Nora	**I**	**D**	**F**	**3**	**2**	**3**	**3**		**3**	**2**	**4**	**5**	
Adele	DI	F		3	2	5	4		3	2	5	4	
Evelyne	DI	F		3	1	5	4	1	5	2	5	5	3
Beatrice	D	I	F	3	1	4	4	no	5	2	4	5	2
Irma	**D**	**I**		**2**	**1.5**	**5**	**4**		**2**	**3**	**5**	**5**	**2**
Sara	**I**	**D**	**F**	**2**	**1.5**	**3.5**	**4**		**3**	**1.5**	**4**	**4**	
Liana	**DI**	**F**		**2**	**1**	**5**	**4**		**3**	**2**	**5**	**5**	
Concetta	I	D	F	2	1	3	4		3	1	5	5	

S= Spanish

For three women (Marcella, Beatrice and Irma) the regional dialect, which is the first language they learned, is the language they find the easiest to use, and Italian is the second easiest. Five women (Francine, Liana, Evelyne, Adele and Julie) are just as comfortable using both language varieties, and they identified French as their second easiest language. However, four women (Sara, Nora, Concetta and Irma) mention Italian as the easiest language to use, making the dialect second. Only six women (Marcella, Sara, Nora, Concetta, Beatrice and Donna) declared a third language, French. However, most are those who rated Italian and dialect as first and second languages. Surprisingly, Marcella and Donna, who lived in Venezuela only for a few years, but lived in Quebec for over forty years, included Spanish as a third language with French.

4.6.2 **Second and third generations**

In Table 4.39 we note that most second-generation women have maintained a high degree of proficiency in the regional dialect[41], the first language they learned. The third generation has an overall lower degree of proficiency in the ethnic language than their mothers, but we can observe how the sequence is almost similar for both generations (see Table 4.40). Janice, like her mother Judith, rates the lowest, while Miranda, rates the highest among the third generation. However, the mothers are equally fluent, at least in their respective dialects, except for Judith.

Table 4.39: Self-Assessment of Proficiency in the Ethnic Language – second-generation women

Names	*Understand*		*Speak*		*Read*	*Write*
	D	*I*	*D*	*I*	*I*	*I*
Nicole	5	5	5	4	5	4
Maria	5	5	5	4	4	4
Irene	5	5	5	4	5	4
Laura	5	5	5	4	2	2
Sylvia	5	4	5	3	3	3
Judith	4	4	4	3	2.5	2.5

D= dialect, I= Italian

Table 4.40: Self-Assessment of Proficiency in the Ethnic Language – third-generation women

Names	*Understand*		*Speak*		*Read*	*Write*
	D	*I*	*D*	*I*	*I*	*I*
Miranda	5	4	4	4	3	2
Isabella	3	4	2	4	4	4
Natasha	4	4	3	3	4	2.5
Lydia	4	3	3	3	3	4
Sabrina	5	4	2	3	3	2
Janice	3	3	2	2	2	2

Overall, Donna is the only first generation woman capable of conducting a conversation in French and in English, but with greater proficiency in English; she uses this language and a little Italian with her grandchildren. Out of three children, both sons

[41] Dialect is not included in reading or writing because it is a spoken language.

married out of the ethnic group. The outmarriages incite the first-generation women to use a language other than Italian. In fact, eight out of twelve first-generation women have children who married out of the ethnic group; five were sons (Donna, Julie, Nora, Marcella and Adele) and three were daughters (Concetta, Liana and Francine) of whom two were the youngest child of the family, while the third married an Italian-speaking Cuban. The eldest of Evelyne's daughters married an Italian, but is now divorced and involved with a French-Canadian. Julie and Francine are the most fluent in French, mostly due to their work environment, but Beatrice and Evelyne rated higher their understanding abilities. We can then assume that the language shift process acts two-way, where the second generation, and possibly third, contribute to the immigrant generations' language shift through outmarriages; however, it is not a representation of acculturation for this generation.

CONCLUSION

Italian dominates in the private domains for the first generation, while French and Italian are used alternately to varying degree in the public domains. Many learned French at work, while the children exposed them to English through their language of instruction. Julie has the highest degree of proficiency in an official language, Marcella and Nora are both average, while the other women, Irma, Sara and Lydia have low levels of proficiency. The second-generation women are quite fluent in their ethnic language, but its use within the home varies. Only Maria, Marcella's daughter, uses the dialect and English equally often at home with her children and her spouse.

Of the third generation, all the young women understand well or very well either Italian or the dialect spoken at home, with the exception of Janice. Their speaking ability in the ethnic language, however, varies. Miranda is the most proficient in Italian and dialect alike. While Isabella is just as proficient in Italian, Natasha, Lydia and Sabrina are

average, and Janice's knowledge of Italian is poor. Despite differences in proficiency levels, degree of use with their grandmother (of the triads) is similar for Miranda, Isabella, Lydia and Sabrina who use only the ethnic language. However, Natasha uses always Italian and occasionally French, while Janice uses mainly English and sometimes Italian. Therefore, degree of proficiency is not proportional to use, which is greater.

In sum, in this solidly Italian neighbourhood, the ethnic language (Italian and /or a dialect) has been carried on to the third generation as the language of communication predominantly with the grandparents and older relatives, but also as one of the home languages along with English, which is the dominant language for the second and third generations. French, which is spoken by all three generations, has become the language of communication in the wider Francophone society. It therefore appears that each language has its place in particular settings within the domains, what Fishman (1989) calls partial language shift.

Table 4.6: Description of Linguistic Behaviour and General Attributes of Participants in the Pilot Survey

	Migration			Languages				
					Home		Outside	Understands
#	Age	Years since	Years worked	Work	Past	Present	the home	not speak
35	11	49	41	EFI	DE	DE	Fwn	U both
28	12	48	yes	EF	IE	E	EFocc	U both
34	12	46	20	FI	D	DIE	EFwn	U both
31	15	44	yes	EFI	I	I	EFocc	S
15	17	50	yes	Fi	I	I	Fwn	E
41	18	48	45	If	D	DI	Fwn	F*
2	***19***	***42***	***30***	***FI***	***D***	***DI***	***Focc***	***E***
54	***19***	***40***	***33***	***Fi***	***I***	***IE***	***EFi***	***U both***
43	20	47	26	F	I	I	Fwn	E
52	20	45	20	FI	I	I	Fwn	-
3	21	47	0	-	I	IF	Fwn	S
5	***21***	***38***	***25***	***Fi***	***ID***	***I***	***Focc***	***Evl***
18	21	46	yes	If	I	I	Fwn	F*
32	21	44	20	If	I	I	Focc	Fvl
10	22	46	yes	If	I	I	Fwn	F*
30	22	45	yes	Fi	ID	ID	Focc	Evl
47	22	46	yes	FI	I	I	Focc	F*
16	22	43	yes	Fi	I	I	It	E
19	***23***	***49***	***3***	***FI***	***I***	***I***	***Fwn***	***E****
24	**23**	**46**	**yes**	**F**	**I**	**I**	**Fwn**	**Evl**
45	23	45	15	FI	D	D	f	F* no E
46	23	50	yes	EFI	I	I	Fwn	E
51	24	42	36	If	I	I	Fwn	F*
7	24	45	32	EFi	I	I	EFocc	E*
21	***24***	***47***	***15***	***F***	***I***	***I***	***Focc***	***E***
1	25	40	20	FI	ID	IDEF	Focc	E*
14	25	48	yes	EFI	I	I	Fwn	Evl
27	**25**	**49**	**yes**	**F**	**I**	**I**	**Focc**	**Evl**
25	26	43	0	-	I	I	Fwn	E
39	***26***	***45***	***31***	***Ief***	***D***	***DEF***	***Fwn***	***E****
42	26	50	0		D	D	It	Fvl
13	**27**	**40**	**yes**	**FI**	**I**	**I**	**Fwn**	**E**
11	28	43	yes	I	I	I	It	F
20	28	45	few yrs	FI	If	I	It	ES
48	28	45	few yrs	If	ID	I	Fwn	E*
29	29	45	32	FI	I	I	Fwn	E
40	**29**	**42**	**25**	**Ie**	**ID**	**IDE**	**Fwn**	**E***
22	29	45	yes	F	D	I	Focc	E
4	32	39	25	EFI	ID	I	Focc	E
6	32	37	yes	I	D	DE	Fwn	Efvl
9	32	35	25	If	I	I	Focc	E

NOTE: E=English; F=French; I=Italian; S=Spanish; vl= very little; U= understands; wn= when necessary; occ= occasionally. *Speak very little.
Upper case letters are languages used more often and lower case are used less often.
Bold characters are the first-generation women interviewed. Bold and italics are the first generation of the family triads.

Table 4.6: Description of Linguistic Behaviour and General Attributes of Participants in the Pilot Survey (contd.)

#	*Migration*			*Languages*				
	Age	*Years since*	*Years worked*	*Work*	*Home Past*	*Home Present*	*Outside the home*	*Understands not speak*
17	33	45	yes	I	I	I	It	Evl
36	**33**	**42**	**33**	**EF**	**I**	**IE**	**EF**	**U both - S**
49	33	49	5	F	ID	IDF	Fwn	ES
37	35	44	26	Ie	D	D	Fwn	U both
44	35	45	26	EI	I	I	EFwn	U both
33	36	44	20	Ief	ID	I	Focc	E
12	38	47	yes	I	I	I	Focc	F* noE
8	41	30	20	I	IS	IS	It	Fvl
23	**41**	**40**	**0**	**-**	**I**	**I**	**It**	**F –Evl**
26	45	32	0	-	D	IE	Eocc	Fvl
53	45	34	4	I	DI	I	It	E-F*
38	49	31	10	FI	I	I	Fwn	F*
50	53	24	yes	I	D	D	It	F

NOTE: E=English; F=French; I=Italian; S=Spanish; vl= very little; U= understands;
wn= when necessary; occ= occasionally. *Speak very little.
Upper case letters are languages used more often and lower case are used less often.
Bold characters are the first-generation women interviewed. Bold and italics are the first generation of the family triads.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESS AND CAUSES OF LANGUAGE SHIFT OVER THREE GENERATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Gordon's (1964) theory of assimilation suggests that cultural assimilation (or acculturation) is the first stage in the assimilation process of ethnic minority immigrant groups. According to Gordon (1964), the culture of the host country includes both intrinsic and extrinsic traits vital to the cultural heritage with language being one of the most important intrinsic traits (see Chapter 1). When ethnic minority immigrants are acculturated, they should be undistinguishable from the host society[42] in their values, dress, manner, language, accents, etc.

The language of the host society is usually the first cultural variable adopted and the widely accepted three-generation language shift model suggests that by the third generation, the ethnic language is no longer used. It describes the process as follows: the immigrant generation learns the host language, but continues to use the ethnic language at home. The second generation, educated in the host language, generally continues to communicate with their parents in their mother tongue, the ethnic language, but the host language is used in other domains. By the third generation, the mother tongue is the host language, and proficiency and use of the ethnic language is poor or nonexistent. Most of the literature supports such an outcome. However, some degree of intragenerational shift is inevitable by the immigrant generation as they learn the host language in order to participate in the workforce and in the host society.

Based on Gordon's definition of acculturation, *linguistic* acculturation can be defined as adopting the language of the host country. An immigrant, whether from a visible minority or not, should be able to achieve this dimension of acculturation.

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[42] However, visible minority groups are always challenged by the racial traits, which cannot be abandoned for obvious reasons.

However, how can we recognize that immigrants have efficiently 'adopted' a language? Is it when they become proficient in the language and speak it accent-free as a native-speaker? Is it when the language is used in public domains, within the larger host society? Should the private domains also be included? Or should it be all these factors combined?

We have seen in Chapter 1 that language represents much more than a medium to communicate. Although it allows participation within the linguistic group that speaks the language, it is also much more. Language carries the elements that distinguish one culture from another. Knowing a language means understanding and speaking more than the casual conversations exchanged in society. It means being aware of the expressions particular to its culture and its history; it is part of the arts (music, literature); it is an identity marker; it allows people sharing a common language to create a social bond. In fact, 'adopting' a language is making it the language that will dominate in all aspects (or domains) of an individual's life.

Gordon (1964) examines assimilation of immigrant groups by stages or processes. He argues that once structural assimilation is achieved along with acculturation, all other stages of assimilation will naturally occur. Therefore, Gordon assumes that there is a particular order of occurrence. Based on this assumption and Gordon's theory, we can expect the same process to occur with linguistic acculturation. When immigrant groups use the host language in all public and private domains, then total linguistic acculturation will follow. We can hypothesize that immigrants' residence will not be in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood; they will embrace the culture that the host language represents (intrinsic and extrinsic traits); marriage will be with members of the dominant society; immigrants will identify with the linguistic group; prejudicial and discriminatory behaviour towards the linguistically acculturated immigrants will be inexistent, and; there will be acceptance of the values and beliefs

associated with the language. On the other hand, linguistic integration will be achieved if the dominant language is used in the public domains, but the ethnic language remains that of the private contexts; in other words, we may refer to it as 'partial structural assimilation'.

Language shift from the ethnic language to the language of the host country is expected to occur by the third generation of ethnic immigrant groups. However, we have seen in Chapter 1 that some groups succeed better than others in maintaining the ethnic language 'intergenerationally'. The literature suggests that language shift takes place in a gradual fashion, where the ethnic language becomes displaced in certain domains and maintained in others to varying degree and in a different time range (DeVries 1990; Veltman 1991). This shift can be intragenerational (within a generation) and intergenerational (from one generation to the next). Based on this process, we can assume that the greater the degree of language shift within each generation, the faster will be the intergenerational shift, although which is cause and which effect is debatable.

From the three-generation process, we can presume that the mother tongue of the third generation is defined by the linguistic choices second-generation immigrant parents make within their homes once they start a family of their own. These choices can be twice as challenging when the couple have different mother tongues. The host language, used on a daily basis within the public domains, slowly insinuates itself into the home, potentially overpowering other languages, thus challenging the survival of the ethnic language. In addition, in a multilingual city like Montreal, the ethnic language competes for survival, not only with Quebec's official language, French, but also with Canada's other official language, English.

We have seen in Chapter 4 that four of the six third-generation young women have Italian (or a dialect) as their mother tongue. What factors particular to these families challenged the three-generation language shift model? The data collected with

the semi-structured interviews showed that all but one family was successful (to different degrees) in passing on the ethnic language to the third generation. Of all the grandmothers in the family triads, Julie was the most proficient in Canada's official languages, while her daughter and granddaughter were the least proficient in the ethnic language and had the lowest degree of use in public and private domains; therefore, the greatest language shift occurred in Julie's family. We will now discuss the hypotheses based on the results.

5.1 LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION AND FIRST GENERATION

Hypothesis 1a:

> *Linguistic acculturation of the foreign-born is expected to be low even if the linguistic environment at work was in an official language and the number of years in the labour force is high.*

The theory of assimilation suggests that when immigrants learn the language of the host society, they can become more active within the larger society. Interaction at the secondary level, within the public domains, is where immigrants have initial contact with the host language. The workplace, a public domain, can be an assimilative force if the immigrant is exposed to the language of the host society.

From our first sample of 54 women, we have seen in Chapter 4 that few never worked and among those who did, the average number of years was high (25). We have also seen that the language environment at work was primarily Italian, but French was a very close second. However, the short questionnaire did not investigate on the respondents' language knowledge or language use in specific public and private contexts, nor did it assess their language proficiency.

The semi-structured interview investigated the linguistic behaviour and the degree of proficiency of the twelve first-generation immigrant women. The results show that these women are still not linguistically acculturated to the host society, which in this

case is French-speaking. Rather, these women have become, for the most part, linguistically integrated. We have seen how French is the language they use when they are interacting with members of the host society, but this level of interaction is limited to public domains where Italian is also used. Overall, their preference remains with the ethnic language, which is evident in their linguistic choices of mass media, friendships, associations, church affiliation and most importantly, the home.

Donna who is proficient in both official languages still uses the ethnic language in public domains, as do Julie and Francine who also rate high in proficiency (see Table 5.1). Evelyne, Beatrice, Nora, Adele and Sara also use French almost always when they are in public domains, such as banks, hospitals, clinics, etc.; however, their degree of proficiency is lower than for the previous three women. Strangely, Sara also has high use of French, yet she rated her speaking ability as 'poor'. We can assume that she may have underestimated her degree of proficiency or she simply uses the language even though her abilities are low. Concetta, Irma, Liana and Marcella use Italian as often as possible in all domains; yet, Marcella rated her French-speaking skills higher than the previous three women.

Table 5.1: Use of official language in public domains based on degree of proficiency

Degree of proficiency	*Use of Official language*		
	High	Medium	Low
High	D-**J**-F		
Medium	E-B-**N**-A		**M**
Low	**S**		C-**L**-I

Note: Characters in bold are the women part of the family triads.

Although work did not lead to linguistic acculturation, since most women worked in ethnic enclaves, it did encourage to some degree the acquisition of an official language. All the women except Adele and Liana said they learned French or English at work. In fact, these two women explained they used always Italian with co-workers, but

their bosses spoke English and French respectively. However, they specified that interaction with the bosses is usually low in clothing manufactures. Liana's workplace did not pressure her to learn French since as she says,

> I worked fifteen years always at the same place and my co-workers were all Italian, so we always spoke Italian. I spoke French with my boss only when I had to.

Beatrice also had a French-speaking boss at both places she worked, but although her co-workers were predominantly Italian, there were also a few Francophone women and she spoke with them in their respective languages. Consequently, she seems to be a little more comfortable than Liana and Adele in using an official language. Some of Irma's co-workers were Francophones, and she recalls one woman in particular who spoke French to her, and Irma found it pleasing to the ear. It is with this co-worker that Irma acquired some knowledge of French.

Participating in the workforce also encouraged acquisition of the host language through exposure to French-language newsprints. For example, Francine mentioned reading essentially Italian newspapers now, but she read French-language newspapers at her workplace, which was in a men's clothing store where newspapers and magazines were readily available by the French-speaking sales clerks.

Evelyne worked for thirteen years, much less than the 25-year average of the 54 women interviewed. Like many in this sample group, she started working within weeks of arrival in Canada. At both her jobs, Evelyne had bosses that spoke Italian although they were not of Italian origin, but her co-workers were French-Canadian at her first job and Greek at her second. Although she first acquired French at work, Evelyne recalls that her understanding skills greatly improved by viewing French-language channels during her childrearing years. This was in fact the preferred language for most women before Italian programs became available, and with increased broadcasting in the ethnic language, preference shifted from French to Italian, with the exception of Evelyne and

Julie who continue to watch television in both languages. Interestingly, ethnic radio broadcasting is still preferred.

The husbands' degree of proficiency in the host language may help explain the low degree of linguistic acculturation and the differences in the chosen media language. Julie's husband is the most proficient in English, having migrated at nineteen and having worked only in English environments, but Francine, Evelyne and Liana's husbands follow close by. Since the death of her husband, almost twenty years ago, Liana watches more Italian programs, but she recalls that with her husband, they watched French and English programs because he understood both. Francine's husband watches predominantly English channels, but listens to French radio and reads Italian newspapers. Evelyne's husband watches television alternately in Italian and French with his wife.

Both Julie and Evelyne's husbands migrated alone and lived in Montreal several years before returning to Italy to marry. Evelyne is not part of the family triads, but during the interview she stressed how her husband was ready to give up the Italian language and fully acculturate in the Francophone society, which is why he occasionally speaks French to her. Unlike other Italian immigrants, whether based on our sample or as cited in the literature, Evelyne's husband strongly believes that having moved to a new country, he should speak the language of the host society and in fact, he would often speak French to the children at home. Evelyne, on the other hand, believes that she will always be Italian because that is where she was born, and she will maintain Italian at all costs. Yet, she still learned French, uses the language in public domains and watches French-language programs.

Julie's husband, on the other hand, was the youngest migrant of the group. He held the same job for over forty years at a downtown hotel, immersed in an Anglophone environment. When Julie arrived in Montreal, like Evelyne's husband he was already

quite fluent in an official language. On the other hand, Donna's husband barely speaks English or French even though he did not work in an ethnic environment. He simply explains that his job as product controller did not require him to communicate much with others. Donna added that her husband was not ambitious to learn other languages like she did, but specifies that her work environment did promote acquisition of an official language despite migrating at an older age (33) with children.

It appears that the husbands' linguistic contact several years prior to their wives' arrival may facilitate language acquisition for the women. In addition, arriving as young brides, women with no children to care for have greater opportunities to have contact with the host culture and language. In fact, Francine, Evelyne and Julie mentioned that they often went to see French movies, but after the children were born, there was little time available for such outings. However, the immigrant women that arrived with families and were sponsored by in-laws or other married relatives with family, remained exposed to the ethnic community especially if they never worked or were employed in ethnic environments. As the extended family grew through chain migration, the social network remained that of the family and fellow villagers (primary social relations). In turn, this contributed to the development of regional organizations or associations that regrouped members from the same regional origin, promoting even further the maintenance of the ethnic language and attachment to the ethnic community.

The low degree of linguistic acculturation can be interpreted as a lack of interest in the host society especially when the immigrant group is residentially concentrated and/or segregated. However, these women all expressed that they would have appreciated having the opportunity to take language courses upon migration, but family and work responsibilities left them little time for personal improvements. In fact, many said men had priority because, as the breadwinners of the family, they "had to find better jobs".

Interesting to note is that marital assimilation in the second generation appears to impact on the linguistic behaviour of the first generation; thus suggesting a two-way process. We have seen in Chapter 4 that having non-Italian sons- and daughters-in-law forces these women to acquire an official language to preserve family unity. Even if French was learned at work, exposure to English by the second generation, their partners and subsequently their children results in the need to acquire yet another language, English, for communication to take place. In this case, the assimilative force is from within a private domain, the home.

Language as an identity marker is certainly an interesting concept to examine in relation to ethnic language retention and acquisition of official languages. All the women identified strongly as Italo-Canadians as a result of continued attachment to the mother country and appreciation for the host country, Canada, but no identification with Quebec, except for Evelyne. Liana still identifies highly with her country of origin, but not with Canada. If we examine identification with linguistic groups, women with low proficiency in Canada's official languages had no sense of belonging with either group. Only two women (Donna and Evelyne) identified themselves as Anglophones (but only Donna speaks English), and along with Francine they also identify themselves as Francophones, yet Evelyne speaks little French. Marcella, who has average proficiency in French like Nora, has the least attachment to either linguistic group. Albeit a few exceptions (Evelyne and Marcella) language appears to be somewhat linked to identity, but this sample is far too small to advance a conclusion. However, we can note that for the majority, French, the dominant language in Quebec, is the language acquired; yet Canada, which is predominantly English, and naturally Italy, their mother country, are the countries they identify with.

Clearly, the first generation is far from being linguistically acculturated. In fact, the limited degree of exposure to either official language since migration was sufficient

enough to function within the larger society, yet they maintain a strong sense of belonging to the ethnic group.

Hypothesis 1b:

> *The community's well-developed institutional network in the residential area encourages mother tongue use in public domains, especially by the foreign-born.*

Residential concentration encourages maintenance of the ethnic language as it permits the development of ethnic institutions that cater services in the language of the ethnic community (Lieberson 1981). The results on language use show that all the first-generation women shop in their neighbourhood and they do so for the most part in Italian. The availability of Italian-owned stores with ethnic products is certainly attractive to these women. Concetta, who is over eighty years old and lives alone, said she likes shopping at a nearby convenient store because the owner is Italian. Concetta speaks very little French and no English; therefore, being able to communicate with the clerks is very important. However, the second generation is equally attracted by the availability of ethnic products. For example, Judith travels from St-Bruno to shop for groceries on a regular basis. She complains that "in St-Bruno there aren't many Italians and Italian food products are rather scarce, so I like going to Saint-Léonard and stock up." By returning to this city, Judith uses Italian when shopping, as do Laura and Irene who live there.

But using Italian does not mean not using French or English. Many first-generation women also shop at non-ethnic supermarkets (food chain stores) where French predominates. In such places linguistic behaviour varies; some women use Italian while others use French because it is a "French store". As Nora explains,

> I usually go to IGA because it's closer and the owner is Italian. I use Italian all the time there. I also go to Maxi but I use French there when it's not possible to use Italian. It depends on who is working the day I go. If there are Italians I use Italian, if not I use French.

However, one place where first and second generation women always use Italian is at pastry shops, and as Liana's daughter Laura noted, "are there any other but Italian bakeries in Saint-Léonard?" This statement reinforces the magnitude of the ethnic institutional network available in this city and sustained by the large number of Italians.

Surprisingly, no one mentioned using the regional dialect. In fact, almost all the women referred to using an 'improved' dialect, which they called 'Italian'. Some even specified that they are well aware that it is far from the standard Italian, but it is nonetheless different from the dialect, especially Sicilian, as was noted by Adele and Irma, both Sicilian women. Dialect is reserved for more familiar contexts while Italian is used in public domains and with other Italians from different regions. Nora was especially adamant about using her dialect as little as possible when in the company of other Italians.

> I do not like to use my dialect because it is not understood by all. I always tell the other women "Why not try to clean up your pronunciation a little so that all can understand what you are saying?" We're not in the village anymore; we're here with other Italians so we should try to forget about our village roots.

In fact, the results on language proficiency in Italian and dialect show that only one woman (Julie) rated her Italian speaking ability as "Very good", even though proficiency in the regional dialect was average. But overall, dialect is the language variety in which they have highest speaking ability. This is understandable since the education level was low and migration set them in a context where they were no longer identified as 'Sicilians' or 'Molisane' but rather as 'Italians', consequently, the language spoken with other Italians needed to be adapted to a level understandable by all, namely the 'improved' dialect.

We noted how interaction of a more personal nature within the public domains, for example, hairdresser, dentist, family doctor, pharmacists, are usually conducted in Italian, a language the first-generation women are more at ease using. The large

community sustains the availability of these services and even encourages the use of Italian within the second-generation professionals. For example, Liana mentioned how her son, a C.A., regrets that he only knows the dialect and that prevents him from advertising services in Italian like many others do; it limits his accessibility to potential clients. The third generation can also experience this economic value of a language. Liana's grandson (18 years old) noticed that speaking Italian in Saint-Léonard provides more job opportunities. In addition, ever since he started working in an Italian restaurant, he speaks Italian more often with his grandmother. Her daughter Laura explains about her children:

> They take [Italian] in school but then they don't practice it so it's no use. I think for me it's different because I always spoke it with my family and other people. But for them it's not the same. I see my son is doing better now because he's working in an Italian restaurant and the clientele is forcing him to use it, which I'm very happy. My daughter knows as much, but they both speak the dialect more. But my son is forced to use Italian and he's brushing up quite quickly because he has the basics.

In fact, economic theorists explain that the economic value of a language will define its usefulness (Grenier 1997:174) and for many third-generation immigrants, knowing the ethnic language becomes a form of human capital (Breton 1997:55). The argument is that people invest in time and effort in learning, or improving, a language because it offers economic returns, and like all capital, it can increase or depreciate in value.

Therefore, the community's institutional network as a result of residential concentration does not only maintain the language in the first generation, but also in subsequent generations that work within the ethnically concentrated area. The immigrant women can generally conduct all economic activities in Italian, and they can even be served in that language within the municipal offices if needed. Yet, when absolutely necessary, French is the official language used when communicating with members of the host society.

5.2 IMPACT OF FIRST GENERATION ON THIRD GENERATION LANGUAGE USE AND PROFICIENCY

Hypothesis 2a:

> *An inverse correlation is expected between ethnic language use in the third generation and proficiency in an official language in the first generation.*

The results on ethnic language use by the third generation and proficiency in an official language by the first generation show that Miranda, Isabella, Lydia, Natasha and Sabrina always use the ethnic language (Italian or dialect) with their grandmothers Marcella, Irma, Liana, Nora and Sara. Of these women, Irma, Liana and Sara have the lowest proficiency in an official language; they rated their linguistic speaking abilities as 'poor'. Nora and Marcella, Natasha and Miranda's grandmothers, rated their French as average, yet Natasha rarely uses this language because she considers her French is not good enough, while Miranda always uses the dialect (see Table 5.2). Natasha finds it odd speaking any other language than Italian with her grandmother. Therefore, she forces herself to use Italian and only slips in dialect or French words when she cannot find the right words in the other language. Of all the grandmothers of the family triads, Julie is the most proficient in an official language, French, and her granddaughter Janice uses Italian the least with her grandmother.

Table 5.2: Official Language Proficiency of the First Generation and Ethnic Language Use in the Third Generation

Use of the ethnic language - third generation Italian / dialect	*Proficiency in official languages – first generation English / French*		
	High	Medium	Low
High		M	I - L - S
Medium		N	
Low	J		

What is surprising is that Janice went to French immersion and lives in a Francophone environment (St Bruno), yet she will not use French with her grandmother, rather she will address her almost always in English, even though her grandmother Julie

knows French quite well. On the other hand, Natasha will use French occasionally with her grandmother, while Sabrina limits herself to Italian even though her grandmother Sara understands French. Therefore, it is clear that French is not a language of communication between granddaughters and grandmothers in place of the ethnic language even when ability in this language is poor among the third generation. The young women will prefer using Italian at their possible best even though they know French quite well.

We also note that Sabrina who speaks only Italian with her grandparents never speaks Italian with her parents. Sylvia interprets this attitude as follows:

> My daughter is shy, she understands [Italian] but she won't force herself to speak. But my son, now that he's older, he enjoys it, and speaks it with his grandparents, in their dialect. Whereas my daughter still passes the phone to me in a rush when it's Italian.

Sabrina is in her early teens, whereas her brother is a young adult. The literature on ethnic identity stresses that a sense of belonging to an ethnic group starts in the teen years (Phinney 1990), but Sabrina already considers herself Italo-Canadian and she likes being Italian. During the interview, she stresses that she would like to improve her knowledge of the ethnic language. "I don't know [Italian] well enough to my taste. I would like to improve it in order to better communicate with my grandparents." In fact, she complains about the Italian classes she took in earlier years; they focused too much on writing and not enough on speaking abilities. Based on this perspective, we can assume that in a few years Sabrina might gain enough confidence to actually speak the ethnic language more often like her brother.

Sabrina is not alone in her desire to improve her Italian speaking abilities. Lydia and Miranda share the same sentiment mainly to communicate better with grandparents and, as Miranda added, with older relatives. She would also like to learn how to write because contrary to Sabrina, Miranda describes her Italian classes as having too much

emphasis on developing speaking skills. Naturally, we have seen that from the third generation sample, Miranda has the highest use of the ethnic language at home and with relatives; therefore, it naturally explains her desire to improve her writing skills, which are not developed simply by being exposed or speaking a language. Contrary to the other young women, Janice is interested in improving her French. She is very involved in the sports community and she lives in a Francophone neighbourhood; therefore, she realizes that her communication skills in French are rather limited in order to fully participate in activities with her teammates. In addition, she is becoming increasingly aware of the linguistic requirements in the workplace. Therefore, in Janice's case, there is more pressure to improve her French than the ethnic language.

Overall, wanting to communicate with one's grandparents is an incentive to improve the ethnic language, and lower proficiency in an official language for the first generation incites greater use of the ethnic language in the third generation, with the exception of Miranda whose grandmother's language knowledge is not the lowest among the first generation women of the family triads. However, we note that Janice is more concerned with improving the French language than preventing the loss of the ethnic language; her grandmother has the highest degree of proficiency in an official language.

Hypothesis 2b:

> *It is expected that a greater amount of contact between the first and the third generation results in higher ethnic language knowledge and use in the third generation.*

All the second-generation mothers mentioned having at least one of their children cared for by their mother or mother-in-law. Natasha and Miranda had their maternal grandmother as fulltime babysitters starting at a young age: Natasha from six months to age five and Miranda for two years prior to starting school. As for Sabrina, her

grandmother Sara babysat her on a regular basis from one to two years old after which Sylvia brought her to a French-speaking daycare in her neighbourhood. Sabrina also spent every summer holidays with her brother at her grandmother's house (Sara), until they reached their teenage years. Isabella spent her days with her aunt for a few years, then her mother Irene stayed home, like Laura. Judith sent Janice and her sister to a babysitter because she lived too far from her mother, but she brought them one day every second week to Julie's house (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Third Generation Proficiency in the Ethnic Language and Degree of Contact with the First Generation

		Granddaughters' present degree of proficiency in the ethnic language		
		High	Medium	Low
Degree of contact with grandmother prior to starting school	High Medium Low	M - I	N S L	 J
Present degree of contact with the grandmother	High Medium Low	M - I	S - L N	 J

All these young women, with the exception of Janice, knew Italian by the age of five, and have maintained some degree of knowledge since then. Miranda, Sabrina, Isabella and Lydia have the most contact with their grandmother; some see them on a daily basis while others visit every week. Miranda is the most fluent in the ethnic language and Sabrina understands the language to the same degree as Miranda does; however, degree of use is much higher for Miranda since Sabrina limits its use to her grandparents. Lydia and Isabella are neighbours with their grandmothers, therefore contact is on a daily basis; but Isabella is more fluent than Lydia. However, Isabella has been working on her Italian for several months, since she met her boyfriend. Although Natasha always speaks Italian with her grandmother Nora, she only sees or speaks with her once every two months. This may explain her lower degree of proficiency compared

to Miranda and Isabella. Janice who had the least contact with her grandmother is also the least fluent of the group.

Fishman (1991) suggests that language shift can be reversed as long as there are members of the community that still speak the ethnic language. The best candidates for this process are the immigrant generation and in this case the grandparents. The chain migration revealed how important helping family members is in the Italian culture. Many first-generation women mentioned how an aunt, sister-in-law, mother-in-law or their own mother cared for the children during their workdays. Marcella even mentioned that her daughter Maria lived with her grandmother because the apartment she lived in was too small for the entire family. This female kin support system is typical of Italian culture (Pichini 1987), which is family-centred (Clyne 1982). This same support system continued in the following generations; it is common for grandmothers (first-generation immigrants) to baby-sit their grandchildren full time while the parents work[43].

Therefore, we can conclude that greater contact between the first and the third generation, especially during childhood years, increases knowledge and use of the ethnic language. Even though use becomes more limited after the teen years, the knowledge previously acquired may eventually resurface under continuous exposure to it and if knowledge of the language has an associated advantage to it, as is the case for Isabella, and for Laura's son.

5.3 EFFECT OF ETHNIC VITALITY AND GENDER OR FAMILY ROLES ON INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF LANGUAGE

> *Ethnic language knowledge and use will be higher in families where Italian customs and values have survived beyond the foreign-born generation; specifically customs and values related to women's roles within the family.*

[43] Many first-generation women did not participate in the semi-structured interview because they were babysitting grandchildren, especially common with the "younger" grandmothers (in their sixties and recently retired from work).

The family-centred Italian culture dictates certain values and customs that maintain family unity (Clyne 1982). In fact, tradition calls for regular visits particularly the weekly Sunday lunch at the parents' home. We have seen that traditional foods are an important cultural trait that women preserve through these family gatherings (Gans 1962; Laroche *et al.* 1999). The weekly dinners reinforce the Italian customs and values, as well as traditional cooking, which is much appreciated by the third generation and proudly prepared by their grandmothers. The age difference between spouses, a common trend in the southern regions of Italy, calls for marriage at an early age for the young women, thus reinforcing the patriarchal structure of this culture. In addition, inmarriages, particularly encouraged among the women of the second generation, insure the survival of these customs and traditions as well as the gender roles within the family.

We have seen that our sample of second-generation women married not only within the ethnic group, but some also within the same region from Italy. These women have also maintained through the years the custom of visiting the parents and in-laws on a weekly basis for the Sunday dinner, thus reinforcing the family-centred culture. As Irene explains:

> We had to go there every Sunday at lunchtime like Italian tradition calls for. If you tried to get out of it, you just couldn't. If you called to say you wouldn't go it would be "No, no, no, you have to come." There was no way around it.

Laura also had this tradition but to a lesser degree because her husband traveled often for business. The traditional Sunday lunches have not carried on especially since Laura and her mother Liana are both widowed. Laura and Irene communicate on a daily basis with their neighbouring mothers, however Irene is now divorced (since 1995) and like Laura (widowed since 1997) they do not see their in-laws as often. Sylvia and Maria continue this weekly tradition, while Judith visits less regularly.

When asked about family responsibilities, all the women answered that they spent more time with the children and took on the responsibility of childrearing, whether they were employed or not, except for Nicole. Sylvia recalled how as a child, her father would help out around the house until she, the eldest child, was old enough to help her mother. But when she met her husband, she realized that it was different in his family:

> When I met my husband, he never did anything; his mother did everything, so that was like a shock to me. My mother-in-law worked just like my mother, but she kept more "the man was the man", you know. But I put rules where my kids [boy and girl] have their rooms to clean, the basement to clean. But my husband does much less. I definitely think it's a culture thing.

Irene shares the same experience; yet, it was her husband who refuted the Italian language and culture:

> I spent more time with the kids; that's the way it usually is. My husband went to work and didn't do anything around the house, not even when I got operated. My eldest son helped me out with my daughter who was barely more than 2 [years old] at the time. Then he continued to do things like clean the bathroom, take out the carpets, and go to the store to buy things. He was pretty good. His friends would even tease him; they would say he was ready to get married like they say to girls when they're good around the house.

These views are consistent with previous research on post-WW II immigrant women, where traditional gender-role expectations are passed on to the second generation (Pichini 1987; Iacovetta 1987; Painchaud and Poulin 1988; Haddad and Lam 1994). But we can notice how these women break these gender-roles by having their sons (the third generation) involved in housework.

On the other hand, Nicole had a different experience. She grew up in a household where her father was very domineering.

> I never wanted to marry an Italian. I hated the Italian mentality, "la femme soumise" and all. But then I met my husband and he wasn't the typical Italian, he was different. We share 50-50 since we both work and it was the same when the kids were small. And I would do just as much gardening or painting as he would do cooking and cleaning.

The attitude this generation of women adopts when they marry may influence the behaviour and expectations of their daughters. The acceptance, or not, of the traditional gender-roles may affect their perception of the ethnic group, and consequently slowly erode the existing links starting with the ethnic language.

Natasha expresses the similar antipathy towards the "male dominance" and the stereotypes associated with Italian men, as did her mother Nicole, who demonstrated indifference towards inmarriages. Nicole stresses that her daughter can marry from any ethnic group, as long as she is happy; Laura and Judith shared the same sentiment. Indeed, one of Judith's daughters is dating a French-Canadian and she is perfectly content.

Inmarriages reflect an attachment to the ethnic group (Stevens and Swiceggod 1987). Maria, Sylvia and Irene express a preference for inmarriages for their children, but when asked to justify their reasons, the responses varied somewhat. Maria and Irene mention that by marrying someone of the same ethnic origin, there is a mutual understanding of the culture, customs and traditions. They also stress the importance of being able to communicate with relatives, as was also mentioned by all the first-generation women interviewed. In fact, these women all prefer inmarriages, especially when their children married out and later divorced. The main argument is similar to that of the second-generation women: no culture clash. Irene always wanted to marry an Italian, which she did, but is now divorced, and we have seen that unlike her, her ex-husband was not interested in maintaining the Italian culture.

As a result of these different perspectives, we can see that unlike Natasha, Isabella is very accepting of the Italian traditional gender-roles, and she is aiming to marry an Italian, to Irene's delight. However, although Irene expects her daughter to maintain traditional values and marry an Italian, she would not necessarily do the same

at this point in her life. Sylvia on the other hand, was surprised that she could not justify her preference for inmarriages.

Based on the attitude of second-generation women, we note that among the third generation, Isabella and Miranda have the highest ethnic language maintenance, while Lydia and Natasha are close seconds; Janice has the lowest ability (see Table 5.4). As for Sabrina, her comprehension of Italian is as high as Miranda's, but she has yet to gain more confidence in her speaking. However, Sabrina did express the desire to "continue passing it on because it's always part of who we are, where we come from".

Table 5.4: Language Maintenance Versus Maintenance of Customs and Values in the Third Generation

Degree of maintenance of traditional values and customs	*Degree of language maintenance*		
	High	Medium	Low
High	M - I	S	
Medium			
Low		N - L	J

Perception of one's ethnic group is said to influence the sense of belonging to that group and ultimately ethnic language maintenance (Giles *et al.* 1977). Aside from Natasha, who said liking 'somewhat' being Italian because she hates "the Italian stereotypes, those that take on the typical Italian attitude and make themselves obviously recognizable as 'Italians' ", all the other third generation respondents had positive feelings. In fact, ethnic identity with Italians is highest for Isabella and Miranda who also have the highest speaking ability. However, Janice who rated lowest in Italian speaking, rated second lowest in Italian identity, but said she likes being of Italian origin "especially because of the food".

Natasha who speaks Italian better than Janice rated the lowest for Italian and Italo-Canadian identity. Consequently, Natasha's perception of the ethnic group may affect her identity but not her attachment to the language. Indeed, she has Italian friends and she occasionally uses the ethnic language with them. Therefore, we can assume

that her lukewarm perception of the Italian ethnic group is limited to the local immigrants' image. In fact, Isabella who has had more contact with Italians living in Italy noticed the dramatic differences in attitude and behaviour, where the local immigrants have remained more 'old-fashioned'. Research on Italian immigrants supports such perspectives (Jansen 1988; Painchaud and Poulin 1988; Peressini 1988; Iacovetta 1992). In sum, the transmission of cultural traditions and values impacts on the degree of language maintenance in the third generation. However, it can also have a negative influence on ethnic identity.

5.4 IMPACT OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION ON INTERGENERATIONAL ETHNIC LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Intergenerational ethnic language retention is expected to be higher in families where the language of instruction is different between the second and the third generation, as a result of the Quebec language law, Bill 101.

Despite pressure from Bill 101 to educate children of immigrants in French as a measure to curb their Anglicization, Italians have maintained their eligibility to English-language instruction as warranted by the law, mostly because that was their language of instruction. However, Nicole stresses that if she would have to make the choice today, she would send her children to French school because "it is important to know French if you want to work in Quebec". Her French communication skills are high, but she notices that when she entered the workforce some 25 years ago, English was the language used most often, whereas now French dominates. In fact, all the respondents mention using English only in their first job (on average 25 years ago). Unlike her daughter Natasha, Nicole's son attended French immersion and his level of proficiency is high compared to Natasha.

The profile of this sample does not permit examination of the effect of Bill 101 through education since the second and third generations of our family triads were all

educated in English, or occasionally a few years in bilingual (Judith) and French immersion (Janice and Lydia) programs. The attraction by first-generation immigrants to educate their children in English was justified by the need to see them succeed economically (Boissevain 1970; Painchaud and Poulin 1988; Linteau 1988; Ramirez 1989b). The popularity of the bilingual programs in Saint-Léonard in the 1960s resulted in second-generation Italian immigrants being able to converse in both official languages. In fact, the goal of Italian immigrants was to learn as many languages as possible (Fortier 1992), and this third generation can also manage conversations in French. Interestingly, they are slightly more fluent in this language than in the ethnic language.

Bill 101 perceives the French language as the representation of culture, which the Quebec population can identify with and share the same values (Laurin 1977:19), in other words a certain 'collective consciousness' as advanced by Durkheim (1933). However, although the results from this study are not statistically significant, they strongly suggest that the position of the French language as the dominant language in Quebec is accepted, but its use is simply restricted as a language of communication in public domains, there is no degree of acculturation.

Sylvia recalls how she switched from Italian to French as home language because her children were attending a French daycare and the neighbourhood was Francophone. Her children were having difficulty communicating because they spoke only Italian. When they entered school, their language of instruction was English, but her son experienced difficulties in acquiring this third language; therefore, under the advice of her son's teacher, Sylvia switched to English as home language. Once again, Italian was set aside. Although her children have some proficiency in the ethnic language, she wanted them to be more fluent. "It's very difficult to get three languages going... But it is

very important to me that my children learn Italian; unfortunately, it didn't work out like I wanted it."

If Sylvia's children received French-language instruction, they probably would have French as a home language instead of English. Sylvia's decisions on home language were influenced by the neighbourhood and subsequently by education. Therefore, despite wanting her children to speak Italian, outside forces were influential in the final outcome. Sylvia's case highlights the importance grandparents have in ethnic language maintenance in the third generation. Sabrina speaks Italian only with her grandmother Sara; if Sara would not speak Italian with them, then this language would not have survived beyond the second generation.

Just like education, mass media is considered an acculturative institution, yet media and cultural choices among the third generation also display the failed Francization efforts of Bill 101 even for those living in Francophone neighbourhoods. For example, interest in French language entertainment (movies, music and singers) is close to nil compared to Italian. Interestingly, all the mothers mentioned watching Italian movies on videocassettes as a family activity, and four daughters confirmed such a statement (Isabella, Natasha, Miranda and Sara).

In addition, the low or non-use of French, the official language generally shared between the first and third generation, reflects how this language is not included in private settings. This sentiment is reflected in their responses (both second and third generations) to questions on identification with a linguistic group. Nicole, the most fluent in French, who has some French-Canadian friends and co-workers, identified the most with the Francophone group. All the other respondents replied 'Not at all', but all women felt Anglophone with the exception of Sylvia who felt 'very much Italian'; yet she had three different home languages in the span of a few years during her children's childhood.

Although the neighbourhood is cited as a force for assimilating immigrants, Janice who lives in a Francophone neighbourhood (St-Bruno) replied feeling only 'A little' Francophone; the other young women said 'Not at all'. Natasha answered feeling 'Somewhat' Anglophone because English is not her mother tongue and "the ethnic accent always flairs up to some degree". She feels the same about Italian because she is a Canadian-born and is "not fluent enough in the language". Clearly, although they all speak French, English and Italian, the sense of belonging to a linguistic group is far from equal, especially for the third generation who has remained Anglicized, yet all have fairly strong identity as Italo-Canadians.

CONCLUSION

We have seen how each family triad has particular characteristics, and linguistic behaviour in the third generation varies to some degree. At one end we have Marcella's family who has all the determinants favourable to ethnic language transmission. She worked alongside her husband in a grocery store they opened in an Italian neighbourhood, and Marcella had family members (also foreign-born) living with her or nearby for years after migrating. Her daughter Maria married at a young age with a foreign-born Italian who was very insistent about maintaining the ethnic language, always speaking Sicilian with his children. Maria lives in Laval where the neighbourhood is Italian and Francophone; two of her brothers also live there. She is very attached to her culture and identifies highly with her ethnic group; she also maintains the Italian customs and traditions. Her daughter Miranda is the most fluent third generation immigrant and has strong identification with the group.

Julie's family is at the other end where her granddaughter Janice is the least proficient in the ethnic language. We have seen that Julie's husband migrated early and is the most fluent in one of Canada's official languages having worked in a totally

Anglophone environment for over forty years. When Julie arrived in Montreal at nineteen, her husband was already managing quite well in English, having migrated six years earlier; she did not experience the same language adaptation problems as the other women who migrated with their husbands. Her daughter Judith married a Canadian-born Italian who spoke English at home with his mother, a foreign-born Italian. Judith and her husband always speak English with each other; hence it became and remains the home language despite living in a Francophone neighbourhood for over twenty years and sending their daughters fulltime to a French language daycare from two months old to age five. Contact with the Italian community remains at a few visits per month to Julie's house. Janice is the only third generation in our sample with poor proficiency in the ethnic language.

The other families fall in-between where a variety of different factors result in almost equivalent knowledge of the ethnic language in the third generation. The goal of this thesis was to explore what factors surrounding the women within each family encourage transmission of the ethnic language from one generation to the next. We have seen that each family is challenged by internal (private domains) and/or external forces (public domains) as identified in the literature; yet, there are no two similar situations because it is the particular combination of these forces that influence the outcome.

However, common to all the families is the importance of the 'grandparents domain' and the role of women in maintaining the ethnic cultural traditions. Within the second generation, women's acceptance of these traditions plays into the maintenance of the ethnic language, but their involvement into the larger society through work (which is not in the segmented market like their mothers) also asks for some degree of acculturation. However, we have seen that linguistic acculturation is taking place with the Anglophone group, like the third generation.

Among this group, the importance of knowing the ethnic language appears to grow in the teen years, as is suggested in the literature (Phinney 1990). In fact, it is at this age that the young develop their perception of the ethnic group, largely as a result of the parents' attitude (as we have seen with Natasha) or through positive and constant contact with family members (Miranda), particularly the grandmothers. In addition, a burgeoning awareness of the economic advantages associated to proficiency in the ethnic language also incites the young to rekindle with their grandparents' mother tongue, which may ultimately lead to the ethnic revival in the third generation.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Research on ethnic language maintenance and shift among post-WW II immigrant groups has generally focused on the first and second generations due to the recency of migration. Therefore, research on the third generation is relatively recent, and there is still much to learn about the three-generation language shift process. This thesis has focused on the first and third generation of immigrant families to help uncover some of the dynamics at work at the more 'intimate' level of interaction. Within our small sample, we have seen that a multitude of factors interplay to produce a number of environments where 'partial language shift' (Fishman 1989) appears to dominate.

Canada's multicultural policy encourages the maintenance of ethnic characteristics, namely the ethnic language, among minority immigrant groups. However, we have seen that language loss still occurs despite the fact that Italians are a large immigrant group in Canada, and are concentrated in specific areas. We can then imagine how the smaller and the more dispersed immigrant groups fare with the challenge of maintaining the ethnic language. Equally important is the survival of aboriginal languages, which have received particular attention in recent years. We have seen how low objective vitality among a Cree community undermines intergenerational language continuity; yet, Cree is the most frequently reported aboriginal mother tongue. In an effort to promote intergenerational transmission of aboriginal languages and ethnic immigrant languages, governments should focus on elaborating programs that make the languages culturally, socially or economically attractive to the young generation. Although the goal of the multicultural policy is to promote tolerance of cultural diversity, it does not assume an active role in maintaining cultural identities. Instead, maintenance of the ethnic culture is left to the will of the ethnic immigrant group to pursue with support only given upon demand.

In addition, the strong assimilative force of the English language seems to outweigh attachment to the ethnic language. This is noted in Quebec as in the rest of Canada, even though French is Quebec's official language. Nonetheless, immigrants in Quebec generally have greater ethnic language retention rates than those residing outside this province; as was noted with Italians. Likewise, this province exhibits higher bilingualism in Canada's official languages. Ironically, one can assume that Bill 101 has a greater 'cultural maintenance' effect than Canada's multicultural policy.

The theory on assimilation suggests that acculturation of first-generation immigrants is what initiates loss of ethnic languages. But survival or loss of the ethnic language beyond the immigrant generation is far from a 'one-way downward process'; in other words, forces are exerted vertically, horizontally and obliquely, and the process is two-way. Women, as the primary caregivers, have a major influence on the home language, but we have seen that external forces are also at play. These forces originate from the neighbourhood, institutions and marriage partners. In addition, the various private and public domains in an individual's life allows for the use of more than one language, especially in multilingual cities like Montreal. In fact, Gordon's (1964) structural dimension of assimilation describes the various domains based on two levels of interaction: the primary level (private domains) and the secondary level (public domains). He stresses that the private domains encompass the more personal types of interactions that affect the socialization process of a child, that which moulds the human personality and instills the cultural values. However, we have seen that as parents interact with members of the host society in public domains, this interaction may eventually influence linguistic behaviour within the private domains. Therefore, when examining intergenerational language maintenance, more studies at the micro level are necessary.

The qualitative nature of this study permitted the collection of additional data on the second generation, which were not directly related to the hypotheses, but nonetheless deserve some attention. The second-generation parents are the ones juggling between two cultures: the ethnic culture in which they were primarily socialized in the home and the host society in which they were educated and often work. The degree to which these individuals can find a balance between maintaining one while integrating into the other will determine the success in intergenerational ethnic language maintenance.

The literature stresses how marrying in or out of the ethnic group will impact on the home language. We have seen that all the second-generation couples were in endogamous marriages like their parents, and most couples had approximately the same degree of knowledge in the ethnic language, but the degree of use within the home varied considerably. These variations are largely due to the different degrees of acculturation attained by the second generation, which is primarily affected by the acculturation level attained by the previous generation. For example, Judith's mother-in-law, a foreign-born Italian, spoke English with her son, as did Laura's mother-in-law who was a Canadian-born Italian. Both women used English, yet they are not from the same immigrant generation, and both had foreign-born Italian husbands. Therefore, as advanced by Stevens (1985), the individual characteristics of the parents in the home are the determinant factors even within endogamous marriages. In addition, the greater the intragenerational linguistic change within the 'second' generation, the lower will be the use of the ethnic language.

The personal communications with the potential triads also revealed interesting aspects of 'acculturation'. Several women had Anglicized or Francisized their names, as did Irene's ex-husband. Yet, unlike him, based on the data collected during their mothers' interviews, these women did not seem distanced from their ethnic culture or

language. This may reflect the many identities these second-generation immigrants have as the 'in-between' generation. In fact, this may suggest that some degree of acculturation has taken place in what we may call the more 'personal' private domains where the immigrant generation does not take part, such as the workplace, children's activities and the friendship network.

In his study of immigrants in Australia, Clyne explains how life cycle phases influence an individual's linguistic behaviour. These phases include migration, the death of a parent or of a spouse, the birth of a child, a child entering school, etc. This principle can be used to explain the interesting birth order effect on acculturation in general, but also on ethnic language maintenance in particular as was noted in our sample. The immigrant generation acquires the host language through interaction with members of the host society; consequently, the childhood immigrants may experience the acculturation process simultaneously with the parents through education. The older is the child immigrant, the longer is the exposure to the ethnic language. In addition, in the case of second-generation immigrants, the older child may also be exposed to the ethnic language for a greater number of years in the home; during which time the parents' proficiency in the host language improves. Therefore, the younger children are socialized in a household where the host language may have partially insinuated itself in the daily lives of the immigrant family since they can use an official language with the older siblings. In fact, our sample showed that the second generation communicates mainly in English among siblings, whereas the ethnic language remains the language used with the immigrant generation.

The older child may also introduce the language of instruction into the home, thus becoming the acculturative force within this domain, suggesting acculturation to be a two-way process. This is an important dimension especially for unemployed immigrant women living in ethnic neighbourhoods. Parents, but more generally the mother, become

exposed to the host language through the education of their children and eventually acquire some understanding or speaking ability, as mentioned by some immigrant women in our sample.

Moreover, in our sample of women, it was noted that the first-born of the immigrant generation usually had greater contact with the mother of the first-generation immigrant women and greater use of the ethnic language than their younger siblings. For example, Maria was cared for by her grandmother and even lived with her for some time; Maria has high identification and high ethnic language maintenance in her family. In addition, aside from greater outmarriages among males than females, of the families interviewed, the youngest children were usually the ones marrying out of the ethnic group.

The same 'birth order' effect is noted in the third generation where the grandmothers (first generation in our sample) baby-sit the first child of the second-generation women who become stay-at-home moms when the second or third child is born. Therefore, the first-borns are more often 'immersed' in the grandparents' language and culture. Even if the ethnic language is not the child's mother tongue as defined by the Canadian Census, it nonetheless has a strong socialization effect, and no matter the degree of proficiency achieved, it remains the language of communication even when contact diminishes, for example as is the case for Natasha and her grandmother. Moreover, as was remarked by Sylvia and Laura regarding their sons, a revived interest in the language, whether for economic, cultural or social reasons, will be facilitated if the basic knowledge is already present. Consequently, to generalize processes by generation can be misleading since intragenerational differences exist even within the same families. To what degree this may influence the intergenerational process needs to be further explored.

Clear boundaries or contexts in which the ethnic language *should* be used are necessary to insure survival (Downes 1998), but the lack of definite boundaries may also offer a greater number of domains where it *can* be used. In fact, the greater the number of domains in which a language can be used, the greater its chances for survival (Fishman 1985). We have seen how the immigrant generation does not limit the use of the ethnic language to private domains; rather it is used in all contexts, public (stores, work, etc.) or private (church, friends, etc.) whenever other Italians are encountered. Clyne (1982) noted that this behaviour is particular to Italians and Greeks compared to other ethnic groups such as the Germans or the Dutch for whom the ethnic language is reserved for private domains (Clyne 1988; Davis 1994). The availability of ethnic institutions seems to encourage such linguistic behaviour even in subsequent generations, especially in residentially concentrated ethnic neighbourhoods like Saint-Léonard.

Based on the results from our sample of first-generation immigrants, we noted that the ethnic language was passed on to the third generation. However, more interesting still is that the regional dialect, not necessarily 'Italian', survived beyond the immigrant generation. The results on language use showed a shift in home language from dialect to Italian for many women. However, the intragenerational language shift experienced by this sample after migration has been from their dialect to Italian ('an improved dialect') in public domains. We have seen in Chapter 2 that the regional identity was particularly strong for this ethnic group. The testimony of many women highlighted the need to switch from the regional dialect to a more standard Italian in order to be part of the 'Italian' ethnic group rather than the 'Sicilian' or 'Calabrese' regional group. In fact, among many women, the pride of belonging to a specific region still lingers, especially when among fellow villagers. The ethnic associations and organizations where membership is largely determined by region of origin is testimony to

this attachment, as are the regional inmarriages among the second generation and the survival of the dialect in the third generation. Therefore, the Italian group with its dialect varieties may in fact delay language shift to the host language because shift first occurs from the dialect to Italian.

The Greek and the Chinese languages also have a variety of dialects. As we have seen from the review of the literature in Chapter 1, the Greek immigrant group in Australia and Canada show high intergenerational ethnic language maintenance; they are from the same migration period as the Italians and they share similar characteristics. However, China was the main source country of migration in the 1990s and Chinese replaced Italian as the third most common mother tongue in the 2001 Census of Canada. In an effort to further explore the effect of language dialects spoken by minority immigrant groups and the rate of intergenerational ethnic language shift, studies should focus on such groups that speak a dialect.

Finally, research at the more local scale revealed important geographical variations for the Italians. Saint-Léonard has the highest concentration of Italians in general (single and multiple origins) and of foreign-born in particular. However, Kirkland, a municipality in the western part of Montreal, has the second highest concentration of Italians (single and multiple origins), but the highest concentration of multiple responses to ethnic origin, therefore suggesting a greater population of second-generation Italians possibly in mixed marriages. The percentage of Italians (single origin) in Kirkland has increased from less than one percent in 1971 to almost twelve percent in 2001 (Statistics Canada 1974a, 2003a). In addition, they are the largest ethnic group in Anglophone Kirkland as in Francophone Laval; however, the concentration in the latter is only five percent. Interestingly, Laval has a greater number of Italian mother tongue speakers with Italian as home language than Kirkland (Statistics Canada 2003a). This difference in linguistic continuity certainly suggests that in this case, residential concentration does

not necessarily encourage ethnic language maintenance; therefore, other factors particular to the second-generation Italian immigrants residing in these municipalities may be at play and needs further exploration. Furthermore, additional research is needed to examine if other ethnic immigrant groups exhibit similar inter-municipal variations of intergenerational survival of the ethnic language.

In conclusion, this thesis highlighted the need for more research at the micro level, since that is where the more 'fine' mechanisms operate on intergenerational ethnic language maintenance and shift.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONARIO
(PILOT SURVEY)

1. Siete nata in Italia?
   Sì. . . . . 1 ( ) No . . . . . 2 ( )
2. Vostro marito è nato in Italia?
   Sì . . . . . .1 ( ) No . . . . . 2 ( )
3. Avete una figlia che risiede a Montreal?
   Sì . . . . . 1 ( ) No . . . . . 2 ( )
4. Vostra figlia ha una figlia anche a Montreal? Quanti anni ha sua nipote?_____
   Sì . . . . . 1 ( ) No . . . . . 2 ( )
5. In che anno avete emigrato per il Canada? _____
6. In che anno vostro marito ha emigrato per il Canada? _____

FORMULARIO DI CONSENSO PER PARTECIPARE A UNA RICERCA

Acconsento di partecipare a un programma di ricerca della studentessa Rosa Venditti, per la sua tesi nel dipartimento di geografia dell'Università Concordia.

Sono stata informata che questa ricerca servirà a studiare il mantenimento della lingua materna su tre generazioni tra le donne imigrante italiane a St-Léonard.

Devo rispondere ad un breve questionario che durerà poco più di una diecina di minuti.
Le risposte saranno confidenziale.

Capisco che in qualunque momento sono libbera di ritirare il mio consenso e di smettere la mia partecipazione, senza consequenze.

Capisco che la mia partecipazione a questa ricerca è confidenziale.

Capisco lo scopo di questa ricerca e sono al corrente che non c'è nessun altro motivo di cui non sono stata informata.

HO LETTO ATTENTAMENTE E CAPISCO QUESTO ACCORDO.
ACCONSENTO LIBERAMENTE E VOLONTARIAMENTE A PARTECIPARE A QUESTA RICERCA.

FIRMA _____

DATA _____

7. Qual'è la vostra data di nascità?_____

8. Qual'è la data di nascità di vostro marito? _____

9. Avete lavorato in Canada?
   Sì. . . . . 1 ( ) ——→

   Se avete risposto sì, che lingua parlevate al lavoro?
   Inglese . . . . . 1 ( )
   Francese. . . . . 2 ( )
   Italiano. . . . . 3 ( )
   Altra . . . . . 4 ( ), per favore specificare_____

   No . . . . . 2 ( )

10. Quale lingua parlevate in casa nel periodo del'infanzia dei vostri figli? Potete scegliere più di una lingua.
    Inglese . . . . . 1 ( )
    Francese. . . . . 2 ( )
    Italiano. . . . . 3 ( )
    Altra. . . . . 4 ( ), per favore specificare_____

11. Adesso parlate solo l'italiano in casa?
    Sì . . . . . 1 ( ) Con chi?_____
    No . . . . . 2 ( ) ——→

    Se avete risposto no, che altra lingua parlate in casa?
    Inglese . . . . . 1 ( )
    Francese. . . . . 2 ( )
    Altra. . . . . 3 ( ), per favore specificare_____

    Con chi?_____

12. Che c'è una lingua che non parlate ma che capite?
    Sì. . . . . 1 ( ) ——→

    Se avete risposto sì, qualè questa lingua che capite ma che non parlate?
    Potete scegliere più di una lingua.
    Inglese . . . . . 1 ( )
    Francese. . . . . 2 ( )
    Altra. . . . . 3 ( ), per favore specificare_____

    No . . . . . 2 ( )

13. Fuori di casa parlate una lingua altro che l'italiano?
Sì. . . . . 1 ( )

Se avete risposto sì, che altra lingua parlate fuori di casa?
Inglese. . . . . .1 ( )
Francese . . . . . .2 ( )
Altra . . . . . .3 ( ), per favore specificare_____

Che parlate questa lingua
sempre?. . . . . 1 ( )
a l'occasione? . . . . . 2 ( )

No . . . . . 2 ( )

SONDAGGIO INTERVISTA

Per radunare del'informazioni più dettagliate a riguardo delle abitudine linguistiche durante le attività quotidiane delle donne immigrante italiane, delle volontarie passeranno un intervista.

Questo sondaggio sarà rigorosamente confidenziale. Sarò l'unica persona che vi passerà l'intervista e l'intervista durerà il tempo che volete mettere a disposizione. L'intervista si svolgerà il più possibile ad un momento ed a un posto più conveniente per voi.

Se siete interessata a partecipare a questo sondaggio, per favore scrivere il vostro nome e numero di telefono nelle spazio previsto. Vi chiamerò per decidere il posto, la data e l'ora del'incontro.

Nome _____

Cognome_____

Numero di telefono (_____) _____

Vi ringrazio per la vostra cooperazione.

APPENDIX B

INTERVISTA – PRIMA GENERAZIONE
(SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE – FIRST GENERATION)

PRIMA PARTE: Informazioni generale

Nome: _____

1. Potrei avere la data di nascita, il paese e la provincia di nascita, anni di scuola compiuti e la data dell'immgrazione di voi e vostro marito, e l'anno dello sposalizio.
2. Per cortesia, datemi il nome e la data di nascita dei vostri figli, e se possibile, anche la lingua di studio elementare e il loro mestiere.
3. Che ci sono figli che vedete o con chi parlate per telefono più spesso? Quali?

SECONDA PARTE : Lingue

4. La vostra lingua materna è
   L' italiano _____ o un dialetto _____Quale?_____
5. Descrivete la vostra abilità attuale a parlare, leggere, scrivere, e capire l'inglese, il francese, il vostro dialetto e/o quello di vostro marito, l'italiano, e se c'è un'altra llingua che conoscete, adoperando i termini seguenti: Niente (1), Molto poco (2), Abbastanza (3), Bene (4), Molto bene (5)
6. Quale lingua trovate più facile a parlare?
7. Qual'è la seconda lingua che trovate più facile a parlare? C'è ne una terza?
8. Vi ricordate se dei corsi d'inglese o francese erano offerti per le donne immigrante? Dove? Ne avete seguiti? Perchè?
9. Se capite o parlate il francese e/o l'inglese, e non avete seguiti corsi, come l'avete imparato?

MARITO

10. Secondo lei, come descrive l'abilità di vostro marito a parlare, leggere, scrivere e capire l'inglese, il francese, il dialetto e l'italiano?
11. Se vostro marito parla o capisce il francese e/o del'inglese, come ha imparato questa(e) lingua(e)?
12. Che lingua vostro marito adoperava piu spesso al lavoro?

TERZA PARTE: Etnicità

Se vi domando,

13. "Siete italiana?" Cosa mi risponderebbe secondo la scelta seguente?
    no un pò abbastanza molto completamente
14. Siete italo-quebecese?
15. Siete italo-canadese?
16. Vi considerate di lingua francese?
17. Vi considerate di lingua inglese?

QUARTA PARTE: abitudine linguistiche presente

Date una misura di uso per ogni lingua che usate:
Mai, Ogni tanto, Spesso , Quasi sempre, Sempre

CASA

18. Che lingua(e) parlate con vostro marito? E lui con voi?
19. Se avete figli ancora in casa, che lingua(e) voi e vostro marito parlate con loro? In che lingua vi rispondono?

20. Che lingua(e) voi e vostro marito parlate con i figli sposati e/o quelli fuori di casa?
21. Che lingua(e) voi e vostro marito parlate con i nipoti? In che lingua vi rispondono?
22. Che lingua(e) voi e vostro marito parlate con i generi, nuore, fidanzati, etc? In che lingua vi rispondono? Di che origine sone?
23. Che lingua(e) parlano tra di loro i figli (e mariti e moglie) durante riunioni di famiglia in casa vostra?
24. Che lingua(e) parlano tra di loro i nipoti durante riunioni di famiglia in casa vostra? (Dare l'età approssimativa dei nipoti).
25. Come rispondete al telefono in casa vostra?
26. Che lingua(e) voi e vostro marito usate con la parentela? Ditemi brevemente dove abitano, se li vedete o gli parlate spesso.

CULTURA

27. Se voi e/o vostro marito leggete libbri, in che lingua sono, incominciando con la lingua che leggete più spesso.
28. Se voi e/o vostro marito leggete giornali, ditemi in che lingua sono, incominciando con la lingua che leggete più spesso.
29. Se voi e/o vostro marito leggete riviste, ditemi in che lingua sono, incominciando con la lingua che leggete più spesso.
30. Se voi e/o vostro marito andate al cinema o affitate cassette cinematografiche, in che lingua sono i film in ordine di frequenza.
31. Se voi e/o vostro marito guardate la televisione, in che lingua sono i programmi, incominciando con quelli che ascoltate più spesso.
32. Se voi e /o vostro marito ascoltate la radio, che stazione ascoltat,e incominciando con quelli che ascoltate più spesso?
33. Se voi e/o ostro marito andate al teatro, ditemi in che lingua sono le rappresentazione, incominciando con quella che più frequenta.

AMICI (lingua usata e origine)

34. Che lingua(e) parlate con la vostra amica più strette? Di che origine è? Dove avete fatto conoscenza?
35. Che lingua(e) parlate con le altre amiche? Di che origine sono? Dove avete fatto conoscenza?
36. Di che origine sono gli amici di vostro marito? Che lingua(e) parla con loro?
37. Avete invitato a casa vostra persone oltre i membri di famiglia? Di che origine sono e che lingua(e) parlevate?

VICINI DI CASA

38. Di che origine sono i vostri vicini di casa in questo quartiere? Sono qui da molto? Parlate spesso? Che lingua(e) usate?

DIVERTIMENTO

39. Se contate i viaggi fatti a l'estero, che erano più spesso in Italia o in altri paesi?
40. Se voi e vostro marito andate a un ristorante o un bar-caffè, a quali andate? Con chi andate? Che lingua(e) parlate con le persone e il personale dell'luogo?
41. Che andate a delle festività etniche, culturali o religiose? Che ci sono maggiormente persone italiane? Amici, paesani?
42. Se siete membri di club o associazioni, di che origine sono gli altri membri? Che lingua(e) ci si parla? Da quanto tempo siete membri e quante volte ci andate?

SPESE, AFFARI UFFICIALI, DOTTORE

43. Abitualmente, dove andate a fare la spesa? Che lingua(e) adoperate?
44. A quale mercato andate? Che lingua(e) adoperate?
45. A che pasticceria andate? Che lingua(e) adoperate?
46. Dove comperate i vestimenti per voi e vostro marito? Che lingua(e) adoperate?

Che lingua(e) parlate...

47. con la parucchiera? Di che origine è?
48. con il farmacista? Di che origine è?
49. all'ufficio postale?
50. alla banca?
51. con il dentista? Di che origine è? E la segretaria?
52. Se andate all'ospedale, dove andate e che lingua parlate con il personale?
53. Se andate a una clinica, dove andate e che lingua parlate con il personale?
54. Che lingua parlate con il dottore? Di che origine è?
55. Che lingua(e) adoperate al municipio? Alle riunioni politiche del vostro quartiere?
56. In che lingua ricevete le lettere dal governo federale, provinciale, e dal'ufficio municipale?

RELIGIONE

57. Voi e vostro marito andate in chiesa? Quante volte?
58. A quale chiesa(e) andate più spesso? Perchè? In che lingua si dice la messa?
59. Ci sono altre chiese dove andate? Quale sono? Quante volte o a quale occasioni?
60. In che lingua avete l'abitudine di pregare?

QUINTA PARTE: informazioni sul passato e la famiglia

Immigrazione

61. Perchè avete scelto di emigrare per il Canada? Chi ha fatto la richiesta per voi e/o vostro marito?
62. Avete mai pensato ritornare vivere in Italia? Perchè?
63. Racontatemi la vostra esperienza come donna immigrante e le difficoltà che avete vissuto a causa della lingua. Ci sono avvenimenti che vi ricordate come essendo più difficili? Come avete fatto in queste situazioni? Avete ricevuto aiuto da persone che parlavano inglese o francese? Chi?
64. Dove avete abitato voi e vostro marito appena arrivati in Canada? Come avete trovato un posto per abitare? Dove siete andati dopo?
65. Racontatemi dove siete vissuti prima di venire a St-Léonard e cosa vi ha attirato a quelle città (vicinato di amici, paesani, parenti, affitti bassi, negozii italiani, chiesa italiana, etc)?
66. Perchè siete venuti vivere a St-Leonard? Come avete scoperto questo posto?
67. Da quando habitate St-Léonard, avete mai sentito il bisogno di imparare il francese o l'inglese per qualsiasi ragione? Quale?

Lavoro

68. Se avete lavorato in Italia prima di emigrare, che tipo di lavoro avete fatto?
69. Se avete lavorato in Canada, quando avete incominciato e come avete trovato lavoro?
70. Chi si occupava dei bambini quando eravate al lavoro?
71. Che lingua(e) parlevate con i padroni e lavoratori(trice) durante le ore di lavoro, del pranzo, il break?

Famiglia

72. Che lingua(e) parlevate ai bambini prima che andasserò a scuola? Col tempo avete adoperato un'altra lingua? Quale? Perchè?
73. E vostro marito, che lingua(e) parlava con i figli prima che andassero a scuola? Col tempo ha adoperato un'altra lingua? Quale? Sapete perchè?
74. In casa vostra, chi incoraggiava di più l'uso del'italiano e/o dialetto in famiglia?
    Voi ( ) Vostro marito ( ) Era uguale ( )
75. In generale, chi passava più tempo con i bambini nei momenti libberi?
    Voi ( ) Vostro marito ( ) Poca differenza ( )
76. In generale, c'era una differenza tra voi e vostro marito sul tempo passato con i maschi e con le femmine durante momenti libberi?
77. Avete cercato di mantenere un interesse nella lingua e la cultura italiana a i vostri figli? Cosa avete fatto? Avete incorragiato maschi e femmine uguali?
78. Secondo voi, è più importante che le femmine, i maschi o tutti e due mantengono la lingua italiana e/o il dialetto per insegnare ai figli? Perchè?
    Femmine ( ) Maschi ( ) Tutti e due ( )
79. Secondo voi, chi riesce di più a mantenere la lingua italiana dopo l'infanzia,
    i maschi ( ) le femmine ( ) nessuna differenza ( )?
80. Se parlate un dialetto regionale, secondo voi, quale lingua si dovrebbe insegnare alle prossime generazioni,
    l'italiano? ( ) il dialetto? ( ) tutti e due? ( ) Perchè?
81. Secondo voi, come si può assicurare che le prossime generazioni mantengono una conoscenza del'italiano?
82. Se avete familiari in Italia, avete mantenuto un contatto stretto con loro? Con viaggi, telefono o corrispondenza? E i figli?
83. Come avete scelto la scuola e la lingua di studio dei figli?
84. Se i vostri figli avevano bisogno di aiuto con i compiti, chi li aiutava?
85. Era importante per voi che i vostri figli sposino una persona di origine italiana? Perchè? Come la pensava vostro marito?
86. Se avete cambiato sentimento col tempo, cosa vi ha fatto cambiare idea? E vostro marito?
87. Andavate in chiesa i primi anni in Canada? Andavate in famiglia? A quale chiesa andavate?
88. Vi ricordate in che lingua i vostri figli hanno ricevuto i Sacramenti (battesimo, communione, cresima)? Come avete scelto la lingua delle cerimonie e la chiesa?

Nipoti

89. In generale, quante volte vedete o parlate per telefono con i vostri nipoti? Ci sono nipoti con chi parlate più spesso? Chi?
90. Incoraggiate i vostri nipoti a imparare o a parlare l'italiano? Come?
91. Che provate di far conoscere la cultura italiana ai nipoti? Cosa fate con loro?
92. Che avete guardato o guardate adesso dei nipoti? Femmine o maschi? Che età? Da quando o per quanto tempo? Che lingua(e) parlevate/parlate con loro?

Rispondere alle seguenti domande usando la gradazione seguente:
Non importante, Poco importante, Importante, Abbastanza importante, Molto importante

Secondo voi, ditemi con che grado d'importanza i seguenti aiutano a mantenere un senso di attaccamento con la communità italiana:

93. Sposare una persona di origine italiana;

94. Parlare la lingua italiana;
95. Cucinare magiormente cibi italiani;
96. Avere amici magiormente di origine italiana;
97. Partecipare attivamente nella communità italiana (lavoro, cultura, attività, negozii, servizi medicali...)

APPENDIX C

SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE – SECOND GENERATION

PART 1: General Information

1. I would need some information on you and your husband/partner regarding family background.
   a. Birth date
   b. Place of birth
   c. Year of marriage
   d. Ethnic origin (spouse only if not Italian)
   e. Mother's Ethnic origin, Place of birth (spouse only if not Italian)
   f. Father's Ethnic origin, Place of birth (spouse only if not Italian)
   g. Number of sisters
   h. Number of brothers
   i. Occupation
2. I would need some information on you and your husband's/partner's education. Please list the language of education for each level that applies to you and your husband (elementary, secondary, college, university, vocational training) and the years completed. List the location of the school whenever possible.

Family language knowledge

3. What is the first language you learned?
4. What language(s) did you know when you started school?
5. What language do you prefer to Speak? Listen to? Read? Write in?
6. Which of the following languages would you like to improve and why: English, French, Italian, an Italian dialect? There can be more than one.
7. What language did your husband/partner learn first? Does he still speak it or does he only understand it?
8. Do your husband's/partner's parents have some knowledge of French or English? If yes, do they understand only or do they have some speaking ability?
9. I would like you to describe your present ability to speak, read, write and understand English, French, Italian and/or a dialect, by using the following terms: None, Very little, Average, Good, Very good. Please do the same for your husband/partner, if possible.
10. Can you please tell me what is the first language learned by each of your children and the languages they knew when they started school?
11. How did you decide what language(s) you and your spouse would speak with the child/children?
12. What are your children's birth date and the language of education they received for each school level, including pre-school and kindergarten, if applicable.
13. How did/will you decide the language of education for your children?
14. Did you, your partner and/or the children attend Italian language classes? Why or why not?

Ethnic identification: Based on the scale,

How strongly do you feel...

15. Italian?

Not at all A little Somewhat Very much Extremely

16. Italo-Quebecer?
17. Italo-Canadian?

18. Francophone?
19. Anglophone?

Neighbourhoods

20. Tell me about the areas you lived in after leaving your parent's home, including where you live now. What attracted you to those particular places (neighborhood of friends, relatives, affordable rent or houses, schools, transportation, etc.)? What was the dominant ethnic group in the neighbourhoods you lived in, including where you live now?

PART 2: Language use

Never Sometimes Often Very often Always

21. Can you tell me how often you use the languages you know during daily conversations with all family members living at home?
22. In what language do you answer the phone at home?
23. List 3 activities you do most often with your children (for example, read, sing, play board games, sports, shopping,...). Which language(s) do you use during these activities? With what frequency do you use each one?
24. Can you please describe you and your husband's/partner's language use with members of your family, such as parents, siblings and close relatives, as well as the frequency of communication and their area of residence?

Do any of your children have a boy/girlfriend or partner? If no, go to question28.

25. I would like some information on you and your husband's/partner's present language use with them, and them with you, as well as their ethnic origin.

Do you have grandchildren? If not, go to question 28.

26. What language(s) do you and your husband/partner use with them and with what frequency? What language(s) do they use with you and your husband/partner?
27. List up to 3 activities you do most often with the grandchildren you babysit. How often do you use each language(s) during the activities?

Cultural activities

28. If you read books, can you tell me how often you read in each of the languages you know?
29. If you read magazines, can you tell me how often you read in each of the languages you know?
30. If you read newspapers, can you tell me how often you read in each of the languages you know?
31. If you rent movies or go to the theatre, how often do you see movies in each of the languages you know?
32. If you watch television, how often do you watch it in each of the languages you know?
33. If you go to see plays, how often do you do so in each of the languages you know?
34. If you listen to the radio, how often do you listen to it in each of the languages you know?
35. In what language are your favorite songs?
33. If you take lessons, what languages do you use there and how often?
34. What language(s) do you use with your neighbors?
35. What is the ethnic origin of your best friend and closest friends? What language(s) do you use with them? And your partner's/husband's friends? What language(s) does/did he use with them?

36. Do you have guests at your home that are not family members? If yes, are the guests in your home more often Italians than people of other ethnicities? What language(s) do you use with your guests?
37. Do you go to restaurants and cafés? If yes, would you say that you go to Italian ones more often? What language(s) do you use with the personnel and the people you are with?
38. Do/did you and your partner/husband have memberships to clubs or other type of association? If yes, are you mainly a member of Italian organizations, clubs, or of various ethnic groups? What is the ethnic origin of the members?
39. Do you attend ethnic/religious festivals? If yes, do you attend festivals of your ethnic group more often than from other groups?
40. Do/Did you travel? If yes, compared to trips you took in other countries, did you travel more often to Italy? Did your children travel to Italy?

For each question list the languages used by order of frequency where applicable. If possible, give the ethnic origin of the storeowners and/or of the people who serve you most often.

41. Where do you regularly go for your groceries? Occasionally? List languages used.
42. What market do you regularly go to? List languages used.
43. What bakery do you usually go to? List languages used.
44. Where do you usually shop for clothes for yourself and other family members? List languages used.

What languages do you use with the following people and what is their ethic origin?

45. the hairdresser?
46. the pharmacist?
47. at the post office?
48. the personnel at the bank?
49. the personnel at town hall?
50. the personnel at the children's daycare?
51. the personnel at your child/children's school?
52. the dentist and the personnel?
53. the personnel at the clinic?
54. the personnel at the hospital?
55. the family doctor?
56. the pediatrician?

In what language do you receive correspondence from...

57. the federal government? the provincial government? the municipality?
58. How often do you go to church altogether as a family? What church do you (and your family) attend most often? Why? In what language is the mass service? Do you (and your family) attend mass in other churches? Why or on what occasions? In what language is the mass service?
59. In what language did you and your children receive their sacraments? What influenced your decision?
60. Can you please list the language(s) you use and with what frequency you use them at your <u>current</u> job... with your boss? with your co-workers?
61. Languages used and their frequency when...Reading? Writing? On the phone? With the public?
62. Do you know what language(s) your husband/partner uses/used most often at work?

PART 3: Family information

63. Who spends more time with the children, you, your spouse or is it equal?
67. In general, how often did/do your children interact with their grandparents and other relatives before and after the children started school?
68. If you work(ed), who takes/took care of the children? Did/do your parents babysit any of your children?
69. Are there family members or friends who particularly encourage your children to learn/speak Italian? If yes, who are they?
70. If you have grandchildren, do you babysit any of them? If so, whom do you babysit? How often do you babysit each child?
71. According to you, do men and women share similar family responsibilities within the home? Do they have pre-determined roles in the home and in society?
72. According to you, who maintains the ethnic language longer after childhood, boys, girls or there is no difference? Why?
73. According to you, is it more important that girls or boys learn and continue to use Italian to pass on to the children? Why?
74. Do you think someone can label himself or herself as 'Italian' without speaking the Italian language? Why?

Using this scale,

Not important	A little important	Somewhat important	Relatively important	Very important

75. How important is it to you that your children know your parent's mother tongue? Why? If your husband/partner is Italian, how important is it to him that your children know Italian? Why?
76. If your husband/partner is not Italian, how important is it to you that your children speak your husband's mother tongue? Why? How important is it to your husband that your children speak his mother tongue? Why?

If husband/partner is of different ethnic origin go to question 78.

77. How important was it to you to marry someone of Italian origin? Why?
78. Do you think that marrying someone of another ethnic origin causes the loss of Italian ethnic identity or of the ethnic language? Why?
79. Would you prefer that your children marry someone of Italian origin? Why?

PART 4: Background information

In order to better understand your present language habits, I need some information about your language use in the past in specific situations. Please answer each question on language use during a) your childhood, b) adolescence and c) early adulthood before marriage.

80. What language did you use most often with your mother?
81. What language did you use most often with your father?
82. What language did you use most often with siblings?
83. What language did you use most often with cousins? Aunts & uncles?
84. What language did you use most often with your mother's parents?
85. What language did you use most often with your father's parents?
86. What language did you use most often with friends at school?
87. What language did you use most often with friends in the neighborhood?
88. What language did you use most often with classmates?
89. In what language did you read books most often?
90. In what language did you read magazines most often?

91. In what language did you read newspapers most often?
92. In what language did you see movies most often (at the theatre or rentals)?
93. In what language did you watch television most often?
94. In what language was the radio station you listened to most often?
95. What was the language of the music you listened to most often?
96. If you took lessons (e.g., music, dance) or participated in sports, in what language were the lessons given?
97. If you attended mass, what church did you go to most often during each period and how often did you go? In what language was the mass service?
98. If you had a job previous to your current one, what language did you use most often? Give the approximate time period you worked there.
99. What language did you use most often in your first job? Give the approximate time period you worked there.

APPENDIX D

SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE – THIRD GENERATION – Teens and Adults

PART 1: General information

Name: _____

Age/Birth date: _____

School year: _____ Language of education: _____

Italian language classes: _____Number of years: _____

Occupation (if not in school): _____

Years of schooling (if working): _____

Year of marriage (if applicable): _____

Number of children (if applicable): _____

PART 2: Ethnic identification

Answer the questions using the following scale,
Not at all, A little, Somewhat, Very much, Extremely

1. Do you consider yourself Italian?
2. Do you consider yourself Italo-Quebecer?
3. Do you consider yourself Italo-Canadian?
4. Do you consider yourself Francophone?
5. Do you consider yourself Anglophone?
6. Do you like being Italian?

PART 3: Language knowledge and competency

7. What is the first language you learned?
8. Which language or languages did you already know when you started school?

Of the languages you know, which language do you prefer to

9. Speak? Listen to? Read? Write in?
10. Which language or languages would you like to improve, English, French, an Italian dialect, or Italian? Why?
11. Can you tell me how well you think you know how to speak, read, write and understand French, English, Dialect and Italian by using the following scale: Not at all, Very little, Average, Well, Very well

PART 4: Language use

Can you tell me which language you use and how often with family members and relatives listed below by using the following scale:
Never (1), Sometimes (2), Often (3), Very often (4), Always (5)

12. Mother?
13. Father?
14. Siblings?
15. Cousins?
16. Aunts? Uncles?

17. Maternal grandmother?
18. Maternal grandfather?
19. Paternal grandmother?
20. Paternal grandfather?

If you have a boyfriend, fiancé, husband or children, ease answer the following questions, if not, go to question 43.
21. What is his ethnic origin? If he is not Italian, go to question 23.
22. How important is it to you that you date or marry someone of your ethnic origin? Why?
23. What languages do you use with him and how often you use each one?
24. What language do you use most often with his parents?

If you have children, answer the following questions, if not, go to question 43.
25. What is their mother tongue?
26. What other languages do they know?

Respondent
27. Do your children visit your parents? How often do they visit with them?
28. What language does your mother use most often with your child(ren)?
29. What language does your father use most often with your child(ren)?
30. What other languages do they use?
31. Do your children visit your grandparents? How often do they visit them?
32. What language does your grandmother use most often with your children?
33. What language does your grandfather use most often with your children?
34. What other languages do they each use?

Partner
35. Do your children visit their father's parents? How often do they visit with them?
36. What language does your partner's mother use most often with your child(ren)?
37. What language does your partner's father use most often with your child(ren)?
38. What other languages do they each use?
39. Do your children visit your partner's grandparents? How often do they visit them?
40. What language does your partner's grandmother use most often with the child(ren)?
41. What language does your partner's grandfather use most often with the child(ren)?
42. What other languages do they each use?

I would like to know a little more about the language(s) you use in a variety of situations. If there is more than one language, define how often you use each one based one the following scale : Never, Sometimes, Often, Very often, Always
Language of ...
43. Books you read?
44. Magazines?
45. Newspapers?
46. Movies at the theatre?
47. Movie videos?
48. Television stations (shows, news, etc.) that you watch?
49. Plays you have seen?
50. Radio stations you listen to?
51. Internet use?
52. Singers, music you listen to?

53. Language you pray in?
54. Language you write in a diary?
55. Language of lessons you take (sports, music, art, etc.)?

Language used...

56. With students in ethnic language class? With Teachers in ethnic language classes?
57. With friends at school?
58. With classmates at school?
59. With teachers at school?
60. When traveling to and from school?
61. With clerks at the municipal library?
62. In stores with clerks?
63. At work with the public? With co-workers? With the boss?
64. With neighbours?
65. With close friends? What is their ethnic origin? How long have you been friends?
66. With best friends? What is their ethnic origin? Duration of friendship?
67. With parents' relatives in Canada? How often do you see or communicate with them (mother's side compared to father's side)?
68. With parents' relatives in Italy? How often do you see or communicate with them (mother's side compared to father's side)?

PART 5:

69. How important is it to you to know your grandparents' language? Why?
70. According to you, do women and men share the same family responsibilities or do they have pre-determined roles (at home and/or in society)?
71. According to you, is it important to speak Italian in order to be Italian or part of the Italian community? If not, how does one continue to feel Italian?
72. According to you, is it more important for girls or for boys to learn and maintain the Italian language in order to pass it on to the children?
73. Do your parents encourage you to speak/learn Italian? Why? Does one make it seem more important to know the language? If yes, who?
74. Do your parents talk to you about Italian history, traditions and customs? Who makes it seem more important to know about your heritage?
75. How often do you visit your mother's parents? Do they talk to you about the importance of knowing the Italian language or about Italy and its culture?
76. How often do you visit your father's parents? Do they talk to you about the importance of knowing Italian or about Italy and its culture?
77. Which of your grandparents or other relative talks to you more about the importance of knowing the language and/or the Italian culture?
78. Did you travel to Italy? If so, with whom did you go? Did you travel to other places besides Italy? If yes, compared to all the trips you took, did you travel more often to Italy?
79. Do you attend Italian cultural events, festivals, parties, etc.? If yes, compared to events from other ethnic groups, how often do you attend Italian ones? With who do you usually go and why do you attend such events?
80. Do you attend mass? If yes, to what church do you go most often? In what language is the mass service? Do you attend other churches?

APPENDIX E

SELF-ASSESSMENT OF LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE – 3 GENERATIONS

First generation:

NAMES	UNDERSTAND					SPEAK					READ				WRITE			
	F	E	D	I	S	F	E	D	I	S	F	E	I	S	F	E	I	S
Donna	4	5	4	5	4	3	4	4	4	3-4	1	1	4	1	1	1	4	1
Francine	5	2	5	5	2	4	2	5	3	2	3	1	5	1-2	1	1	4	no
Julie	**4**	**3**	**5**	**4**		**4**	**2-3**	**5**	**5**		**4**	**3**	**5**		**2**	**2**	**4**	
Evelyne	5	2	5	5	3	3	1	5	4	1	3	1	5	1	1	1	5	1
Beatrice	5	2	4	5	2	3	1	4	4	no	2	1	3	no	1	1	2	no
Marcella	**4**	**2-3**	**5**	**4**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**5**	**4**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**4**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**4**
Nora	**3**	**2**	**4**	**5**		**3**	**2**	**3**	**3**		**3**	**2**	**4**		**1**	**1**	**4**	
Adele	3	2	5	4		3	2	5	4		2	1	4		1	1	3	
Liana	**3**	**2**	**5**	**5**		**2**	**1**	**5**	**4**		**2**	**1**	**4**		**1**	**1**	**4**	
Sara	**3**	**1-2**	**4**	**4**		**2**	**1-2**	**3-4**	**4**		**2**	**1**	**4**		**1**	**1**	**4**	
Concetta	3	1	5	5		2	1	3	4		2	1	4		1	1	4	
Irma	**2**	**3**	**5**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**1-2**	**5**	**4**		**1**	**1**	**3**		**1**	**1**	**2**	

Note: Names in bold are the family triads
F=French; E=English; D=dialect; I=Italian; S=Spanish

Second generation:

NAMES	UNDERSTAND				SPEAK				READ			WRITE		
	F	E	D	I	F	E	D	I	F	E	I	F	E	I
Nicole	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	3	5	4
Maria	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	4	3	5	4
Irene	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	5	4
Laura	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	2	3	5	2
Sylvia	5	5	5	3	4	5	5	3	4	5	3	4	5	3
Judith	4-5*	5	4	4	3	5	4	3	3	5	2-3	2-3	5	2-3

Third generation:

NAMES	UNDERSTAND				SPEAK				READ			WRITE		
	F	E	D	I	F	E	D	I	F	E	I	F	E	I
Miranda	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	3	4	5	2
Isabella	4	5	3	4	4	5	2	4	4	5	4	3	5	4
Natasha	3	5	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	5	4	3	5	2-3
Lydia	4	5	4	3	4	5	3	3	4	5	3	4	5	4
Sabrina	4	5	5	4	3	5	2	3	4	5	3	4	5	2
Janice	4	5	3	3	3	5	2	2	4	5	2	4	5	2