A logic of ethnicity

Ronald Fernández Ph.D. Anthropology

A LOGIC OF ETHNICITY:
A Study of the Significance and Classification of Ethnic Identity among Montréal Portuguese

by

Ronald Louis Fernández

A Dissertation submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology,
McGill University,
Montréal.

August, 1977.

ABSTRACT

Although this dissertation focusses on identities encountered by Portuguese immigrants living in Montréal, its more general relevance is as a study in the organization of cultural meaning. The essential question posed is: how do ethnic labels communicate significance? In simplest terms, the answer given is: proper names of ethnic groups convey meaning because of their position in a classification system.

This work attempts to isolate the social rules for classifying ethnic groups. Isolation of the rules or logic of ethnic classification shows how Portuguese store and convey certain kinds of information, and allows comparison with other conceptual systems. The value of this analysis is demonstrated by the comparative examination of Portuguese kinship terminology and ethnic group classification; the result of this comparison is a "supra-logic" which encompasses and explains both systems. Ultimately, this analysis reveals an implicit coherence underlying Portuguese conceptualization of some parts of social reality.

RÉSUMÉ

A partir des identités ethniques dans l'ensemble desquelles opèrent les immigrants portugais de Montréal, cette dissertation étudie l'organisation d'un système de signification culturelle. La question centrale--comment les désignations ethniques communiquent-elles leur signification--est élucidée d'après la position relative des termes dans le système de classification qu'ils composent, plus précisément celui des noms propres désignant les groupes ethniques, système dont les règles et la logique interne sont explorées ici.

Le cadre de classification ethnique, dans lequel et par lequel les Portugais de Montréal recueillent et transmettent certaines informations, peut être placé en relation avec d'autre systèmes conceptuels; une étude comparative, par exemple, du système de classification ethnique et de la terminologie du système de parenté portugais révèle une "supra-logique" qui englobe les deux systèmes. On peut ainsi démontrer la cohérence implicite qui est à la base de la conceptualisation d'une partie de la réalité sociale portugaise.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my advisors, Professors Bernard Arcand, Peter C.W. Gutkind, and Carmen Lambert, for their insightful comments on various drafts of this dissertation. Also, my thanks to go Professor Jérôme Rousseau for his useful remarks on an earlier version of Chapter VI; to Victor Pereira da Rosa and Professor Grace Anderson for their practical criticisms of Chapters III and IV; and to Tom Portante and Stephen Katz for their helpful comments on Chapters II, V, and VI. Among others who have rendered assistance in various ways are Professors Enid Schildkrout, Joan Miller, Sharon Bohn Gmelch, George Gmelch, Deirdre Meintel Machado, Guy Buchholtzer, David Higgs, and Robert Paine, as well as my fellow graduate students, specifically, B. Stephen Strong, Stephen Hlophe, Donald Stewart, Robert Parks, Barnett Richling, and Conni Kilfoil.

Sincere appreciation is also due the McConnell Family, whose endowment to McGill University financed my Ph.D. studies, and to the Programme in the Anthropology of Development and its Director, Professor Richard F. Salisbury, for the use of office space while writing much of this dissertation.

My warm thanks extend to the members of the Portuguese community in Montréal. In particular, I wish to acknowledge the kind help of Artur Gaipo and his family, António da Silva, Fernando Rocha, António and Reine Gonçalves, Rosa Serpa, Ilda Januário, José Barros, Custódio Carrusca de Sousa, Nuno Machado, Enrique Barroso, Fátima da Rosa,

Américo Lenor, and the Cunha Vianas.

Most of all I wish to thank Jeanette, my wife, who typed all of the various drafts, participated in the field research, and encouraged me in my work.

Montréal and Vancouver
1975 - 1977
R.L.F.

INTRODUCTION

1. Aim

While this dissertation specifically deals with the significance of ethnic boundaries and identities for Portuguese immigrants living in Montréal, its more general relevance is as a study in the social organization of cultural meaning.

Given the fact that the word "meaning" is used in so many ways, it is worthwhile to mention here at the outset the kind of meaning which is the centre of attention in this work. For this purpose we may follow Rudolf Carnap (1974: 4) who distinguishes three general kinds of meaning: 1) pragmatics which deals with "the action, state, and environment of a man who speaks or hears" a word; 2) semantics which deals with words in abstraction from a speaker, and examines the relationship between words and their assumed designata; and, 3) syntactics which deals with the significance of the formal properties of word relationships. The concept of syntactics--which is also referred to as the "logical syntax", "calculus", or "formal analysis" of meaning--is perhaps most suggestive of the general concern of this dissertation. In qualification I should note here that in contrast to the type of logical analysis which strives to isolate the form of category relationships from meaning, the goal of this work is to identify formal relationships which correlate with social meaning.

One of my motivations for undertaking a formal analysis of the meaning of ethnic boundaries stems from a dissatisfaction with the treatment of social meaning in the ethnicity literature. More specifically, although recent research suggests that ethnic group labels hold neither stable connotative meaning (see Eidheim 1969) nor constant denotative meaning (see Cohen 1969a, 1974b; Harris 1964, 1970), no satisfactory explanation has been offered for how labels whose meaning continually change can convey any significance in actual social situations. The answer suggested here is that, while individual ethnic labels hold no intrinsic or lasting significance, they take on connotations in particular situations to a large extent because of the way they are used vis-à-vis other ethnic group names. In other words, the analysis undertaken in this work shows that the proper names of ethnic groups can convey meaning in social contexts because of the position a name assumes in a system of classification at a particular time.

The system of ethnic group classification of which I write is presupposed in social communication much as a grammar of a language is presupposed by a speech act. The system itself may be regarded as consisting of rules which link social meaning with formal category relationships. To uncover the rules which allow ethnic labels to convey connotative meaning is the main goal of this work; such rules may be regarded as constituting a "logic," or more properly an "ethnologic," of Portuguese ethnicity.

The isolation of formal rules of meaning should, I feel, allow the comparison of Portuguese ethnicity with other systems of group

classification extant in other parts of the world. I have not had the opportunity, as yet, of making such a cross-cultural comparison. However, I have undertaken here an intra-cultural comparison between Portuguese ethnic classification and Portuguese kinship terminology. This comparison is of particular relevance to the study of Portuguese ethnicity because kin relationships are used to "explain" the relationships between ethnic, racial, and national groups; often, for example, Portuguese characterize the Latins as their "fathers," the Brazilians as their "siblings," the Spaniards as their "cousins," and (prior to independence) the Angolans as their "children." The examination of these kinship metaphors in light of formal analyses of both kinship terminology and ethnic classification allows isolating a general rule of conceptual organization which underlies and links both Portuguese ethnicity and kinship. The existence of a common conceptual foundation of these two domains shows them to be transformations of the same system. Most simply, this means that it is possible for Portuguese individuals to translate ethnic label relations into kinship relations because both kinds of relations are essentially--at a certain level--part of a single framework for organizing cultural categories.

To summarize, this study focusses on the cultural significance of ethnic distinctions for Montréal Portuguese. It examines the classification of ethnic identities and the social meanings attached to the relative positions in this classification system. In order to

reveal the significance of ethnic classification for Portuguese in Montréal, it is necessary to examine more generally the organization of social meaning in Portuguese culture. With this end in mind, Portuguese ethnic classification is here related to Portuguese kinship classification; this comparison is particularly apt because there is an objective link between ethnic category relations and kinship terminology in Portuguese culture. Thus, while this work seeks to elucidate the significance of ethnic distinctions for Portuguese immigrants in Montréal, it explores other aspects of Portuguese culture in order to demonstrate how ethnic classification is part of a more general system for conceptualizing social reality.

2. Theoretical Relevance

The concern here with conceptual order, i.e. with classification principles, is in marked contrast to the focus of the main body of current literature on ethnicity. In general, recent scholarly interest in ethnicity has tended to focus on the fluidity of ethnic boundaries--the fact that the membership criteria and personnel of an ethnic category change with circumstance, and that the assertion or denial of ethnic affiliation can, and often does, vary from moment to moment, or from place to place.[1] Typically, the major point of such research has been to illustrate that ethnicity may be used as a <u>strategy</u> for pursuing both group and individual ends. In terms of group organization, for example, it has been argued that ethnic boundaries can be redefined to strengthen control over trade

monopolies (see Cohen 1969a), and that cultural-linguistic borders can be manipulated to establish a broader base for political activities (see Douglass and da Silva 1971). On the individual level, the amorphous nature of ethnic boundaries has been shown to allow the situational assertion or denial of ethnic identities; an example in this vein is Harald Eidheim's study of the Lapps (1969) which suggests that cues of ethnic affiliation may be concealed or displayed to enhance personal social prestige in diverse contexts. In other words, the attention of current ethnicity research has been directed primarily toward the utility, end, or purpose of group boundary manipulation.

Clearly, the study of the situational redefinition of group boundaries, and the social, economic, and political implications of such manipulation is an important line of inquiry. However, this concentration on the functions of ethnicity has, unfortunately, taken place at the expense of study of the conceptual organization of ethnicity.

For the most part, questions about the conceptual aspects of ethnicity have been ignored. For example, Fredrik Barth, who many credit with making a core contribution to theory of ethnicity, tells us that "ethnic categories provide an organizational vessel that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different socio-cultural systems (1969a: 14)," however, he goes no further. He leaves us with no idea about the cultural principles which are used to order ethnic categories--or whether ethnic categories are

ordered at all. Other scholars have gone a step further to the point of denying a conceptual organization of ethnicity. Marvin Harris (1970: 12), for example, goes so far as to suggest that domains of "racial" terms may simply be without order. Another view is that the study of the conceptual organization of ethnicity is unrewarding. This last position is exemplified by Abner Cohen (1974b: xv) who claims that ethnicity is best conceived of as a variable because the content of ethnic categories and the social conceptualization of ethnic boundaries are always in flux as they are continually responding to changing socio-cultural conditions.[2]

The general neglect of ethnic classification, on the one hand, and the statements about the disorder of the cognitive aspects of ethnicity, on the other, are, I think, a reflection of the questions scholars have been concerned with and the kinds of phenomena they have been focussing on. Specifically, there has been much interest in the unstable relationship between membership criteria (also referred to as group traits or cues of identity) and an ethnic category. This unstable relationship has apparently been of interest because it suggests an answer to the sociological question: why can ethnicity serve as a basis for group solidarity and distinctiveness in ever changing economic and political circumstances? Most simply, the answer is: because the defining characteristics of an ethnic identity can often be easily changed to suit current organizational requirements. To put the matter in another way, the chief interest in ethnic classification has been with its <u>functional</u>--i.e. manipulative--

significance for group organization.

In contrast, this dissertation attempts to elucidate the structural significance of ethnic classification; it is concerned with how ethnic labels convey meaning. This concern with structure is, I feel, an essential complement to the functionalist studies. For surely if ethnicity is deemed important for social group organization, and if ethnic boundaries are worthy of manipulating for some collective or individual end, then it seems proper and important to rigorously describe the construction of the ideological system which is used to assert ethnic commonality and distinctiveness. Furthermore, while the use and organization of a classification system are undoubtedly interrelated, analytic clarity seems to suggest that a detailed description of the system be made before any description of its use is attempted. That is to say, it can perhaps be argued that the study of the structure of ethnic classification should take logical priority over the study of its social function.[3]

In short, the relevance of this dissertation for the discussion of ethnicity is that it fills a gap in the literature by concentrating on the conceptual side of ethnicity. Furthermore, the present work departs from the usual concern with the social functions of ethnic categories and, instead, examines the structure of ethnic classification.

3. Outline

The preceding pages introduced the focus and suggested the relevance

of this dissertation. Here the topical divisions of the main text and the order of their presentation are outlined.

Chapter I describes the concepts of a structuralist analysis which are basic to the approach used in this dissertation.

Chapter II discusses several current anthropological theories of ethnicity. The purpose of this chapter is to show how the present work is both a continuation of and a departure from current thought which is represented in the anthropological literature on ethnicity.

Chapter III is intended to clarify various implications of a structuralist analysis of ethnic group classification.

Chapter IV provides background description of Portuguese history and the Montréal Portuguese community, which is necessary for understanding the significance of ethnic labels used by Portuguese immigrants.

Chapter V describes and analyses the situational and classificatory significance of the category "Portuguese." This chapter includes a discussion of the logic of Portuguese ethnic classification.

Chapter VI presents an analysis of the classification of Portuguese kinship terminology.

Chapter VII discusses the formal and conceptual unity of Portuguese ethnic label classification and Portuguese kin term classification.

The conclusion briefly summarizes the general points of this dissertation.

Appendix I comments on the field research upon which this dissertation is based.

Appendix II elaborates on the nature of Portuguese kin term classification which is discussed in Chapter VI.

Footnotes

1. For examples and discussion of the situational assertion, denial, and redefinition of ethnic identities see: Cohen (1969a; 1974b), Glazer and Moynihan (1975), Gluckman (1962), Grillo (1974), Hannerz (1974), Harris (1964; 1970), Leach (1967), Mitchell (1974), Nagata (1969; 1974), Parkin (1974), Pitt-Rivers (1969), Schein (1975), and Schildkrout (1974).

2. The work of Professors Barth, Cohen, and Harris will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II.

3. In Chapter I, I briefly discuss the theoretical significance of placing the examination of structure before function.

I. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

1. Aim

This chapter discusses theoretical premises underlying the study of Montréal Portuguese ethnicity as a conceptual system. The anthropological orientation discussed here is "structuralist" --in the sense that Lévi-Strauss discusses and uses the concept-- as opposed to "structural-functionalist"--as exemplified by the work of Radcliffe-Brown.

The notion of "structure" is used in many fields (e.g. mathematics, physics, biology, psychology, and linguistics) other than anthropology (see Piaget 1970). Within anthropology, "structure" is--as has been frequently pointed out (see Boudon 1971; Van der Leeder 1971: 15-16)-- used in many conflicting and confusing ways. It is outside the scope of this chapter to review the history of this term, to attempt a critique of contradictory interpretations, or to delve into the internal inconsistencies of any one individual theorist or practitioner. Instead, my purpose here is merely to present definitions of terms, basic premises, and the logic of my procedure. Hopefully, the benefits of this orientation will be demonstrated by the results of my analysis given in the later chapters.

2. The Notion of Structure

A basic premise of this study is that social interaction, insofar as it is meaningful, is made possible by the existence of shared cognitive systems, and that cognitive systems have a

structure. Rossi, in discussing Lévi-Strauss, states that the social significance of human interaction is based on a shared "unconscious infrastructure" (1974a: 9). The major implication of this view is that the analyst's task of explaining the nature of a cognitive system is a matter of discovering and revealing the structure upon which it is built.

2.1. A structure or structural model is a construct which informs us about the object of study; it is not a definition of the object nor a part of the empirical data. It is supra-empirical in that it is beyond sensed or perceivable phenomena. While it is a model, it is derived from, not imposed on, the data.[1] Thus, while a structure is an analyst's construct, it is assumed to represent the socially produced rules which allow meaningful interaction to take place; essentially, the analyst's construct is a reconstruction of a society's structure based on observable phenomena. As Pouwer (1974: 243) puts it, a structural model is an "explicitly formulated metaphor," it is not part of the immediate data but explains it.

The difference between sensed phenomena (or raw data) and a supra-empirical model can be illustrated by the difference between the list of speech acts which a linguist uses as data and the model he constructs of a language. During field research, a linguist records some incomplete and incomprehensible statements in addition to understandable, regularly patterned sentences. Yet, despite some incomprehensible statements, he is able to construct a grammar or

syntactic order of the ways in which words may be put together to construct meaningful utterances because of his familiarity with the data.

2.2. The relation between structure and social activity is not causal. Rather, it is dialectical in that structure has an influence on (although it does not directly determine) social behaviour, and conversely, collective social activity influences (but does not simply determine) structure. Structure and human social behaviour mutually condition one another. To illustrate, on the one hand, the syntactic structure of a language does not determine what an individual will actually say, but it limits speaking acts by rules influencing to a great extent what will be understood. On the other hand, individual idiosyncracies or mistakes do not immediately alter grammar--such events are, however, important in that they draw attention to there being a shared framework involved in communicating--but at some point how individuals collectively speak will alter the structure.

2.3. A structure is distinct from a conscious native explanation. While informants may have an accurate model of their society, it is not necessary to assume that they do. For example, it is not necessary for Portuguese speakers to understand the syntactic structure of their language, or to be able to articulate that structure--although it is possible. What people say does happen in their society, and what they say should happen are quite distinct from what is meant here by conceptual structure. What people say they do (or should do)--what might be

regarded as the ideological level of social behaviour--is taken as raw data along with what is actually done in constructing a model of conceptual structure. I can illustrate this point with a topic which will be discussed in detail later (Chapter VI.3.2.1.).

Portuguese say that a primo (male cousin) is the male descendant of a parent's (ancestor's) sibling, however, while this is the most common use of the term, individuals use the term to refer to a genealogical tio (parent's brother) or sobrinho (sibling's son) who is judged to be of the same relative age as ego. In this case the definition of primo as parent's sibling's male descendant can be taken as a conscious or ideal model of kinship terminology, while the fact that the term is also used to refer to a tio or sobrinho of common relative age is a matter of actual usage. Both kinds of data--the ideal explanation and actual usage--must be taken into account in fully describing the structure of Portuguese kinship terminology.

2.4. A structural model exhibits certain characteristics among which are the following:

2.4.1. A structure explains a body of data by showing how it is a system of interdependent and co-variant elements (Pouwer 1974: 240). It shows how a set of elements are not merely an aggregate of phenomena which "are independent of the complexes into which they enter" but are subordinated to laws, and it is in terms of these laws that the structure qua whole or system is defined (Piaget 1970: 7)." A structure presents elements as part of an

arrangement or configuration in that they share relationships vis-à-vis one another: no element of a system "can undergo a change without effecting changes in all the other elements (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 271)."

From this viewpoint, the significance of any phenomenon is not looked for in the phenomenon itself but in its relationship with other elements, i.e. in its position in a structured system. It is assumed that the understanding of any phenomenon as part of a configuration of related elements enables inter- and intra-cultural comparison.[2]

2.4.2. Structures are systems of transformation (Piaget 1970: 11). A structural model explains relations by showing how to translate one relation into another. In showing how relationships are translatable, a structural model reveals the laws of composition of a system. For example, a structural model of English kin terms might show that the relationship of immediate male ancestor to male descendant in terms of lineal kin is that between father and son but that in terms of collineal kin the relation may be translated into the relation between ego's uncle and cousin.

It is essential to note here that structural analysis views phenomenal relations on various levels.[3] Not only does a structural analysis attempt to explicate elements of a system as transformations of one another, but it also tries to show how systems are transformations of one another. For example, Lévi-Strauss discusses totemism as a system which allows the transformation of relations between men

into relationships between animals (1966). In Chapter VII, I will attempt to show why ethnic category relations may be translated into kinship term relations.

2.4.3. A structural model is concise and exhaustive: "the model should be constituted so as to make immediately intelligible all the observed facts (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 272)." Its goal is to tell us something more than is obvious from the observable data. It attempts to bring out the logical order behind seemingly diverse empirical observations. Such a model is intended to include all "essential" characteristics[4] of the corpus of data under consideration (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 310, footnote 3). The essential characteristics are not assumed a priori, rather, they are discovered in the process of analyzing data. These essential characteristics take the form of relationships between elements rather than that of isolated "typical" elements.

2.5. Conceptual structures are theorized to be a product of the interaction of the mind and human activity. Thus, such structures are a product of the human mind insofar as speaking and acting are mediated through the mind. This dialectical view counters the naive criticism that the study of conceptual structures assumes social life to be a projection or even result of a cognitive game taking place solely in the mind (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 130).

Cognitive structures are developed as the mind continually transforms the empirical diversity of reality into conceptual simplicity; sometimes discordance between empirical reality

and concepts of reality are ignored and sometimes the cognitive models are readjusted (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 131). The point at which cognitive systems and their structures change is little understood, but it is certain that they do not immediately respond to the change in empirical phenomena.

2.6. A structural model is synchronic but it is intended to incorporate the dynamics of the system being explained. For example, Lévi-Strauss' concepts of restricted and generalized exchange in kinship and marriage systems deals with the dynamics of exchange--that is, with changes in the possession of women.

To fully explain the notion of structure as synchronic explanation of dynamic processes it is necessary to distinguish between two scales of time: microtime and macrotime (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 283). The former being the time scale for events in which movements, alterations, or changes remain within some limitations which exhibit overall consistence. The latter being the scale in which events invalidate, change, or go beyond the bounds of a consistent system of relationships (Cortés, Przeworski, and Sprague 1974: 12).

This perspective does not reject the fact that structures change through time, but assumes that systems do have some degree of permanency which allows observing them in operation. For example, this view recognizes that a language (or a set of kin relations or exchange patterns) changes and develops, but at the same time it assumes that within some temporal boundaries linguistic phenomena

are related in patterns of interconnectedness which allows the formulation of a model. This position asserts the primacy of the study of dynamics within a synchronic structure as a necessary prerequisite to the investigation of diachronic changes in a structure.

2.7. A structuralist perspective assumes that definition of a system's structure is a prerequisite to the study of function. Which is to say that the structure is seen as determining or limiting the uses to which elements in a system may be put (Cortés, Przeworski, and Sprague 1974: 4-5). With reference to the present study, this position justifies the focus on the systemic nature of the domain of ethnic labels over the study of the manipulation of the definition of individual labels. Ethnic labels are seen as worthy of manipulation because they have meaning--a priori--by virtue of their position in a shared conceptual system. To assume that the meaning of a label is directly and solely a result of its immediate use in a particular context is too simplistic. Such a view entails the assumption that each social encounter is an isolated event which has no connection with past social activity.

The structure of a system and its use or social function are only analytically distinguishable. Structure and function are two inter-connected mutually conditioning aspects of a system: a structure limits the value, meaning, or use of systematically related elements, however, the use to which elements have historically been put can eventually alter the structural relations between elements. It is

solely on epistemological grounds that the study of structure takes precedence over function. These grounds can be understood by examining the "functionalists'" assumptions which reverse the relationship of structure and function.

Radcliffe-Brown states "It is through and by the continuity of the functioning that the continuity of the structure is preserved (1952: 179)." He defines a function of an object, person, or institution as the part such unit entities play in maintaining the structural continuity of the system. Each unit in a system has its own characteristic activity which contributes to the functional unity of the system. The particular activity of a unit and hence its function in the system is seen as resulting from the "needs"--which he calls the "necessary conditions of existence"--of both the individual entity and the system as a whole. The problem with such a theory is that it attempts to explain the existence of different systems in terms of their common requirements of existence.

Lévi-Strauss regards the "functionalist" position as based on the truism that "a society functions." He argues that the necessary conditions for the existence of any social system are universal, and thus pertain to biology and psychology. He reasons that since a functionalist explanation is based on universal preconditions it cannot account for the diverse manifestation of social forms which serve the same purpose in different societies (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 13-14). One major difference, then, between a "structuralist" definition of function and a "functionalist's" is that the former

looks for an element's function in its relation to other elements within a system, while the latter looks for an element's purpose, use, or function outside the bounds of the system. In "looking outside" the functionalists are implicitly suggesting that internal structure of any system is an epiphenomenon of another system. In contrast, the structuralist position is that a system's structure is a result of both the interaction between systems and the internal organization of the system.

2.8. Structural models are hypothesized logical constructs. This essentially means that empirical data cannot directly invalidate the model. What appears as data contradicting the model is only an indication that the model is insufficiently developed. Such a circumstance necessitates constructing a model which explains both the old model and the contradicting data.

A structural model is intended to be <u>valid</u> in that it is soundly constructed with regard to the data it seeks to elucidate. In contrast, it is only empirical data which are subject to verification or falsification (see Rossi 1974: 95-100). The process of structural analysis involves both processes of verification and validation. Yvan Simonis puts it this way in describing Lévi-Strauss' practice of structuralism:

> The verification through facts in Lévi-Strauss takes place before and not after the construction of the theory. He does not start from an axiomatic position and build a hypothetico-deductive theory to be tested later for its validity; rather, he builds up a scientific discourse by controlling at each step of the construction the process of moving

> away from ethnographic facts. The discourse proposed by Lévi-Strauss is not testable if one does not observe how it is built (1974: 385).

That is, data and models are judged by different criteria. Data must be verified while a model must be logically consistent with itself and the relevant data.

3. On Constructing an Explanation

This section sets out in general terms how to construct a structural explanation of a conceptual system; it outlines the approach that I use to unravel the meaning of Portuguese ethnic classification. First, I discuss concepts which are basic to my approach--namely, analogy, metaphor, and metonym--and then, I outline the steps involved in arriving at an explanation.

3.1. An <u>analogy</u> is a form of relationship composed of four terms, such that the relationship between the first and second is similar to the relationship between the third and fourth (from Aristotle's definition of analogy discussed by Köngäs Maranda 1971: 117). Such a form may be expressed as A/B = C/D, or as A : B :: C : D (read: A is to B as C is to D). An analogy may be broken up into two kinds of relationships: (a) a <u>metaphor</u> is the relationship between two elements that have the same relative position in the analogy--i.e. which have the same position on each side of the equation. In the analogy above, A and C are metaphorically related just as B and D are; (b) a <u>metonym</u> is the relationship between elements on the same side of the equation. A and B are

metonymically related as are C and D.

Metonymically related terms involve the contrast of elements which are part of a system. That is, metonyms are terminological relationships between some members of a paradigmatic set. For example, in Portuguese, the terms pai ("father") and filho ("son") are part of a system of kinship terms; a paradigmatic model of Portuguese kinship terminology would show how the terms pai and filho are interrelated with all other kinship terms--i.e. how each term is both similar and different vis-à-vis the other terms --and thereby, show how pai and filho are related as parts of a system.

Metaphors are correlations between terms which are considered to be members of distinct systems. For example, in the statement "Brazilians are like sons to the Portuguese," the terms "Brazilians" and "sons" are metaphorically related. Underlying this metaphor is the implicit analogy that "Portuguese" are to "Brazilians" as "fathers" are to "sons." The existence of a metaphor (or a fully developed analogy) is important in that it serves as an indication--albeit evidence--that two conceptual systems are part of a more inclusive system.

To illustrate, Köngäs Maranda (1971) has suggested that the use of the word "leg" for both a part of a human being and a part of a chair is an analogy linking the conception of people and the conception of chairs. The analogy, leg : chair :: leg : man, clearly shows a part's relationship to its whole but, in addition, it points

out that categorically different objects--inanimate chairs and animate men have an underlying similarity--i.e. a chair is like a man. Conceptually, they may both be included in the superset "standing objects."

Following the logic of analogous reasoning, my example above would seem to suggest that the labels Portuguese and Brazilians are part of an ordered domain (which for purposes of discussion we refer to as the domain of ethnic labels) which has an underlying similarity with the domain of terms (kinship terms) of which father and son are part. This commonality I hope to demonstrate later.

Metonym and metaphor are concepts used to denote different levels of understanding phenomena. When metaphorically related terms are analyzed and explained to be related as part of a more general system than they were initially recognized as part of, the terms become metonymically related for they are then understood to be contrasting elements of a common system. Thus, the process of explanation involves transforming metaphors into metonyms.

3.2. The study of a conceptual system begins on the level of empirical data--with the observation of the object of study in sequences of behaviour. In this dissertation the object of study is initially the label "Portuguese" (see Chapter III), and the sequences of behaviour are verbal and printed statements which use this label.[5]

The next step involves isolating analogous, metaphoric, and metonymic relationships between/among terms in the behavioural

sequences which are used as data. Specifically, this entails the following: terms which are assumed to be metonymically related--in our previous example, the terms pai and filho as well as Brazilian and Portuguese--must be analyzed to show that they are interrelated, co-variant, and interdependent elements of a system. This step is a matter of decomposing metonyms to show the basic relations between terms, and then, of constructing a system out of the basic relationships. This means, for our case, that a structural configuration underlying, on the one hand, all kin term relations and, on the other, all ethnic label relations must be hypothesized from observable data. These structural configurations are then taken as the objects of further study. Thus, for example, instead of trying to understand the label Portuguese in isolation with respect to the term pai in isolation, each term is considered--for comparative purposes--as a member of the system which gives it significance. The final step of this procedure is to compare distinct structural configurations--the elements of which have been metaphorically related--in order to determine how the configurations "fit"; the point is to discover a common organizational pattern, principle, or logic which underlies both systems. In a word, the essential aim of the explanation is to demonstrate the coherence of conceptual systems.

4. Summary

This chapter has attempted to set out the theoretical bases

for my interpretation of Portuguese ethnic classification and kinship terminology which is presented in later chapters. My intention has been to describe the nature of a conceptual structure, and to outline the analogical reasoning by which such a structure can be hypothesized.

Footnotes

1. This distinction between model and data is central to the work of both Lévi-Strauss and Roland Barthes. Lévi-Strauss expresses the distinction in terms of a contrast between "social structure" and "social relations":

> The term "social structure" has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models which are built up after it. This should help one to clarify the difference between two concepts which are so close to each other that they have often been confused, namely, those of social structure and social relations. It will be enough to state at this time that social relations consist of the raw data out of which models making up the social structure are built, while social structure can, by no means, be reduced to the ensemble of the social relations to be described in a given society (1967: 271; italics in the original).

Barthes (1967: 58-59) makes a similar distinction in discussing "the two axes of language." One level is called the syntagmatic plane. This consists of syntagms; a syntagm is "a combination of signs, which has space as a support." A syntagm is linear and irreversible; it corresponds in speech to a "spoken chain" the prototype of which is the spoken sentence. Each term in a syntagm derives its value or meaning "from its opposition to what precedes and what follows." The other level is the paradigmatic plane (which corresponds to Saussure's associative plane, and Barthes systematic plane). The paradigmatic plane consists of terms or elements "united in absentia." This level consists of the cognitive organization of elements--the shared conceptual

Footnotes (Continued)

interrelationships--which allows the use of terms or elements to convey significance. In terms of systems theory the syntagmatic level would correspond to outputs of the system, or, to put it differently, to specific manifestations of a particular programme or structure (see Cortés, Przeworski, and Sprague 1974).

2. For examples of such comparisons see: Tambiah's (1969) demonstration of the correspondence among marriage and sex roles, eating taboos, and house-specific etiquette in Thailand; Douglas' (1972) comparison of social distance and food sharing in Britain; Leach's (1964) discussion of the structural similarity of animal and kinship classification among both English and Kachin; and Brandenstein's (1970) comparison of animal, human, plant, and object classification among the Australian Aborigines.

3. The notion that structures exist at various levels of abstraction implies that any structure is not completely autonomous but only relatively so. Piaget speaks of structures as being "self-regulating." He states that "self-regulation" entails both self-maintenance and closure. He goes on to explain that:

> The transformations inherent in a structure never lead beyond the system but always engender elements that belong to it and preserve its laws. . . . It is in this sense that a structure is "closed," a notion

Footnotes (Continued)

> perfectly compatible with the structure's being considered a substructure of a larger one; but in being treated as a substructure, a structure does not lose its own boundaries; the larger structure does not "annex" the substructure; if anything, we have a confederation, so that the laws of the substructure are not altered but conserved and the intervening change is an enrichment rather than impoverishment (1970: 14).

4. Pouwer (1966) writes: "Since all description is necessarily selective, a description (let alone a comparison) of wholes . . . is impossible and an illusion (p. 132)." He clarifies this statement by giving two definitions of holism: a) "the totality of all the properties or aspects of a thing, and especially of all the relations holding between its constituent parts (p. 131)." A "whole" in this sense is thus an aggregate of all connections in reality; b) "certain special properties or aspects of the thing in question, namely those which make it appear an organized structure rather than a mere heap." A "whole" in this last sense is a simplification in that it does not include all observable facts but only those relationships between facts which portray the corpus as a logical nexus.

5. While conceptual distinctions may be studied by observing the use of labels, it is not the only way. For example, Edward T. Hall (1969) has examined how individuals physically position themselves, in public and private, as a means of discovering conceptual categories of personal space operating to give meaning in face-to-face encounters.

II. ETHNICITY THEORY AND LITERATURE

1. Focus

This chapter does not set out to exhaustively review the history of ethnic studies. Such an undertaking would demand tackling the entire development of Anthropology insofar as questions about the nature of socio-cultural similarities and differences, and historical boundaries between "ethnic groups" have been the stock in trade of the discipline. Besides, there is already a very large and long-standing literature in this area, for traditionally such concerns have been handled under the rubrics of tribe, nationality, culture area, minority group, pluralism, and (social) race.[1]

Instead, the intent here is to briefly examine the assumptions, arguments, and conclusions of a few prominent scholars in order to point out views on the relationship between ethnic categories and their content which are prevalent in the contemporary anthropological literature. This discussion will allow me later to distinguish my handling of Portuguese ethnic classification.

2. Views on Ethnic Classification

This section examines certain theoretical formulations of Raoul Naroll, Marvin Harris, Abner Cohen, and Fredrik Barth. Specifically, it focusses on Naroll's notion of world ethnic classification, Harris' mention of the referential ambiguity of Brazilian racial terms, Cohen's comments on the political functions

of cultural symbols, and Barth's discussion of ethnic boundary maintenance. The main purpose of the brief review is to point out the concern with and to evaluate the treatment of ethnic category denotation by these scholars.

2.1. In accordance with an interest in cross-cultural comparison, Raoul Naroll (1964) has suggested that anthropologists should attempt to devise a system of world ethnic classification. He has suggested that such a typological scheme might be based on such factors as political organization, language, and geographic contiguity. In response to Naroll, Moerman has argued that it is unsatisfactory "to use language, polity, or intermarriage as invariant criteria for delimiting ethnic units" because such an approach leads to viewing such criteria as "ubiquitous, isomorphic and therefore equivalent" in the cultural systems of all human groupings (1965: 1221).[2] Naroll's reply to such criticism was that the notion of the "ethnic unit" as he conceived it was a heuristic device useful for making gross comparisons of social types. However, although such an approach is probably of some use in those situations in which groups are socially and geographically isolated, in many cases such a typological approach will simply not do; very clearly, the literature is full of examples of situations in which ethnic groups are in close contact and participate in some of the same institutions (see Blom 1969; Eidheim 1969). Furthermore, positions such as taken by Naroll--Barth (1969a: 11) claims--make the nature of ethnic boundaries unproblematical, for, by assuming

that all people organize groups on the same bases (and, thus, by implicitly assuming that all people classify social reality in the same way), they eliminate the need for empirical discovery of the features which populations choose in particular situations to demonstrate distinctiveness and commonality.

Naroll's suggestion to distinguish societies on the basis of overt traits is mentioned here not because it is such a new or novel idea. One can, quite easily, find in the literature examples of societal comparisons made on the bases of overt, predetermined criteria; for example, there is Driver and Massey's (1957) attempt to distinguish North American Indians on the bases of language, artifacts and social organization. Nor is it the point here to simply write off Naroll's suggestion as trivial. Rather, my concern here is only to note the trend in the recent ethnicity literature to reject a priori definitions of ethnic categories and to demand the empirical investigation of the bases of ethnic group organization.

2.2. In a series of articles (Harris 1964, 1970; and Harris and Kottak 1963), Marvin Harris describes his efforts to isolate the designata of Brazilian "racial" terms.

For the purpose of eliciting "racial" categorizations from Brazilian informants, Harris and his assistants used facial drawings--each of which depicted different combinations of hair shade, hair texture, skin tone, and facial feature shape--during two separate research projects. In the first effort, 40 categorizations were

elicited from 100 people with 9 drawings, and in his second effort, 492 categorizations were elicited from 100 people with 72 drawings. What apparently interested Harris most about each of these research exercises--as well as some supplemental study he did which I will not go into--was the fact that a label was neither used consistently for identifying one drawing by different people nor by the same person at different times. While Harris notes that others previously have suggested that the racial identity of an individual might be ambiguous, he feels that he is the first to recognize that in "an abstract semantic sense, the racial terms mean different things to different people (1964: 27)." Then, he goes on to say:

> the evidence suggests that, if we seek to specify the conditions under which a racial term will be applied to a given individual, we must be prepared to develop a highly complex cognitive calculus in which the subject's class and actual appearance are only two of the relevant components. But I find myself inclined to the view that it may never be possible to formulate this calculus. The use of racial terms appears to vary from individual to individual, from place to place, time to time, test to test, observer to observer (1964: 27).

Elsewhere, Harris suggests that his finding of the "referential ambiguity" of racial terms undermines the notion found in the "New Ethnography" (see Sturtevant 1964; Frake 1964; Hammel 1965; Colby 1966) that "culture is the manifestation of a finite shared code, the code being a set of rules for the socially appropriate construction and interpretation of messages (1970: 12)."

I have mixed reactions to Harris' "discovery" of "referential ambiguity" and to his interpretation of its significance. While perhaps many empirically minded anthropologists have felt that there is, or have assumed that there must be, a stable relationship between a label and its referent, in linguistics--since about the turn of the century--it has almost been commonplace to accept the instability of the word-denotation relationship (Saussure 1974: 65). Thus, Harris' "discovery" does not seem very surprising.

As for Harris' interpretation, on the one hand, I am prone to agree with him for criticizing some of the cognitive anthropologists or "new ethnographers" who ignore the denotational ambiguity or multiple referents of labels; clearly, anthropological cognitive studies of "kinship" terminology have often been biased by the assumption that the one "real" referent of such terminologies is genealogical relations.[3] On the other hand, I think that it is unjustified for him to claim that the existence of "referential ambiguity" destroys the notion of culture as a code useful for conveying and interpreting messages. In contrast to Harris, many people would probably argue (e.g. Barthes 1966, 1970; Leach 1976; Lévi-Strauss 1966) that the conveying of messages--the notion of culture as code--is based on relationships between/among symbols (be they labels, objects, graphics, sounds), and <u>not</u> on the (unstable) relationship between labels and their assumed referents.

To summarize, Harris' approach is characteristic of the trend in the ethnicity literature to focus on denotation, his main contribution

to discussion is in drawing attention to the instability of the label-referent relationship.

2.3. On a number of occasions, Abner Cohen (1965, 1966, 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1971, 1974a, 1974b) has discussed the political significance of ethnicity. Throughout his work, he has repeatedly made the point that traditional cultural elements can be used for contemporary political ends. In one place, he states:

> Symbolic activities that are aimed at the solution of such perennial problems of human existence as those of life and death, good and evil, fortune and misfortune are exploited in all societies, whether industrial or preindustrial, by different political interests, and their dominant symbols are thus loaded with a multiplicity of political meanings. . . . The culture of ethnic groups are universes of such formally non-political formations and activities that are politicized in the course of social action (1974b: xvi).

In another place, the preface to his study of Hausa migrants, he notes that his monograph attempts to show:

> the processes by which, under certain circumstances, an ethnic group manipulates some values, norms, beliefs, symbols, and ceremonials from its traditional culture in order to develop an informal political organization which it uses as a weapon in its struggle for power with other groups, within the contemporary situation (1969: ix)

A major point implied by Cohen's view is that ethnic group borders are not mechanically imposed on the present by the past, but rather, that they change their shape through time in response to altered circumstances; i.e. an ethnic group is not to be understood

as a survival but as an adaptive form of social organization (1969a: 190).

What Cohen shows in his Hausa research (especially 1969a) is that the signs of identity--that is, ethnic group membership criteria--change through time, and that the alteration of ethnic boundaries correlates with increased control by Hausa over the cow and kola nut trade. Essentially, his work documents the change of the defining elements of an ethnic category, and it suggests that such change meets the organization requirements of a certain population. As Cohen sees it, ethnicity is a "variable" (1974b: xv) which can be manipulated for collective economic or political ends (1974b: xxi-xxii); ethnicity performs the function of social adaptation.

While Cohen's Hausa ethnography is rich and quite interesting, one must remain sceptical about his functionalist interpretation of ethnicity. As Jonathan Friedman (1974: 457) has noted, what often is asserted to be the "function" or "adaptive function" of some social phenomenon is actually a description of imaginary relations--social "functions", it seems, are often assumed rather than demonstrated. Upon close examination of assumptions about ethnic groups and conclusions about ethnicity in Customs and Politics in Urban Africa (Cohen 1969a), we see that much of Cohen's argument falls apart.

Cohen states that all ethnic groups can be regarded as interest groups (1969a: 5) by "informal" organization he specifies elsewhere

that he means social relations based on moral or ritual obligations as opposed to "formal" organization which is governed by contract (1974b: xviii). Furthermore, he states that insofar as ethnic groups are interest groups, they can "therefore be regarded as political groups (1969a: 5)." Ethnic groups, he suggests, are "political" in that they involve the distribution of, exercise of, and struggle for power--"power" being simply defined as "the control by men over the behaviour of other men (1969a: 5)."

Such conceptualizations are, most would agree, valid bases for initiating research. However, Cohen confuses these initial conceptualizations with the interpretation of his data. The result is that he tautologically concludes his monograph (1969a: 190) with the assertion that "Ethnicity is thus basically a political not cultural phenomenon, and it operates within contemporary political contexts . . ." Most simply, be defining ethnic groups as political entities and then "concluding" with the statement that ethnicity is essentially a political matter, Cohen has merely presented his audience with a restatement of his premises.

In summary, Cohen's work is important for emphasizing the changing denotation of an ethnic category, and for documenting in detail the reorganization of group boundaries. However, his conclusion that ethnicity is mainly political must be held suspect as it is a result of his pre-conceived notions and not the facts.

2.4. Given the fact that Fredrik Barth's essays in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (1969a, 1969b) are among the most cited and

complex in the recent ethnicity literature, I discuss his formulations here in some detail. First, I present the salient elements of Barth's theoretical essay on ethnicity (1969a), next, I summarize the corresponding discussion in his companion ethnographic essay (1969b), and then, I present my critique[4] of Barth's position.

The starting point of Barth's discussion is his assertion that ethnic boundaries:

> persist despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discreet categories are maintained <u>despite</u> changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories (1969a: 9-10; his underlining).

Barth then suggests that ethnic groups are best regarded as a "form of social organization" and specifies that the "critical feature" of that organization is "self-ascription and ascription by others" to the group. He defines the nature of such ascription as follows:

> A categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background (1969a: 13).

Barth goes on to explain that the features which determine ethnic group membership are not to be understood as "objective" features, but rather are only those features which actors (i.e. individuals native to a society) "regard as significant." As I

will later reemphasize, Barth is asserting here that membership is based on a subjective evaluation of an individual's behaviour --or as he often refers to it--of an individual's performance. Barth goes on to note that the content of an ethnic category may vary and that the relevant content cannot be arrived at a priori:

> one cannot predict from first principles which features will be emphasized and made organizationally relevant by the actors. In other words, ethnic categories provide an organizational vessel that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different socio-cultural systems (1969a: 14).

One of Barth's main contributions to the study of ethnicity is his recognition that the ethnic boundary is the phenomenon which evidences continuity through time--while personnel and membership criteria are elements which vary through time. He states further that the focus on the boundary allows specification of the continuity of ethnic units, and that the boundary itself can be empirically studied insofar as social actors ascribe ethnic group membership; that is, ethnic boundaries are reflected in the assigning of ethnic labels (1969a: 14).

Up to this point in his argument, Barth has noted that the criteria of ethnic membership may change and that the social categorization of individuals allows the specification of ethnic boundaries. Next, Barth assumes that the social ascription of ethnic membership is understood by social actors to imply the sharing of a value system:

> The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies

> a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally 'playing the same game' (1969a: 15).

Barth then proceeds to make a further assumption. Whereas he has to this point only asserted that social actors assume that each fellow member of an ethnic group shares a common value orientation, he then states--in various ways--the inclusion in an ethnic category does indeed mean that social actors share a value system. Barth states that social interaction implies and creates the sharing of culture:

> interaction both requires and generates a congruence of codes and values--in other words, a similarity or community of culture (1969a: 16).

Further on, he states that the behaviour of an ethnic group member is constrained by values and accompanying sanctions:

> ethnic identity is similar to sex and rank, in that it constrains the incumbent in all his activities, not only in some defined social situations. One might thus also say that it is <u>imperative</u>, in that it cannot be disregarded and temporarily set aside by other definitions of the situation. The constraints on a person's behaviour which spring from his ethnic identity thus tend to be absolute (1969a: 17). (His underlining)

Further along, Barth asserts most straightforwardly that an "ethnic identity is associated with a culturally specific set of value standards (1969a: 25)," that the "cultural characteristics of each ethnic group must be stable (1969a: 19)," and that the "sanctions producing adherence to group-specific values are not only exercised by those

who share the identity (1969a: 18)." Most simply, the point that I wish to establish is that Barth assumes that ascription to an ethnic category is tied to a rigidly defined value system--i.e. he assumes that an ethnic label is associated with a very specific content. In addition, Barth assumes that social interaction necessitates and generates rigorously defined and shared values.

As I will explain below, I find both of these assumptions unnecessary and improper. First, however, I wish to discuss how Barth introduces the role of individual decision-making in order to account for the persistence and change of ethnic boundaries, and also, to summarize the essential points of Barth's ethnographic illustration of his theory.

Barth asserts throughout his essay that ethnic boundaries "may persist despite what may figuratively be called the 'osmosis' of personnel through them (1969a: 21; see also pp. 10, 22-24, 38)." Barth explains that an individual is motivated to change his identity when he feels that he cannot achieve the values which are associated with his present identity, and, at the same time, he perceives that there is an alternative identity open to him. He postulates that the motivation to change identity is the "incentive" to succeed re a particular value system. Barth's position is evident in the following where he argues that there are situations in which a certain identity:

> can be moderately successfully realized, and limits beyond which such success is precluded. I argue that ethnic identities

> will not be retained beyond these limits, because allegiance to basic value standards will not be sustained where one's own comparative performance is utterly inadequate (1969a: 25).

Barth also argues that the criteria used to assess ethnic group membership change when there is massive "failure" of a population to realize the values associated with their ethnic identity. He asserts that the native models of identity are revised when they are "grossly" falsified by experience--specifically, he states that the process of conceptualization is part of a "feedback" system which tests models against experience. However, the point at which native models will be readjusted, he says, cannot be objectively specified (1969a: 30). He explains that the readjustment of folk models is not an immediate result of minor falsification by experience:

> actors struggle to maintain conventional definitions of the situation in social encounters through selective perception, tact, and sanctions, and because of difficulties in finding other, more adequate codifications of experience. Revision only takes place where the categorization is grossly inadequate--not merely because it is untrue in any objective sense, but because it is consistently unrewarding to act upon, within the domain where the actor makes it relevant (1969a: 30).

To summarize, Barth's position is that the persistence of ethnic boundaries is based on the existence of different cultural content associated with each ethnic category. However, he emphasizes that the content which marks boundaries may change. Yet, despite

change in personnel or cultural content, he stresses that ethnic units persist insofar as social boundaries exist.

Now to turn to Barth's Pathan example, Barth begins by describing the attributes which Pathans themselves appear to regard "as necessarily associated with Pathan identity." He lists three salient attributes: patrilineal descent, Islamic faith, and Pathan custom (1969b: 119). He says that Pathans believe that a "true" Pathan follows an exacting code of values which is consistent with Islam, and which is characterized by a culturally specific notion of honour (1969: 120).

Barth claims that this self-image of group identity is of some practical use and that it is maintained only insofar as it is "moderately consistent with sanctions that are experienced in social interaction (1969: 120)." Barth then notes that the "native" self-image need not be regarded as a "truly adequate representation of empirical facts (1969b: 120)." Next, Barth presents us with his list of Pathan institutions which he believes analytically captures the essence of Pathan custom. These are:

> Melmastia = hospitality, and the honourable uses of material goods, jirga = councils, and the honourable pursuit of public affairs, and purdah = seclusion, and the honourable organization of domestic life (1969b: 120).

Barth proceeds for several pages to describe the ethnographic reality of these institutions. Then, he asserts that these institutions are what allow Pathans to fulfill social values:

> These three central institutions combine to provide Pathans with the organizational mechanisms whereby they can realize core Pathan values fairly successfully, given the necessary external circumstances. . . /These institutions/ facilitate the maintenance of shared values and identity (1969b: 123).

Next, Barth turns to the place of individual decision-making and motivation in generating social organization. He claims, in one place, that:

> An understanding of the boundary mechanisms of the Pathan ethnic unit thus depends on an understanding of the special factors that can make it untenable or unattractive to sustain this identity (1969b: 123).

In another place, he states that individuals choose "to embrace the identity that makes his situation most tolerable (1969b: 125)." And, in discussing why Pathans change to Kohistani identity under certain conditions, he states:

> To maintain a claim to Pathan identity under these conditions is to condemn oneself to utter failure in performance, when by a change to Kohistani identity one can avoid being judged as a Pathan, and emphasize those features of one's situation and performance which are favourable (1969b: 131).

The point here is simply that, for Barth, the motivation for changing identity appears to entail the striving of individuals to maximize their satisfaction or success. He essentially states as much at the end of his essay:

> I have tried to show that in most situations it is to the advantage of

> actors themselves to change their label
> so as to avoid the costs of failure (1969b: 133).

The costs of failure and the benefits of success are also used by Barth to explain change in the definition of ethnic identity. He states that:

> when many people experience the failure to excel without having a contrastive identity within reach which could provide an alternative adjustment. . . this leads towards a change in the definition of the ethnic identity and thus in the organization of units and boundaries (1969b: 132).

Thus, for Barth, both the change of an individual's identity and the change of the criteria defining an ethnic boundary are generated by the sum of individuals who: a) consider the availability of alternative ethnic identities, and b) evaluate the degree to which a set of cultural values are being realized by both self and others.

The final point of this summary concerns Barth's notion of the social evaluation of performance. He states that his "essential argument has been that people sustain their identity through public behaviour, which cannot be directly evaluated (1969b: 132)." In short, the evaluation of both self and others' performance is for Barth a subjective matter which takes place in the minds of individuals.

To this point, I have only tried to capture the essential elements of Barth's diffuse argument and description. Now I wish to examine its validity.

It seems to me that the basic fault in Barth's theory of ethnic

boundary maintenance and change can be traced to his implicit equilibrium theory of social activity and to the associated notion that values must be rigorously defined and commonly shared for interaction to persist. I will discuss the implications of Barth's equilibrium assumption and then his notion of values.

Essentially, Barth views ethnic identities as being associated with a cluster of values, expectations, and standards--i.e. membership in an ethnic category implies adherence to certain norms. The norms, or rules for proper conduct, which are associated with an ethnic category are understood to be enforced by a set of sanctions or constraints (1969a: 15-18). Barth assumes that values, expectations, and standards for evaluating behaviour must be shared and stable in order for social interaction to take place (see 1969a: 16). In addition, he argues that when a person opts out of an ethnic category such an event does not alter the norms associated with the category. However, he notes that when a number of people fail to live up to the expectations of that identity, the norms readjust to actual behaviour (1969b: 132-133). In other words, in the case of opting out of the category, the system of values and behavioural patterns are unaffected and continue to reflect one another. While in the case of mass failure--i.e. when values and social activity become incongruous--there is a tendency for them to strain toward unity.

Such formulations perfectly fit Robert Murphy's (1971) description of a dynamic equilibrium model of society, which he explains suffers

from a basic assumption.

Murphy states that equilibrium theory essentially asserts that society continues because of what institutions do (i.e. because of the function they fulfill): institutions integrate. Institutions are seen as keeping society together by providing for orderly social behaviour; in short, they provide rules for conduct (norms). These rules for conduct are understood to be enforced by negative sanctions. And, the implementation of an effective system of social control (i.e. of sanctions) is seen as demanding agreement about what proper conduct--appropriate social behaviour--is; that is to say, the continuance of social activity is dependent upon a shared, rigidly defined set of norms. This theory does not ignore the possibility that behaviour may become incongruous with norms, but rather, it assumes that when incongruity occurs norms will readjust so that sanctions can effectively regulate social activity (Murphy 1971: 231-232).

One problem with this theory is its initial premise about the role of institutions in society--that is, the notion that society's continuance is dependent upon institutions functioning to integrate it. Most clearly, although institutions may facilitate the establishing of bonds between (among) people they also divide people. Norms not only provide for interaction, but also for non-interaction; sanctions keep people engaged and disengaged (Murphy 1971).

To put the matter differently, equilibrium theory is tautological: it assumes what is concludes. Given the assumption that institutions

function to integrate society by providing rules and sanctions which regulate interaction, then if values and behaviour become incongruous they are assumed to strain toward unity for without such homology society as it is originally defined cannot persist. In essence, the viable extant society is defined (not shown) to be one in which values and behaviour correspond, and conversely, the non-viable, defunct society is defined (not shown) to be one in which values and behaviour do not correspond.

While I believe that the essential fault in Barth's theory stems from his implicit acceptance of equilibrium theory and of the unwarranted assumption upon which such theory is based, I also feel that a general critique of equilibrium theory does not do justice to the subtleties of Barth's argument. In addition, I fear that some readers may not be completely convinced at this junction by such a general discussion of Barth's theoretical deficiency. Consequently, I wish to consider the aspect of Barth's formulations which most blatantly displays questionable logic: his notion that an ethnic category is tied to a shared and rigidly defined set of values.

Upon close examination, one finds that Barth must ultimately "rationalize" his own ethnographic data in order to persist with the assumption that inclusion is a particular ethnic category implies holding a certain value system. In his ethnographic essay, he presents both his own objective model of ethnic group membership criteria and what he purports is the Pathan native model of identity (1969b: 119-120).

However, in contradiction, he presents a case in which people who are called Pathan do not meet either of these models. He ultimately explains this contradictory case away by saying that such people are not "really" Pathans:

> There is the case of Pathan serfs of some Baluch tribal sections, where the serfs sustain a claim to Pathan identity and have this confirmed by their Baluch masters. What is actually involved in this case, however, is a kind of shame identity: the Baluch patrons enjoy the triumph of having Pathan serfs, but do explain that these people were the serfs of the formerly dominant Pathans (1969b: 133).

In his theoretical essay, Barth rationalizes the dismissal of those cases in which the ascription of labels does not correspond with a rigidly established set of norms for behaviour. He asserts that variation in the ascription of labels should not bother us for such irregularity is of minor importance insofar as the "fertile" problems in anthropology are not concerned with the disjunction, but rather, with the interconnection between the "ideal"--the system used to categorize--and the "actual"--the use of such a system in categorizing. He continues to explain that while it is quite necessary not to confuse the "ideal" or conceptual part of data, and the "actual" or statistical patterns of behaviour, the interconnection between the two is <u>not</u> best "elucidated by dichotomizing and confronting them as total systems (1969a: 29)." I completely disagree with Barth, for, as we have seen from Barth's use of his own data, stressing the interconnection leads to a falsification of social reality by dismissing

some cases arbitratily as "irregular."

Barth's dismissal of cases of ascription as irregular because "performance" is not adequate, his notion that individuals opt out of an ethnic category after calculating the cost of their failure to realize certain standards of performance, and his assertion that membership criteria change upon the social recognition of massive failure, ultimately lead one to suspect and question his assumption that values are necessarily stable, rigidly-defined, and shared. For, although he asserts the stability of membership criteria, he denies his readers the possibility of challenging his claim by relegating the evaluation of performance to the subjective processes of individuals in the particular society. How, one is forced to ask, can it be ascertained that the evaluation of "costs," "benefits," "success," and "failure" are based on rigidly-defined common standards if the evaluations are defined as dependent upon subjective processes which take place in someone else's mind--a realm which, by definition, is not directly accessible?

Since the process of evaluation is not observable, and the only evidence of evaluation is the decisions which people carry through, Barth's scheme must be seen as one which is self-fulfilling. Barth's theory that (when an alternative identity exists) change of identity occurs when social evaluation indicates failure, and no change occurs when social evaluation indicates success, is circular in the following way: for Barth, motivation is assumed (not observed) to be the cause of some behaviour, yet the behaviour itself is taken as the evidence

of the assumed motivation.

There are those who argue, in contrast to Barth, that it is not necessary to assume that social interaction requires the sharing of rigidly defined values or norms (e.g. Paine 1974; Wallace 1961). Some in fact suggest that the apparent correspondence of the "ideal" (i.e. rules for conduct and categories for classification) and the "actual" (i.e. statistical patterns of social behaviour) is an illusion resulting from the variable content which norms and categories appear to include. As Murphy points out:

> Norms, as creations of thought that are further thought upon, tend to be formally specific and bounded. They can be verbalized and codified; some are rigidified into law. Despite this formal parsimony and discreetness of norms, they are diffuse, multiplex, and unbounded in context. They are generated out of broad ranges of activity and by virtue of the fact that they are norms, they apply to a wide spectrum of activity. Thus, we are able to articulate the norms, but it is not always so easy to state which norms belong to exactly which situation. Norms, then, are formally specified and diffuse in content (1971: 242). /His underlining/
>
> The norms provide the image of order and fitness; they bind time and activity in the mind, but they cannot be allowed to impede their flow. They also promote the image of value and purpose in a world that is permeated with particularity of interest and indeterminancy of the results of action. Norms have their function as the scenario of activity (1971: 241).

Put differently, individuals may share symbols representing a conceptual order but symbols are multivocal--the same symbol may be interpreted differently in different situations and by different

people. As Edmund Leach notes, societies may persist despite the fact that ideal (native's) models "correspond rather badly with the empirical facts on the ground (1967: xiii)," but the image that native conceptual models appear to correspond to social reality allows the continuance of social activity. He says:

> My conclusion is that while conceptual models of society are necessarily models of equilibrium systems, real societies can never be in equilibrium. The discrepancy is related to the fact that when social structures are expressed in cultural form, the representation is imprecise compared with that given by the exact categories which the sociologist, qua scientist would like to employ. I hold that these inconsistencies in the logic of ritual expression are always necessary for the proper functioning of any social system. . . . Individuals can and do hold contradictory and inconsistent ideas about the system. They are able to do this without embarrassment because of the form in which their ideas are expressed (1967: 4).

Elsewhere Leach similarly explains:

> I postulate that structural systems in which all avenues of social action are narrowly institutionalized are impossible. In all viable systems there must be an area where the individual is free to make a choice so as to manipulate the system to his own advantage (1962: 133).

The ultimate implication of this view is that symbols--be they graphic signs, verbal categories, or audio impressions--are the bases of interaction and not the variable denotation or content of symbols. Such a view is congruent with Wallace's notion that social interaction necessitates the sharing of overt cultural forms but not individual interpretations or motivations (1961).

To summarize, the significance of Barth's work is that he draws attention to ethnic boundaries and that he initially emphasizes that the content--personnel and membership criteria--of an ethnic category (also read: ethnic label) changes. The weak point in Barth's theory of the maintenance and change of ethnic boundaries is that (contrary to his initial observations and his own data) he equates an ethnic label with a value system; that is, he assumes that the relationship between an ethnic label and its content must be stable for the persistence of social interaction. In addition, in his attempt to explain how the assumed stable relationship between label and content changes, he concludes by asserting that category content changes in response to behaviour patterns. This conclusion must be rejected because it is not based on fact but on Barth's assumption about the necessary correspondence between values and behaviour.

2.5. The discussion in the previous sub-sections has focussed on several views about ethnic categories and their content which are found in the recent anthropological literature. We have seen that in response to Naroll's a priori definition of ethnic categories others have stressed the need to empirically determine the category content in each case. We have reviewed Harris' discussion of the "referential ambiguity" of racial terms. In Cohen's work we have seen the postulating of the functional significance of denotational variability. And, we have seen the faults in Barth's determination of ethnic category content by behaviour patterns.

My intention here has been to show that ethnic boundary change, ethnic identity manipulation, and the redefinition of ethnic group membership criteria are common foci of recent research. In short, the instability of the label-referent relationship is by now well established as a theme of discussion in the ethnicity literature.

Furthermore, I wish to suggest that up to this point the ethnicity literature has basically been concerned with two kinds of "meaning": 1) there has been a concern with the denotative meaning of ethnic labels; typically it has been argued that the denotation is not stable; and 2) there has been an interest in the functional meaning of ethnicity for social organization; such concern is reflected in the interest in the adaptive value that the variable definition of ethnic identity affords groups to alter their basis of solidarity.

In contrast to the current, dominant concern with the functional and denotational meaning of ethnic categories, the present work focusses on the connotations of ethnic categories. This shift entails a change of focus from the label-referent relationship to the label-label relationship and the cultural significance of formal relationships between labels.[5] Instead of focussing on the way in which ethnic labels apparently serve or function to increase social solidarity, the intent here is to shift attention to the communicative function of ethnic label relations. That is, the proposed change is from the social utility of ethnic categories to the organization of ethnic categories; while others have been asking: how do we recognize

who is a member of a particular ethnic category? Or, what is the social use of ethnic categories? I ask, how do verbal categories (read: ethnic labels) convey cultural significance? In short, this work breaks with the ethnicity literature by emphasizing social classification over social function.

3. The Forum of Ethnicity

At this point I wish to briefly consider the status of "ethnicity" as a field of enquiry. My remarks here will allow me to specify the general relationship which this dissertation has to the current discussion of "ethnicity."

3.1. Perhaps the most obvious problem in the literature on ethnicity is the terminological muddle. Whereas Cox (1948) distinguishes "racial ethnics" from "cultural ethnics," van den Berghe (1967) contrasts "race" with "ethnicity," and Milton Gordon asserts that "race," "national origin," and "religion" are all kinds of ethnicities. In surveying the literature, Henry Lever states that there are 5 common uses of the concept "ethnic group." He says that this concept has been: 1) equated with "race;" 2) used to refer to sub-races; 3) used to indicate a group which shares a common culture; 4) used to denote a collectivity of people sharing a common language, folkways and mores, attitudes and standards, and a common government; 5) used to indicate immigrant or minority groups in a foreign culture (1968: 18-19). Without elaborating in detail here the subtleties of numerous typological schemes for the

field of racial-national-religious-cultural-ethnic studies, permit me to say that the notion of "ethnicity" (and its related concepts of ethnic identity, ethnic category, ethnic boundary, ethnic label, and ethnic status) is variously equated with, opposed to, used to subsume, or included within such concepts as "race," "nationality," "tribe," "language group," "culture group," "minority group," and "society."

Were this terminological muddle merely a matter of disagreement over what names to give discreet phenomena, its existence would be of little import. However, it appears to be symptomatic of other problems.

One problem is the vagueness of basic definitions. Fredrik Barth, for example, defines an ethnic group as a collectivity based on a person's "basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background (1969: 13)." What is one's basic, most general identity: male, female, human being, Hindu, agnostic, animal, anthropologist? R.A. Schermerhorn delimits an ethnic group as "a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood (1970: 12)." Are Benedictine Monks, the 'Silent Majority,' the Hare Krishna Society ethnic groups according to this definition? Clearly, the vagueness of such definitions precludes the possibility of cross-cultural comparison for they do not provide a basis for identifying the unit of study.

Another problem is that some authors have defined ethnic identity in subjective terms. Milton Gordon, for example, says that "race," "religion," and "national origin"--which he takes to be the various bases of "ethnic groups"--have a "common social-psychological referent" created through "historical circumstances" which he calls a "sense of peoplehood." Such reduction of ethnicity to a psychological essence leaves the definition of the object of study to the moods of individuals. This is unsatisfactory for several reasons: it assumes that individuals' feelings are isomorphic with actual social grouping, that individuals' feelings about group membership are at a conscious level, and that informants will readily tell what group they feel a part of. Furthermore, such approaches ignore the fact that the literature demonstrates (e.g. Eidheim 1969) situational variation in the ascription of ethnic labels to self and others. It might also be argued that concepts such as "sense of peoplehood" are difficult to use not only because of their subjective nature but also because they are ethnocentric--how does one go about translating the phrase "sense of peoplehood" into a non-Indo-European language?

It is possible to go on and specify other problems, however, it is unnecessary to be encyclopaedic to point out that terminological chaos and definitional difficulties exist in the literature. Besides others have reviewed and criticized many of the problematic formulations (see Helm 1968; Hicks 1977; Moerman 1965). The point is--and one can easily be convinced by looking at the forty definitions of ethnicity

which Isajiw (1974) has found in the literature--that researchers neither share a common conceptualization of ethnicity nor focus on the same empirical social phenomenon. In other words, I think that one would have to agree that "ethnicity" as a phenomenon is not well-defined in social reality nor are analytical conceptualizations of "ethnicity" widely shared.

3.2. The ultimate implication of my view is that any discussion of "ethnicity" must be held suspect. How do we know that any given label is an "ethnic label"? Clearly, the literature does not give us a basis for cross-culturally ascertaining what is or is not an ethnic group. For the most part, researchers simply assume that self-ascribed group labels are ethnic labels and then proceed to discuss the function of the labels. For example, in Hannerz's (1974) comparison of Jews, Italians, and Puerto Ricans in New York with Hausa and Yoruba in Nigeria, the similar functions of ethnic identities are discussed in detail while the similarity of the conceptual domains of which the identities are a part is assumed but never demonstrated.

Simply put, it is quite impossible for me to say whether the group which is mainly discussed in this work--the Montréal Portuguese--should be considered an "ethnic group." What is more, the lack of agreement on what is "ethnic" raises the larger question of the usefulness of setting this monograph--or any other--against the backdrop of the "ethnicity" literature.

My response is that, although the ethnicity literature does not offer at this time a unified theory with which to judge this or

any other research as an "ethnic study," it is nevertheless a legitimate corpus to draw insights from and to criticize. Thus, despite my discontent with the extant difficulties in cross-cultural comparison, it seems, at least intuitively, that the present work may be useful for those who have an interest in those fields currently grouped under the heading of "ethnic studies"--studies of immigrant groups, minority relations, tribalism, pluralism, race relations and the like. That is, the field of "ethnicity" at the moment is not united by a focus on a single kind of empirical phenomonon, nor by shared conceptualization of social reality, rather it is simply a forum for discussing assumedly similar social phenomena.

4. Commentary

As Stephen Tyler has noted, anthropological studies have often been more concerned with the culture of anthropology than with the cultures of human societies (1969: 2-3). This is, of course, a very damning critique of the discipline but one which I think must be accepted; for much of anthropological discussion is primarily concerned with how academics choose to conceptualize the world rather than with how societies conceptualize reality (Leach 1961). I feel that Tyler's comment is particularly relevant to the literature on ethnicity. Clearly, one of the implications of my discussion of Cohen's and Barth's formulations about ethnicity is that those formulations say more about how these scholars choose to explain

or slice up social reality than about how Hausa and Pathans conceptually order reality.

As it stands, many of the contributors to the discussion of ethnicity have proceeded in research to compare proper names of social groups (read: "ethnic" labels) without rigorously describing or analyzing the classification system of which these labels are a part. In short, folk classifications of social boundaries have been taken for granted, and generalizations about ethnicity have been made using identities, labels, and categories in isolation from their proper cultural context. In agreement with Tyler, I feel that we must now realize that it is essential to describe and analyze particular cultures before any grand and general theory of culture is put forth. For understanding "ethnicity," it seems that we must first describe and theorize about particular systems for conceptualizing group boundaries before we attempt to construct a general theory.

Hopefully, the approach I use in this dissertation will serve as a model for other "research" on the conceptual organization of "ethnicity." Ultimately, when enough particular theories of "ethnic" classification are constructed, then a comparison of such theories can be made. And, such comparison will either lead to a dismissal of the idea of ethnicity altogether or to the construction of a powerful general theory which will explain the universal nature of the phenomena which has up to now been taken for granted as singular.

Footnotes

1. See Cohen (1974b), Fried (1975), Glazer and Moynihan (1975), Helm (1968), Lever (1968), Moerman (1965; 1968), and Naroll (1964; 1968) for reviews of the field.

2. If one substitutes the term "ethnic group" for "tribe"--a term which has been used in the anthropological literature to refer to like entities--it can be seen that Leach has made a similar point:

> it is largely an academic fiction to suppose that in a 'normal' ethnographic situation one ordinarily finds distinct 'tribes' distributed about the map in orderly fashion with clear-cut boundaries between them. I agree of course that ethnographic monographs frequently suggest that this is the case, but are the facts proved? My own view is that the ethnographer has often only managed to discern the existence of 'a tribe' because he took it as axiomatic that this kind of cultural entity must exist. Many such tribes are, in a sense ethnographic fictions. . . /often/ it is taken as axiomatic that the group which speaks a distinct language or dialect is, by definition, a separate tribe or tribal section. Each such section is then treated as a distinct cultural and ethnographic entity with a distinct history and a separate continuity in time. . . it is futile to attempt to record all the stereotyped ethnographic variations for they are almost numberless. The assiduous ethnographer can find just as many different 'tribes' as he care to look for (1967: 290-1). /His underlining/

3. See Leach (1971: 75) and Needham (1971: xxxv, xxxviii) for discussion of the a priori assumption that kin terms primarily have genealogical denotata.

Footnotes (Continued)

4. I have previously written a similar critique of Barth's conceptualization of ethnicity which appeared in my M.A. thesis (1972). That previous critique Robert Paine (1974: 18, n. 26) has noted is congruous to his own.

5. Without going into any detail here, but nevertheless to slightly "show my hand," I will be arguing in a later chapter that such simple formal relations as category inclusion and exclusion are tied to cultural meanings involving descent, authority, and space in Portuguese culture.

III. METHODOLOGICAL CLARIFICATIONS

1. Focus

This chapter sets out some of the implications of my approach to the study of ethnic classification among Montréal Portuguese. My remarks here are chiefly concerned with the study of group labels, the distinction between category membership and classification, and the denotative and connotative significance of proper names. These remarks are intended to clarify the relevance of each type of data presented in the next two chapters.

2. The Study of Labels

2.1. In this study the initial unit of observation--our empirical point of departure in studying the conceptualizations of social boundaries and identity by Montréal Portuguese--is the label "Portuguese." In making the label the initial unit of study I have tried to avoid the pitfall of making an a priori and arbitrary definition of the social meaning of being "Portuguese" (see Chapter II.2.1.). In the past, ethnic research has almost invariably begun with an assumption that the "real" meaning of an "ethnic" label had to do with descent or origin (e.g. Schermerhorn 1970: 12). Or it has been assumed that an ethnic label could be equated with a value system or behaviour patterns (see Chapter II.2.4.).

Here, instead, we assume that the meaning of the label Portuguese is problematic and, consequently, a matter for investigation.

2.2. It is commonplace in the ethnicity literature to use group labels as a point of departure. However, in that literature the use of the label has been to identify individuals, traits, or populations. That is, the prime concern of research has usually been with the denotation of a label. My use of labels is a bit different. I am concerned not with the relationship between label and referent but with relationships between/among labels. The logical question, of course, which arises at this point is: what other labels? The relevant labels are those which the society itself identifies. Put differently, by observing the label "Portuguese" contrasted with, subsumed by, or used to include other proper names of populations, it is possible to isolate a set of names which my informants refer to as kinds of "peoples" (or "races" or "nationalities") --e.g. "Canadian," "Spanish," "Angolan," "Azorean," "Québécois." Henceforth, I take the liberty of referring to such group names as ethnic labels.

Having identified a number of labels, I next focus on the relationships between labels. My purpose is to study the connotations associated with certain kinds of label relationships; that is, I am concerned with the explanations which are given for placing a particular label in a particular position in a classificatory scheme. The object of study becomes, then, the cultural propositions (or analogies) which link classification positions with meaning. Thus, although I begin with the label "Portuguese," particular ethnic labels are of very little significance for understanding how meaning

is conveyed. My view is that specific ethnic labels are relatively ephemeral content in a system of classification, and that specific labels are relevant in the present study only insofar as they exemplify the kinds of relationships which may exist between labels. More pointedly (and this is what I attempt to demonstrate in Chapter V), meaning is conveyed by the formal relationship existing at any given time between labels and not by any inherent quality of an isolated label.

One consequence of all of this is that the thoroughness of my description and the power of my analysis depends not on compiling a complete list of "ethnic" labels and then examining each label re the label "Portuguese," but on an exhaustive examination of the kinds of relationships which may exist between "ethnic" labels.[1]

3. Membership, Classification, and Commonality

3.1. Various authors have noted that individuals may be viewed as possessing a number of ethnic identities (see Allport 1954; Gordon 1964; Smith 1974). In my view, there seem to be two ways in which individuals may be said to have a multiplicity of ethnic identities. One, an individual may be regarded as a member of two (or possibly more) ethnic categories which are understood as mutually exclusive--i.e. which are taken as conceptually distinct. For example, there are individuals who claim to be or are regarded by others to be both Spanish and Portuguese because they are offspring of a union between people of the two nationalities. Also, there are

people who claim to be Portuguese and Canadian--Portuguese because of place of birth and Canadian because of citizenship. Two, individuals may be identified with varying degrees of specificity by labels which are related as sub-sets. For example, a person from São Miguel Island in the Portuguese Azores may be identified without contradiction as a micaelense, an açoreano, and a português.

Having noted the multiplicity of ethnic ties an individual may assert, I wish to emphasize the importance for this study of comprehending the distinction between the study of relationships between conceptual ethnic categories (i.e. of relationships of ethnic identities), and the study of individual membership in an ethnic category. It is necessary to make this distinction because each type of study deals with data of very different kinds. That is, the study of the proper names of group identities such as "Azorean," "Madeiran," and "Continental," and their relationship to the group identity "Portuguese" is quite a different matter from ascertaining which individuals fit any of these group identities. While António Silva may be a Portuguese (i.e. an individual member of the category called Portuguese), António Silva is not a subcategory (or type of identity) of "Portuguese" as are "Azorean," "Madeiran," or "Continental." Which is to say, clarity in analysis and description demands differentiating a member-category relationship from a subcategory-category relationship.[2]

3.2. Another topic deserving mention here is "ethnic" commonality.

There seem to be two levels at which this matter is appropriately discussed. One level concerns percepts--the mental representation of sensed phenomena (see Spradley 1972: 11). The percepts of interest here are those stimuli which are interpreted as cues of ethnic identity; for example, surname, phenotypical traits, dress, accent, or any other sign associated with an ethnic category. The other level concerns the socially established abstract definitions of the basis of ethnic commonality; for example, the notions evidenced in ordinary conversation as well as in rigorously constructed ideologies that members of an ethnic category share culture, speak the same language, are descended from a common ancestor, or participate in the same social or political institutions.

I leave for Chapter V the discussion of contradictory ideologies of ethnic commonality. There derivation and authority will be examined as folk explanations for commonality and distinctiveness. My concern here is only to briefly mention the role which percepts or cues of identity play in evaluating someone's membership in an ethnic category.

Individuals learn the cues associated with their own identities as they acquire the rules for acting in their society,[3] and learn to recognize traits associated with other identities to varying degrees in accordance with their contact with and/or study of other peoples. Some cues are easily learned and are quite articulable--e.g. the fact that particular surnames are associated with certain identities. Others are less easy to explicitly isolate. Portuguese

learn through experience, to a certain extent, what fellow Portuguese look like, how they usually dress, how they gesture and speak--often, however, much of this knowledge is not readily articulable.

Knowledge of specific cues varies with individuals. This seems to largely reflect differences in personal experience. Most simply, a well-travelled, well-read person will usually know more about human diversity than someone who has not had such opportunities. However, in addition, there is a certain amount of social dissensus about what cues are associated with what identity. My point here can be illustrated by discussion of the association of surnames and ethnic identities.

There are hundreds (if not thousands) of surnames which individuals learn to recognize as Portuguese. Much of this knowledge is easily learned for it follows some general "rules of thumb." For example, it is generally recognized that Western European surnames ending in es are Portuguese (e.g. Lopes, Martines, Marques, Fernandes) in contrast to similar surnames ending in ez which are recognized as Spanish (e.g. López, Martínez, Márquez, Fernández). However, there are also other surnames which do not adhere to such simple rules and consequently must be learned individually (e.g. Sá, Coelho, Martins). And there are many surnames which are ambiguous in that their association with an ethnic identity is not clear cut--e.g. Pinto, Delgado, Duarte, or Santos may be either Portuguese or Spanish. The point here is simply that surnames are less than perfect indicators of identity.

Furthermore, there is often disagreement over what cue is most important in evaluating membership in an ethnic category. I have heard questions of the following substance actively argued: Is a surname (by marriage) more important than blood? Are patrilineal ties more important (as some Portuguese claim) than matrilineal ties? Is socialization more important than descent? /e.g. Are individuals of German descent, raised in Portugal, more or less Portuguese than children of Portuguese immigrants raised in Canada?/ Is birthplace more important than citizenship? Is mother tongue more important than a second language one learns to speak more fluently?

There is, then, social disagreement as to the proper interpretation of perceivable facts--society does not completely agree on how to operationalize their notions of ethnic identity. This is not to say, however, that there is no consensus about what cues are associated with what identities for there is wide agreement on a great many cues (I have already cited that the ending es as opposed to ez distinguishes Portuguese from Spanish surnames). Rather, there is no perfect consensus. Despite the lack of complete agreement, it seems that consensus is often strong enough to allow individuals some measure of predictability in conducting daily affairs.

4. The Problem of Description

4.1. In Chapter II it was pointed out that the relationship between a population label and its supposed referent (taken either as a real population existing in time and space, or as a set of

criteria for delimiting a real population) is unstable, or variant. While I have discussed this matter in general with regard to the ethnicity literature, I feel that it is necessary to spell out the implications--at the risk perhaps of appearing redundant--of this variable label-referent relationship for interpreting the demographic, social, and historical description of the "Portuguese" people presented in the next chapter. My concern here is to bridge the contradiction between the theoretical realization that ethnic labels and real populations are distinct (yet related) phenomena, and the act of providing a description of the "Portuguese" population.

To proceed in presenting a description of the "Portuguese" as if they are a discrete population is antithetical to my overall position. I maintain that there is no rigid social consensus on the defining characteristics of the "Portuguese," and that, consequently, any description of them is inherently ideological in the sense of being an arbitrary delineation of a human collectivity.

Among criteria commonly used to identify Portuguese in published contexts and personal interactions are citizenship, birthplace, mother tongue, usual spoken language, national origin of parents, place of residence, and surname. This list is by no means exhaustive, nor do I think it can be. While in some circumstances defining criterion may be objective and unambiguous (e.g. the use of citizenship as criterion by immigration officials or census gatherers), in other situations objective traits may be disregarded in favour of subjective evaluation. For instance, it is not unusual to hear individuals deny

themselves or others the identity "Portuguese" for having "lost" the proper "mentality" (or "personality," "way of thinking," "feeling," "culture," "spirit"). Stereotypic notions--for example, that Portuguese enjoy fado music, are devoted to Our Lady of Fatima, and eat bacalhau /codfish/--are also cited as characteristics of "real Portuguese." No doubt it is possible to statistically correlate the label "Portuguese" with stated attitudes and behaviour patterns, however, such an effort will not yield a perfect correlation between the label and a stable collectivity of people. While for certain purposes (e.g. immigration visas, citizenship status, social assistance) rigid objective criteria may be observed, other situations (e.g. club membership), however, will reveal contradictory criteria, and in still other circumstances (e.g. in personal encounters) no effort may be made to rigorously define the salient characteristics of "being Portuguese."

Thus, the "Portuguese" people discussed in Chapter IV are not to be taken as a well-defined empirical collectivity, but as an amorphous population. It is a population which upon occasion achieves clear cut, but arbitrary boundaries, when circumstances require that a particular discrimination be made; nevertheless, from an overall or global perspective, the limits of the population are ill-defined. Insofar as the label "Portuguese" does not yield to a simple ostensive definition (for it does not refer to an objectively stable collectivity), it is a public fiction. The description of the "Portuguese" people, then, which I present here is,

in a sense, a "second-hand" account of the "Portuguese" in that it consists of the elaborations which social scientists, journalists, government ministries, and private individuals have built on a verbal category--it does not refer directly to a single real collectivity but to the conceptualizations by many people of a supposed real collectivity.

4.2. The problem of describing the Portuguese brings us back to the basic fact that labels are not only used to point to objective entities, but they also signify various social meanings. As Rosaldo notes, "Words make distinctions as contexts require; reference becomes stable only when it is necessary that a particular discrimination be made (1972: 87; her underlining)." Recognizing that the referent of a label varies in different contexts is essential, but is also analytically insufficient. An adequate account of an act of naming in any given context demands admitting the connotative or "metaphoric" meaning of the word as well (Rosaldo 1972: 83). The connotation of a population label in particular contexts will say more about social life than the mere knowledge of what or whom a label designates for such information reveals an individual's options for interpreting and defining the situation.

The essential question posed in this work is not who or where are the "Portuguese" (denotative issues) but rather what is the significance of being labelled "Portuguese" in diverse contexts (connotative matters). It is in Chapter V that the meanings of "Portuguese" and the similar organization of the various meanings

are handled. Nevertheless, it is necessary to discuss the denotation of the label "Portuguese"--all the time realizing there is no rigid social consensus on the denotation--in order to indicate the kinds and range of entities which on various occasions are assumed to anchor the label "Portuguese" to empirical reality. Thus, Chapter IV, which presents the common denotative meanings of the label "Portuguese" is meant to serve as a complement to the study of label connotations discussed in Chapter V.

5. Summary

In this chapter I have suggested that: 1) the study of the label "Portuguese" eventually leads us to a set of cultural propositions which then become our objects of study; 2) it is important to distinguish the study of the ethnic categorization of individuals from the study of the classification of group labels; and 3) the study of group label connotations reveals the alternative social definitions of context, whereas the variable denotation of group labels makes the identification of an empirical "ethnic" population problematic.

Footnotes

1. My position finds support in Lévi-Strauss' discussion of Durkheim's notion of the "well-performed experiment (1967: 280-281)." Lévi-Strauss argues that the thorough examination of a small number of cases and the careful analysis of the essential features of those cases is superior to the collection of vast quantities of data superficially collected. This is so because the acceptability of the vast quantities of data is dependent of demonstrating the data to all be of the same kind--such a demonstration is only possible, however, through the careful analysis of individual cases.

2. The same point is made by Gregg (1954: 3-10). He explains that in the related fields of set-theory, the theory of types, and classification, it is imperative to distinguish relationships between categories (sets or types) from relationships between categories and their specific members.

3. See Berger and Luckmann (1966) for discussion of how individuals "internalize" "objective" social reality.

IV. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SOCIAL SETTING

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the historic and ethnographic contexts within which the ethnic categories discussed in the next chapter find relevance. Since the ethnic labels used by Montréal Portuguese are understood to have temporal, spatial, and social referents which extend beyond the geographic limits of the city of Montréal and the local contemporary Portuguese population, it is essential that we adopt a broad socio-historical perspective. Labels such as lusitano (Lusitanian), latino (Latin), and celta (Celt) demand reference to--among other contexts--the early history of the Iberian Peninsula; other labels such as cabo-verdiano (Cape Verdean), angolano (Angolan), açoreano (Azorean) and madeirense (Madeiran) necessitate mention of the now mostly fallen Portuguese empire, and still others such as luso-canadiano (Portuguese Canadian), and luso-quebecense (Portuguese Quebecer) have significance primarily in the setting of North America.

The description of the setting is divided here into three parts, which includes: a thumbnail sketch of Portuguese history and geography (section 2), a brief discussion of the Portuguese immigration to and settlement in Canada (section 3), and a description of the Portuguese colony in Montréal (section 4).

2. Background on Portugal

This section provides minimal background information on the

Portuguese nation and its people. My only purpose here is to familiarize the reader with the kinds of facts generally assumed by Portuguese among themselves as common knowledge about their heritage and homeland. Consequently, I have deleted much detail which might be considered to be specialized knowledge. Most of this information is justifiably characterized as popular and general in that it is taught in the third and fourth year of primary school in Portugal, and in the supplemental language and culture classes attended by Portuguese immigrant children in Canada (supported by a Portuguese bank and the Portuguese Catholic Mission).[1] The review of this general knowledge is relevant here because it is used--sometimes in contradictory ways--to justify the kinds of ethnic categories which may include, be included by, or are contrasted with the category "Portuguese" people.

2.1. Present day knowledge of the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula at the dawn of recorded history[2] is meagre as it is based on fragmentary material assemblages and the accounts of Phoenician, Greek, and Roman writers (Arribas 1964: 40). Consequently, authorities are in disagreement as to the origin and characteristics of early inhabitants. For our purpose it will do, however, to begin by accepting there to have been two basic groups: "Basques," situated along the Pyrenees (who may have been aboriginal to the area), and "Iberians" who are held by some to have arrived from North Africa as early as the 13th century B.C. and then to have spread by the 3rd century throughout the peninsula (with the exception of the northern

areas inhabited by Basques) (Atkinson 1965: 17).

The first contact by the ancient literate world with the "Iberians"[3] was made by Phoenician traders in about 800 B.C. The Phoenicians established settlements on the southern and eastern coasts.[4] In the 6th century, Greeks, commercial rivals of the Phoenicians, began to set up trading centres in the same areas (Atkinson 1965: 17-18). In terms of the area which is now Portugal:

> Phoenician and Greek colonization hardly touched the northern part of present day Portugal. To the north of Estremadura there is no evidence of the arrival of the Phoenicians and the Greeks, with the exception of some coins which alone do not necessarily account for their presence. In southern Portugal, however, their influence is noticeable: along the coasts of the Algarve and Alentejo and in the Tagus basin convincing remains have been unearthed (Marques 1972 (I): 8).

As early as 900 B.C. "Celtic"[5] populations arrived from central Europe through the Pyrenees. Their last major invasion is supposed to have taken place in the 6th century, roughly coinciding with the early Greek colonization along the Mediterranean coast. The Celts spread throughout the peninsula. In the west--in what is now roughly Portugal and Spanish Galicia--they became predominant, however, in the east and south Iberians remained in control. In the central area of the peninsula, Celts and Iberians are generally recognized to have fused into a group which is now called the Celtiberians (Atkinson 1965: 18; Way 1962: 73-77).

Greek domination in the western Mediterranean came to an end in the mid-5th century when they were defeated in Corsica by the Carthagineans and Etruscans. For the next 300 years the Carthagineans controlled the trading centres of the peninsula. However, with the conclusion of the Second Punic War, they were driven from the peninsula in 206 B.C. to be replaced by the Romans (Atkinson 1965: 19-20).

The Romans quickly subdued all the "Iberians" with the exception of tribes in the west, generally called "Lusitanians," who occupied the territory between the Tagus River and the north coast.[6] These tribes were subjugated by the Romans about a century later, but only after much difficulty.[7] With the conquest came the implantation of the core elements of Roman civilization--including law, religion, administration, culture, and the Latin language (Atkinson 1965: 21-34). In the fifth century A.D. when the military power of Rome was waning, the Iberian Peninsula was invaded by barbarian tribes who had crossed Gaul and entered Spain from the north-east. Two Germanic peoples, the Suevi (or Swabians) and the Vandals obtained land in what is now present day Portugal and west-central Spain--i.e. in what was then Gallaecia and Lusitania. The Vandals, within two generations of their invasion, departed for Africa under pressure from a larger tribal group, the Visigoths, who were employed by the Romans. The Suevi, however, remained to form an independent kingdom (411-585 A.D.) in north-west Iberia. Eventually the Visigoths overthrew Roman rule (in 468 A.D.) and then supressed the Suevi in the late 6th century.

The Visigoths dominated[8] the peninsula until the coming of the Muslims (Livermore 1969: 22-32; 1972: 279).

The 8th century is taken as the begining of occupation by the Muslims who invaded from North Africa. The invaders were of diverse origins; they were mainly Arabs, Syrians, Moors, and Berbers--the common denominator of these groups was their Islamic faith. The Muslims succeeded in securing the entire peninsula with the exception of strongholds of Visigoth Christians in the Cantabrian Mountains. The southern part of the peninsula was solidly under Muslim control for about 500 years. In contrast, Muslim influence in the north was never as strong and is usually cited as having lasted for only about 100 years (Atkinson 1965: 45-6; Vaz 1965: 4).

In the 11th century, what is today northern Portugal was regained by Christian knights and made into a fief of the Kingdom of Leon (Vaz 1965: 8). In the mid-12th century this fief--the county of Oporto[9]--was recognized as a sovereign entity by the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon. Towards the end of the 13th century the kingdom of Portugal--which as a fief had only extended from the Douro River to the Minho River--had taken control of all of the area which is today Continental Portugal.

The Portuguese Maritime Empire begins in the 15th century. In 1415 the Portuguese seized control of Ceuta in Morocco. Soon after, the previously uninhabited islands of Porto Santo (1418) and Madeira (1419), which form part of the same Atlantic archipelago, were

discovered and soon colonized. In 1424 the Portuguese attempted to establish settlements in the Canary Islands--despite prior Spanish claims--and from the 1440s settlements were established in the Azores (Atkinson 1965: 99). The Cape Verde Islands, off the west coast of Africa were discovered in 1444; later these islands were settled by white exiles from Portugal and natives from Africa who intermarried and developed into a mulatto population. By 1460 the Portuguese had explored the coastline as far as Sierra Leone. The Portuguese explorers proceeded along the African coast rounding the Cape of Good Hope in 1488 and reaching India in 1498. By the middle of the 16th century the Portuguese had laid claim to, and established trading posts in, areas on both coasts of Africa, in the Near and Far Easts, on the Indian subcontinent and to a portion of what is today Brazil (which was claimed by Cabral in 1500).

In 1580 Spain conquered Portugal through the heavily fortified province of Alentejo. For the next 60 years, until 1640, Portugal was ruled from Madrid, during which time the Portuguese lost control of various portions of their empire as the Spaniards used Portuguese forces to protect their own interests. Even though the Spanish Cortes (Spanish Parliament) officially recognized the coronation of a Portuguese king (João IV) in 1641, the independence of Portugal was not totally recognized by Spain until 1668--after a number of important battles between Spanish and Portuguese forces had taken place (Livermore 1974: 869).[10]

During the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal in 1807, the Royal Family and court moved to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from where the Portuguese empire continued to be ruled. The King remained there for the next 14 years, during which time Brazil (in 1815) was officially elevated to the status of a kingdom equal to Portugal. In 1821, the King returned to Lisbon when a constituent assembly threatened his control by proposing a very liberal constitution. The King's son, who was left in Brazil, the following year proclaimed the country an empire under his rule and independent of Portugal. In 1889 Brazil was declared a republic (Livermore 1973: 870-871).

In 1910 the Portuguese monarch was forced into exile and the Portugese Republic was proclaimed. The Republic lasted until 1926 during which time it enacted a number of progressive measures--e.g. separating church and state, legalizing divorce, and instituting free universal education (Marques 1972 (II): 119-175).

In 1929, two years after a right-wing military coup overthrew the government of the Republic, António de Oliveira Salazar, an economics professor from Coimbra University, took control of the Ministry of Finance. Salazar later gained control over various key positions including the Prime Ministership (holding several posts simultaneously); he was in power continuously until 1968 when he was incapacitated by a stroke. Salazar's fascist regime is notorious for its media censureship, suspension of civil liberties, outlawing political opposition, banning of strikes, state secret police (the infamous P.I.D.E.--International Police for the Defense of the

State--and its successor the D.G.S.--Directorate General of Security), and for its commitment of a large portion of Portugal's money and men to quelling liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea. His successor, Marcello Caetano, despite public statements about liberalization, continued with almost identical domestic and foreign policies. On April 25th, 1974 Caetano's government was overthrown by a group of young left-wing military officers known as the Movimento das Forças Armadas (Armed Forces Movement).[11]

Since the "Revolution of the 25th of April, 1974" six provisional governments have been formed. Each of these provisional governments have usually included military men, social democrats, socialists, and communists. These governments have brought about many progressive measures reversing the policies of Caetano and Salazar. Perhaps the most important acts of these governments were the granting of independence to most of Portugal's colonies (see section 2.2. of this chapter).

In April, 1976 a civilian government was elected; in that election the Portuguese Socialist Party won a majority in the Parliament (Portuguese Cortes). In June of 1976, a President of the Republic was elected: António Ramalho Eanes. Soon after his election, Eanes appointed Mario Soares--leader of the Portuguese Socialists--Prime Minister.

The preceeding "history" of Portugal is admittedly very sketchy. It is, nevertheless, sufficient within the present context for it sets

out the temporal relational sequence (the chrono-logic) by which certain populational-territorial categories relevant to the concept of the Portuguese people (and Portuguese nation) are related. More specifically, the foregoing is intended as an outline of the historical myth of Portuguese nationality which is entertained by Portuguese society as well as being supported by the wider academic community. The main points to be grasped here are the following: prior to the Roman conquest of Iberia, some little-known peoples inhabited what is now Continental Portugal; at the time of Roman conquest Celtic tribes, known as Lusitanians, inhabited what is now central and northern Portugal; after conquest and domination by Suevi, Visigoths, and Muslims, the county of Porto (Oporto) eventually emerged and established control over the territory which is now Continental Portugal--thus, the nation of Portugal and the modern concept of Portuguese identity is traceable to the 11th and 12th century; in the 15th and 16th centuries the Portuguese established a world-wide empire; from the 15th century until the recent present there were territories and populations in many parts of the world which were linked politically to Portugal; the colonies of Portugal, furthermore, were considered to be Portuguese in that they were part of the Kingdom of Portugal (and later, part of the Republic of Portugal), and because they were viewed as sharing (to varying degrees) Portuguese history, culture, and language.

2.2. Before the 1974 coup, the Portuguese nation officially

consisted of Continental (or Metropolitan) Portugal, Insular Portugal, and Overseas Portugal.

Continental or Mainland Portugal is the area in the west of Iberia between the Minho River in the north and the south coast. People from this area are known as continentais, metropolitanos, or simply portugueses. The area is divided into 11 regiões naturais ("natural regions") which are traditional geographic-political units. From the north to the south the regions are: Minho, Trás-os-Montes, Douro Litoral, Alto Douro, Beira Litoral, Beira Alta, Beira Baixa, Estremadura, Ribatejo, Alto Alentejo, Baixo Alentejo, and the Algarve.[12] The country is also divided into 18 divisões administrativas ("administrative divisions") which were created by the government in this century and are currently undergoing redefinition.

Insular Portugal consists of two Atlantic archipelagos. One is the Azores which consists of nine inhabited islands--São Miguel, Santa Maria, Terceira, Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico, Faial, Flores, and Corvo--and the uninhabited Formigas. The other archipelago is Madeira, which consists of the islands of Madeira and Porto Santo.[13] People from the Azores are called açoreanos (Azoreans) and those from Madeira are called madeirenses (Madeirans).[14] Since, at least, the late 19th century there have been Azorean and Madeiran independence movements. Recently, since the 1974 coup, there has been a renewed interest in self-determination.[15] To this time (July, 1977), however, both the Azores and Madeira remain part of the Portuguese state.

Portugal Ultramarino (Overseas Portugal), or the overseas

"provinces" of Portugal, before the 1974 coup consisted of: Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea (what is now Guinea-Bissau), the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé e Príncipe, Timor, Macau, and Portuguese India which consisted principally of Goa, Daman, and Diu.[16] All the overseas "provinces" have become independent in either 1974 or 1975 with the exception of Macau--which Portugal had allegedly offered to the People's Republic of China, who reportedly refused--Timor whose status is unclear at the time of writing (July, 1977), and Portuguese India which was forcibly taken over by India in 1961 (a fact which neither Salazar nor his successor Caetano officially recognized but is now recognized by the present Portuguese government).

Up until the early 1950s when a change was made in the Portuguese Constitution, the overseas provinces were known as colonies. Then they were rechristened "provinces," which were officially viewed as an integral part of the Portuguese Republic despite geographic separation. This renaming occurred about the time the United Nations was attempting to identify colonized peoples and territories.[17]

3. The Portuguese in Canada.[18]

3.1. Portuguese contacts with North America are documented as far back as the late part of the 15th century (see Anderson and Higgs 1976: 3-14).

It is generally recognized that Portuguese adventurers were among the first Europeans to have explored the coasts of New England,

California, and Atlantic Canada.[19] Also, almost continually for the last 400 years Portuguese cod ships (the White Fleet) have made regular contact with Canada's eastern seaboard during their annual fishing in the Grand Banks off Newfoundland.[20] No mass settlements are known, however, to have resulted from these early contacts, although individual seamen, presumably from the cod fleet, are believed to have settled quite early in Nova Scotia (Anderson 1974: 12).

From the last third of the 17th century, there are records of individual Portuguese living in Canada. It is known, for example, that the Dasilva (also written: Da Silva) family resided in New France in the late 17th and early 18th centuries (Anderson and Higgs 1976: 18; Tanguay 1871-90, Vol. I, p. 158; Vol. II. p. 243; Vol. III, pp. 294-6). The number, however, of Portuguese in Canada throughout the 17th and 18th century was small.

By the last third of the 19th century, Portuguese were a recognizable, but still small, group; the 1870 Canadian Census notes that there were 829 Spaniards and Portuguese living in Canada, unfortunately, the respective numbers of each group are not known. For the remainder of the 19th and for the first half of the 20th century official records document the entry of only a few dozen Portuguese each year (see Table 1 in section 3.2. of this chapter).

3.2. June, 1953 is generally taken by the Portuguese in Toronto as the date of the first permanent settlement of Portuguese in Canada (Ferguson 1964: 25).[21] This date is somewhat of a public fiction as

Table 1. "Portuguese" Immigration to Canada according to Various Criteria

	Last Permanent[a] Residence	Citizenship[b]	Birthplace[c]	Ethnic[d] Origin
1976	5,344	6,904	n.a.[e]	n.a.
1975	8,547	9,530	9,158	n.a.
1974	16,333	17,609	17,268	n.a.
1973	13,483	14,664	14,417	n.a.
1972	8,737	9,402	9,280	n.a.
1971	9,157	9,862	9,776	n.a.
1970	7,902	8,700	8,594	n.a.
1969	7,182	8,031	7,917	n.a.
1968	7,738	8,841	8,720	n.a.
1967	9,500	10,622	10,478	n.a.
1966	7,930	8,900	8,812	n.a.
1965	5,734	6,583	6,505	7,069
1964	5,309	5,721	5,700	6,109
1963	4,281	f	n.a.	4,732
1962	2,928	3,063	n.a.	3,443
1961	2,762	2,861	n.a.	2,999
1960	5,023	5,108	n.a.	5,277
1959	4,080	4,176	n.a.	4,372
1958	1,938	1,963	n.a.	2,188
1957	4,423	4,486	n.a.	4,768
1956	1,697	1,729	n.a.	1,984
1955	1,136	1,212	n.a.	1,439
1954	546	1,072	n.a.	1,337
1953[g]	588	593	n.a.	917
1952-53[h]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	282
1951-52	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	275
1946-51	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	319
1941-46	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	41
1936-41	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	18

Sources: Manpower and Immigration (Canada), Immigration Statistics - 1976, 4th Quarter; 1975, 3rd Quarter; 1973 4th Quarter; 1966-1975 annual statistics. Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Annual Reports - 1953-1965.

Explanation for Table 1:

n.a. means not available

Explanations:

a. Includes previous residents of European Portugal, i.e. Continental and Insular Portugal

b. All holders of passports from the Portuguese Republic.

Explanations (Continued)

c. It appears from the statistics that these numbers only include people born in Continental and Insular Portugal, for there are separate statistics for Angola, Mozambique, and Macau. It is unclear whether these numbers include people born in the Cape Verde Islands, Portuguese Guinea, or Portuguese Timor; there is, however, a possibility that such individuals are listed in Canadian statistics under "Other." No statistics are reported pre-1963 using this criterion.

d. The use of this heading ceases with the 1966 Manpower and Immigration statistics. I could not determine from the annual reports how this term is defined.

e. The 1976 Fourth Quarter report did not report figures using this criterion.

f. In the 1963 Annual Report of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration there is a mistake. On two pages labelled "Ethnic Origin and Country of Citizenship of Immigrants Calendar Year 1963" (p. 48-49), the actual table does not label any column "citizenship." Instead, it labels the likely column "Country of last permanent residence," but the figure (4,281) contradicts that cited on Page 46 of the same report.

g. These figures are for the fiscal year ending March 31st, 1954.

h. These figures and below are according to "Racial Origin" which is not defined. The figures are for fiscal years ending March 31st of the last cited year.

---

it ignores the fact that several thousand Portuguese--some of whom were at the time living in Toronto--were already in Canada. However, the year does mark the beginning of a substantial increase in Portuguese emigration. At about that time Canada renegotiated trade agreements with Portugal, which had previously been regulated under British-Portuguese agreements. Along with those trade agreements new immigration

policies were arranged.[22] In 1953 the Canadian Government began a recruitment programme in the Azores which sought single men between the ages of 25 and 35 (some married men, however, were also included). These men were recruited mainly as farm and railway construction workers (Ferguson 1964: 25; Hamilton 1970: 65-67).

Since 1953, immigration to Canada from Portugal has risen substantially, steadily increasing through the '60s into the '70s and apparently reaching a peak in 1974 (see Table 1 above).

According to Canadian Manpower and Immigration statistics the total number of "Portuguese" who immigrated to Canada during the period 1946-1976 by last country of permanent residence was 141,850; according to citizenship the number is slightly higher--155,724; according to "Portugal" (Mainland and Insular Portugal) as place of birth, for 1946-1975 (at time of my revision-July, 1977--the 1976 figures for birthplace were not available) the number is 143,823.

The majority of "Portuguese" immigration by far has been from the Azores Islands. For the period 1953-1973, 61.2% (56,043) of "Portuguese" immigration originated from the Azores, 37.7% (34,558) from the mainland and only 1.1% (982) from Madeira (these percentage figures are from the Portuguese General Consulate in Toronto reported in Henry-Nieves 1975: 51-52). For the period 1963-73, 639 individuals arrived from Portuguese Macau. No long-term figures are available on immigration from any of the other (former) Portuguese overseas territories,

only recent, short-term figures are available (see Table 2); they show, as does the difference between birthplace and citizenship columns in Table 1, that the influx from non-European Portugal has been small.[23]

Table 2. Immigration to Canada according to Country of Last Permanent Residence.

	1973	1974	1975	1976
Continental and Insular Portugal	13,483	16,333	8,547	5,344
Angola	8	22	161	912
Cape Verde Islands	n.a.	n.a.	13	-
Guinea-Bissau	n.a.	3	-	-
Macau	91	109	105	134
Mozambique	14	47	106	252
S. Tomé and Príncipe	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Timor	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

(n.a. = not available)

Source: Immigration Statistics, Government of Canada, Manpower and Immigration, 1973-1976.

It is difficult to determine the present size of the "Portuguese" population in Canada for several reasons, among which are the facts that illegal immigration is reputed to be high[24] and that the last census in Canada is over seven years old.[25] Nevertheless, the 1971 Canadian Census can serve to give us an idea of a minimal population size.

According to various concepts that are used to classify populations

in the census, there were in 1971 between (roughly) 75,000 and 97,000 "Portuguese" in Canada (see Table 3).

Table 3. "Portuguese" Population in Canada and Provincial Distribution, according to Various Criteria in 1971.

	"Ethnic Group"[a]	Mother Tongue[b]	Language most often Spoken at Home
Canada	96,875	86,925	74,765
Newfoundland	340	135	140
Prince Edward Island	15	-	-
Nova Scotia	475	145	125
New Brunswick	195	70	30
Quebec	16,555	15,000	12,005
Ontario	63,145	57,345	51,445
Manitoba	3,815	3,570	3,245
Saskatchewan	275	210	110
Alberta	2,385	2,375	1,515
British Columbia	9,635	8,050	6,145
Yukon	70	5	-
North West Territories	25	15	-

Source: Various tables in the 1971 Canadian Census, Vol. 1, Pt. 3.

Explanations for Table 3:

a. In the census the heading "Ethnic Group" was explained in this way:

> In 1971, each person who received the same questionnaire was asked the question "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?" If applicable, the language spoken at that time by the person or by his or her paternal ancestor was used as a guide in determining the person's ethnic group.

b. According to the census "The mother tongue concept refers to the language a person first learned in childhood and still understands. In the case of infants this refers to the language

most often spoken at home."

c. The number includes infants in those homes in which Portugese is mainly spoken.

Since the 1971 census over 60,000 individuals have immigrated to Canada from Mainland and Insular Portugal. Allowing for some population increase due to births, considering the presence of illegal residents and assuming that most of the 60,000 plus legal immigrants remained in Canada, a conservative estimate of the Portuguese Canadian community (including those individuals born in Portugal and Canada) would be between 160,000 and 200,000 people.[26] Anderson and Higgs (1976) estimate the Portuguese population in Canada at 220,000.

Unfortunately, the Canadian Census does not give municipality breakdowns for "Portuguese",[27] only provincial distribution is given (see Table 3). Unofficial estimates place the largest concentrations of Portuguese-born and descendents in Toronto at 90,000 to 100,000 and in Montréal at 30,000 to 35,000.[28] Other Portuguese communities ranging in size from a few hundred to several thousand are located in the Province of Québec at Ste. Thérèse de Blainville, Schefferville, and Hull; in the Province of Ontario at Galt, Ottawa, Waterloo, Kingston, Hamilton, Brantford, and Kitchener; in British Columbia at Vancouver, Kitimat, and in the Okanagan Valley; in the Prairie Provinces at Winnipeg (Manitoba), Thompson (Manitoba), Calgary (Alberta), Edmonton (Alberta), and Regina (Saskatchewan); in Newfoundland at St. John's and Wabush Lake,

Labrador (Anderson 1974: 12; Canadian Citizenship Branch 1965).

To complete this general description of the Portuguese population in Canada it is necessary to mention the sex, age, and occupational distribution of this group. The sex distribution of the Portuguese population is now quite balanced. In the early days of Portuguese immigration mainly working age men (between 20 and 50 years of age) immigrated to Canada (see Anderson and Higgs 1976: 27-30). In recent years there has, however, been a sexual and age balance in immigration (for example, see Table 4) due to the fact Portuguese have immigrated with their spouses and children and because they now often sponsor the immigration of their parents. The range of ages of Portuguese immigrants has now expanded to include both the very young and the elderly (see Table 4). These facts, of course, suggest that social life in the Portuguese immigrant communities carries on in a comparable way to life in Portugal--i.e. there are courtships, marriages, births, christenings, first communions, etc.--in short, there is a full range of social events in the community which depends on a sexual balance and wide age distribution.

In the 1950s, when Portuguese first immigrated in large numbers to Canada, they came mainly to fill jobs as farm workers or railroad construction workers (see Ferguson 1964; Anderson and Higgs 1976: 18-34). Although many of the early workers left rural jobs and promptly went to the cities, they apparently continued in blue-collar jobs--e.g. factory or construction work. The tendency for Portuguese immigrants

Table 4. Age Groups and Sex Breakdown for Portuguese Immigrants by Last Country of Permanent Residence.

	1975		1974	
	males	females	males	females
Ages				
0 - 4	370	324	823	784
5 - 9	583	509	1,199	1,115
10 - 14	483	460	957	843
15 - 19	414	487	528	901
20 - 24	458	548	365	1,052
25 - 29	731	427	1,250	944
30 - 34	294	326	840	780
35 - 39	188	222	642	585
40 - 44	99	203	468	393
45 - 49	51	142	311	249
50 - 54	52	138	206	218
55 - 59	30	181	126	177
60 - 64	195	195	145	148
65 - 67	93	122	77	87
70 and Over	82	140	44	76
Total	4,123	4,424	7,981	8,352

Source: Canadian Immigration Statistics, 1975 and 1974.

---

to gravitate toward blue-collar jobs has continued (see Anderson 1974; Anderson and Higgs 1976). Although there is no census data on the occupations of Portuguese, immigration statistics on the intended occupations of Portuguese immigrants suggest that the Portuguese are working mainly in service, farming, fabricating, and construction jobs (see Table 5).

Table 5. Intended Occupations of Portuguese Immigrants by Last Country of Permanent Residence.

	1975	1974
Grand Total	8,547	16,333
Entrepreneurs	12	3
Managerial	20	11
Sciences	50	12
Social Services	7	4
Religion	2	3
Teaching	8	7
Medicine	9	12
Performing Arts	12	11
Sports + Recreation	2	2
Clerical	91	149
Sales	61	103
Service	233	895
Farming	239	712
Fishing + Hunting	12	24
Forestry	29	13
Mining	7	13
Processing	103	281
Machining	151	281
Fabricating	412	961
Construction	694	1,999
Transport	31	70
Material Handling	37	102
Equip. Operating	5	11
Others	533	698
Total: Destined to Labour Force	2,760	6,377

Source: Canadian Immigration Statistics, 1975 and 1974.

3.3. Before going on to describe the "Portuguese" in Montréal (section 4), it will be worthwhile to draw a few comparisons which will situate Canadian "Portuguese" in relation to expatriate Portuguese populations in general and, in particular, to contrast them with the United States Portuguese population with whom Canadian Portuguese have many contacts.

According to estimates published by the Portuguese Government, there were, at the end of 1973, 2,212,000 Portuguese residing in foreign lands. This number is very large considering that the places from which they come--Mainland and Insular Portugal--had at that time a combined population of about 9 million. The major countries where these expatriate populations resided is given below in Table 6.

Table 6. Portuguese Communities in Major Countries

France	800,000
Brazil	620,000
U.S.A.	160,000
South Africa	140,000
Canada	110,000
Germany	100,000
Venezuela	95,000
Argentina	40,000
Spain	26,000
Britain	24,000
Luxemburg	24,000
Zaire	20,000
Belgium	12,000
Australia	8,000
Rhodesia	8,000

Source: Movimento--Boletim Informativo das Forças Armadas No. 3 - 25 Out., 1974, p. 6, distribuido por O Seculo (Lisbon).

N.B. The explanation accompanying these figures stated that they were based on official statistics of diverse countries provided by diverse Portuguese Consulates. Unfortunately, the criterion of "Portuguese" is not explicitly stated, presumably figures include only those born in Continental and Insular Portugal who emigrated.

These 1974 figures placed Canada (110,000) as the fifth largest receiver of Portugal's emigrants.

Portuguese Government official emigration statistics for 1950-1969, presented and discussed in Antunes (1973), show the composition of United States and Canadian Portuguese immigrant populations to be different from those of other major receiving countries. Whereas in North America the Azoreans constitute the majority and Continentals a large but smaller proportion, in other countries--with the exception of Venezuela where a majority of immigrants are Madeiran--Continentals are the largest group (see Table 7).

Table 7. Composition of Official Emigration from Portugal in percentage, according to place of origin[a] and destination, 1950-1969.

	Continental	Azores	Madeira	Other Origins
France	100.0	0	0	0
Brazil	88.3	1.1	9.6	1.0
U.S.A.	37.6	59.0	0.7	2.7
South Africa	59.9	0.1	39.6	0.4
Canada	38.5	60.3	1.1	0.1
Germany	100.0	0	0	0
Venezuela	46.8	0.3	52.7	0.2

Source: Antunes 1973.

Explanations: "Official Emigration" is defined as leaving Portugal with a passaporte de emigrante (i.e. an exit permit).

a. Antunes notes that for the period he studies there was a change in the denotation used in Portuguese Government statistics. Up to and including 1960 "origin" meant place of birth (naturalidade), but beginning in 1961 it meant place of residence (1973: 23).

It is essential to note that the percentages in Table 7 are to be interpreted as rough approximations as they do not take into account clandestine migration. Also, the figures listed under "Other Origins" may be very deflated because, as Rogers (1974: 35) notes, Cape Verdeans are known to emigrate via Lisbon.

One significant difference between the United States and Canadian Portuguese which is not explicit in Table 7 is the fact that the United States has a substantial number of "Black Portuguese" --nearly all of whom are Cape Verdeans--and Canada does not. Current estimates of the U.S. Cape Verdean population (including Cape Verdean immigrants and their descendents) are in the range of 100,000 to 200,000 (Ward 1975). I know of no estimates of the Cape Verdeans in Canada but judging from the Canadian Government figures presented in Table 2, and from nearly five years contact with Portuguese in Montreal--during which time I did not meet or hear of more than a dozen Cape Verdeans--their number in Canada must indeed be small. The few Cape Verdeans in Canada, unlike the U.S. (see Rogers 1974), are not residentially or institutionally isolated.

Another factor which distinguishes Canadian and U.S. "Portuguese"

populations is their respective dates of first arrival. The United States experienced two major waves of Portuguese immigration; one wave began in the mid-1800s and lasted until the 1920s, and the other began in the 1950s. In contrast, the Portuguese influx into Canada is solely a phenomenon of the last quarter century. There are several implications of this difference. One is simply that when Portuguese arrived in Canada in the 1950s there were essentially no pre-established networks of friends or relatives to aid in their finding a job, locating a place to live, or dealing with Canadian bureaucracies; whereas those immigrating to the United States in the 1950s had the social benefits of sizeable Portuguese colonies which had existed for close to a hundred years. Another related difference involves what might be viewed as signs of assimilation. In the U.S., which has a Portuguese population of five generations depth, one frequently finds the anglicization of Portuguese surnames--e.g. Rodrigues is often changed to Rogers, Madeira is translated as Wood, Andrade to Andrews, Pereira to Peters (see Gonçalves 1971: 227, footnote 63), also Ferreira to Smith. This, however, has not yet occurred in Canada. Yet another distinction involves language. In Canada, most members of the Portuguese community were born in Portugal although there is now a population of young teenagers who are Canadian-born and educated. Whether born in Portugal or not, most of the community speak Portuguese as their mother tongue (see Table 3). Contrarily, in the United States many descendents of the 19th and early 20th century immigration do not speak fluent Portuguese (Anderson 1974: 13).

4. Montréal Portuguese

4.1. Although "Portuguese" immigrants and their children are located throughout the Island of Montréal and in the adjacent suburbs (e.g. in Longueuil), the most visible evidence of a sizeable population is in the centre of the City of Montréal in a two square kilometer area roughly bounded by Sherbrooke Street on the south, St. Hubert Street on the east, St. Joseph Boulevard on the north, and Park Avenue on the west.[29] Part of this area was once included in the village of Côteau St. Louis (later St. Louis du Mile-End), which was incorporated into Montréal in 1910 (Michaud 1974: 78); even today the area is often referred to as the St. Louis District or Quartier St. Louis.

This general area has been the first Canadian home for a succession of immigrant populations during this century. In the 1920s, 30s, and 40s this area was dominated by a large Jewish immigrant population.[30] In the 1950s Hungarians, Yugoslavians, Poles, Austrians, Dutch, Greeks and Italians made their appearance in the vicinity.[31] The 1960s marked the large scale arrival of Portuguese, and from the late 1960s to the present there has been a noticeable influx of people from Latin America and the Caribbean.

As if the area were a simple sum of its past, today it is strikingly multilingual and multicultural. One good illustration of this fact is that a bank in the centre of this area advertises its services in nine different languages. Another is the variety of

nationalities identifiable as having commercial establishments or voluntary associations in the vicinity. Judging from the language in which signboards are written and taking the self-definition of businesses (e.g. in their advertising) or club names at face value, the following groups are represented: Portuguese, German, Jewish, Dutch, Mexican, Yugoslavian, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Peruvian, Hungarian, Chinese, Spanish, Spanish-Galician, Breton, Russian, West Indian, Ukranian, Italian, Colombian, Argentinian, Chilean, Continental French, and Greek (and, of course, English and French Canadians). The majority of the businesses in the area are grocery stores, furniture stores, hardware shops, bakeries, restaurants, travel agencies, clothing shops, and taverns; they are located primarily on "The Main" as Boulevard St. Laurent (St. Lawrence Boulevard)--which was the main street of Montréal at the turn of the century--is sometimes called.

For the most part, groups presently represented commercially on "The Main" also have populations which live in the vicinity. One exception are the Jews, who have moved economically up and residentially out of the area. Remnants of the now departed Jewish population abound in the area and attest to the tremendous alteration in the area's "ethnic" composition. Particularly striking is the contrast between the original and the current uses of buildings. At present, for example, one former synagogue is now a Portuguese recreation club, while the former Jewish gymnasium presently houses

the Portuguese Catholic Mission Church.

An important characteristic of this area is the fact that although there may be statistically high concentrations of particular language or national groups, no group is geographically isolated as a homogeneous enclave. This contrasts the area strongly with the old Chinatown of Montréal which was totally Chinese and geographically isolated. Instead, individuals of diverse origins and tongues are spread throughout the area, almost randomly interspersed, and are living in physical proximity with each other. Despite physical proximity, the various groups are to a large extent socially and cognitively worlds apart. Most individuals seem to travel within a social sphere composed solely of compatriots. I became aware of this since I had some contact with the Spaniards and Hispano-Americans living in the area. In spite of the fact that Spaniards and Portuguese live, in many cases, next door to each other and although they both frequent some common cafés they are amazingly unaware of the activities of the other's community. This area may perhaps best be regarded as one in which a number of different ethnic communities contemporaneously reside yet exist independently in that each is constituted by (or may be viewed as maintaining) relatively autonomous personal, commercial, and social networks.

4.2. While there are many streets in this area which are strictly residential, there are several which are best characterized

as an intermingling of light factories, wholesalers (and their warehouses), retail outlets, and store-top apartments (e.g. on Boulevard St. Laurent, Rue Rachel and Rue St. Denis). The main industries in the area are garment and fur factories which, incidentally, employ many Portuguese, Italian, Greek, Spanish, and Latin American women.

Although there are some high-rise apartment buildings in the area, most people live in wooden-frame, brick veneered, row houses of turn of the century vintage. These houses generally contain two or three apartments, each of which consists of three to seven rooms. They are set close to the street (between about 2 to 6 metres from the curb); occasionally, the drab concrete front spaces being broken up by miniscule patches of lawn, flowers or vegetables.

While this area is often described in the local press and in tourist brochures as the "colourful" immigrant corridor of Montréal, one should not lose sight of the fact that it is a working-class area, much of which is characterized by low family incomes, over-crowding, inadequate heating equipment, inadequate insulation, old electrical wiring (which is a frequent cause of fires), and generally deteriorating superstructures. However, as Krohn and Duff (1972) have noted, since the influx of the Portuguese to the area the physical deterioration of housing has been stopped and even reversed to an amazing extent as Portuguese immigrants buy old and dilapidated houses and--with the help of a personal network of friends and relatives who reciprocate labour--completely renovate the houses while living in them.

4.3. There is a variety of indicators of the presence of Portuguese throughout this area.

First of all, there are the restaurant-cafés and shops which, if not including the words "Portugal" or "Portuguese" on their main signboard, advertise their identity with small Portuguese flags or little signs in a corner of a front window reading Casa portuguesa (Portuguese house or Portuguese firm). Other commercial establishments, even if not Portuguese owned, publicize their association with and interest in (at least to the extent of hiring Portuguese speakers) the Portuguese population by signs stating Fala-se português (Portuguese spoken). Also, voluntary associations publicize their identity with various graphic signs; one Portuguese club displays on the exterior of its headquarters an emblem consisting of the Portuguese coat-of-arms superimposed on a red maple leaf (the same symbol which is used on the Canadian flag).

Other striking--and to the non-Portuguese observer, curious--indicators of the Portuguese presence are the detailed multi-coloured religious scenes painted on tiles (complete with Portuguese captions) which are set into the brick exteriors of many houses, and the popular gold-coloured, plastic-rimmed reproduced paintings of Our Lady of Fatima or Santo Cristo dos Milagres (Holy Christ of Miracles) which are placed inside front-door entrances but are visible from the street.

Another trace of the Portuguese community is the numerous handbill-size and large posters weekly affixed to telephone poles and building walls advertising (in Portuguese) coming community events such as club

banquets, balls, movies, religious festas (festivals), or performances by vaudeville companies from Portugal. Since the 1974 coup a host of political posters (usually imported from Portugal) have made their appearance. These posters (and also automobile bumper stickers) celebrate the name of the Movimento das Forças Armadas (M.F.A.); proclaim the M.F.A.'s alliance and roots with the common people (O Povo); publicize the main political parties active in Portugal (e.g. the Portuguese Communist Party, the Portuguese Socialist Party, or the Popular Democratic Party); stress the importance of Portuguese emigrants morally and financially supporting A Pátria (The Homeland) and helping to create a Portugal Novo (New Portugal); and some call for the independence of the Azores Islands.

There is also audio evidence of the Portuguese presence; at least three stores pipe broadcasts of the Portuguese radio programs originating in Montréal, as well as short-wave programs received from Lisbon, or recordings of Portuguese folk or popular music through public address systems set up to play in the street.

Despite the evidence of a sizeable Portuguese population in their midst, most Montréalers seem unaware of their presence or underestimate their number. The lack of awareness by the general Montréal population of a Portuguese population is perhaps explained by the following: 1) most evidence of the Portuguese is hidden away on side streets where most Montréalers do not have occasion to go; 2) the period of time the Portuguese have been in any noticeable

strength is relatively short--ten to fifteen years--this contrasts with the Chinese, Italian, and Jewish communities whose presence stretch back to about the turn of the century; 3) signs or posters printed in Portuguese are easily mistaken for Spanish by non-speakers; 4) some group names frequently used in the community on store signboards --e.g. Açoreana, Micaelense or Luso--are unfamiliar to non-Portuguese and, consequently, do not suggest any association with the Portuguese; 5) non-Portuguese are usually unaware of the plethora of visible cues which are so obvious to Portuguese and earmark businesses, residences, and even automobiles as owned or used by Portuguese--e.g. pennants of Portuguese soccer teams (e.g. Benfica and Sporting), brightly painted ceramic statuettes of galo de Barcelos (a rooster which is part of a traditional Portuguese folktale), or decal stickers of the Portuguese flag; 6) it is also true that some Portuguese merchants or businessmen shy away from strongly asserting their "Portugueseness" because--as they state--they do not want to limit their clientele to solely Portuguese. There are a number of successful businesses which have been able to cater both to Portuguese and non-Portuguese clientele. For example, there is a Portuguese-owned and staffed bakery which still operates under the name of the former Jewish owners. Also, there are at least two "Spanish" restaurants owned and staffed by Portuguese who claim they actively project a southern "Spanish" image in cuisine, decoration, and music because the Canadian public is unacquainted with and seem not to be willing to spend money for Portuguese food and ambiance. Still

other firms publicly identify themselves with very general labels, e.g. Iberia or Latino, which refer to Portuguese as well as other groups such as Spaniards or Italians. In short, for anyone unfamiliar with the Portuguese language and a myriad of artifacts from Portuguese society, it is extremely easy to remain unaware of or underestimate the size of the Portuguese population.

4.4. The number and diverse kinds of services, goods, and activities available in the Portuguese language in Montréal is quite sufficient to allow some individuals to live day-in and day-out in a totally Portuguese milieu. I have compiled a list of over 160 (commercial, assistance, recreational, religious and political) concerns and organizations which are readily identifiable as catering to the Portuguese community (see Table 8).

Most of this list was compiled from newspaper articles or advertisements in the local Portuguese press, while a few entries have been included in the count on the basis of personal knowledge that the particular establishment is popularly known as being operated by and frequented by Portuguese.[32]

The range of facilities available to individuals is only hinted at by this list because it is a minimal listing and, more importantly, many concerns serve several needs or functions. For example, there is a bookstore which sells shoes, a barber shop which sells newspapers, and a travel agency which is also a Portuguese transfer bank. In addition, many travel agents do translations of legal documents (e.g. birth certificates and diplomas) and fill out income tax forms.[33]

Table 8. Type and Number of Commercial Firms, Social Agencies And Voluntary Associations in the Montréal Portuguese Community.

Type	Number
Advertising + Printing	2
Automotive	
Car Dealers (Portuguese owned + operated)	1
Publicized Portuguese Salesmen with Canadian Firms	5+
Service Stations + Garages	9
Banks	
Credit Union	1
Portuguese Branch Bank for Transferring Funds	3
Barber Shops + Hairdressers	6
Book, Magazine + Newspaper Shops	2
Churches	
Catholic Mission From Portugal	1
Evangelist	1
Pentecostal	1
Jehovah's Witnesses	1
Clothing	
Clothing Stores	4
Shoe Shops	2
Tailor Shops	1
Food Retailers	
Bakeries	4
Fish Markets	2
Grocery Stores + Meat Markets	23
Furnishings	
Drapery Shops, Furniture Rebuilding	2
Furniture + Home Appliances	7
Gift Shops	3
Hardware	6
Importing Firms	3
Jewellers	2
Magazines (locally written + printed)	1
Media	
Radio Programmes	3
Television (one hour on cable station)	1
Newspapers	4
Pharmacies	3
Photographers	2
Real Estate + Insurance Offices (including publicized Portuguese agents with Canadian firms)	10+
Record Shops	1

Table 8. (Continued)

Type	Number
Repairs	
Electrical	4
Electronic (Radio + Television)	3
Plumbing	4
Restaurants (including Bars, Cafés, Taverns)	12
Schools	
Supplemental Schools for Portuguese Emigrant Children	2
Music Schools	2
Social Services	
Dental	1
Legal Aid	1
Medical	2
Social Aid (Counselling + Referral)	3
Travel Agencies	7
Voluntary Associations	
Athletic Teams	1
Businessmen's Associations	2
Dance + Music Groups*	3+
Political	1
Social-Recreational	2
Youth	1

*excluding professional musicians.

For the purpose of putting the number and range of services and facilities into proper perspective, I should note that considering most Portuguese immigrants are either from the Azores Islands or rural areas of Portugal, the range of what is available to them in their own language in Montréal probably exceeds that which was available back home.

4.5. While the Portuguese of Montréal can be characterized to a certain extent as an enclave community (many individuals, of course, work and recreate with non-Portuguese), they nevertheless maintain substantial ties with the homeland and to a certain degree with other Portuguese communities in North America.

4.5.1. There are a variety of official, commercial, informational, and personal relations which tie the Montréal Portuguese community to Portugal:

a) There is the presence of a Portuguese General Consulate in Montréal which provides standard liaison services--e.g. preparing visas and passports--between individuals and the government in Lisbon. The Consul and Vice-Consul fulfill the role of providing an official Republic of Portugal presence at ceremonies, banquets, and other functions both inside and outside of the community. Since the 1974 coup, the consulate has become more active in the local Portuguese community; in fact, one staff member has been visiting the homes of Portuguese in order to survey their needs and problems.

b) Another official tie is the tourist and trade office (Portuguese National Tourist Office). Their main purpose is to provide information to Canadian businesses and individuals. However, they also have some contact with local Portuguese businessmen.

c) The Portuguese national airline--Transportes Aéreos Portugueses (T.A.P.)--is another official representation of the Portuguese Government in Canada. T.A.P. as a business participates in community activities to the extent that it subsidizes local events (e.g. The Miss Portugal of Montréal Contest, showings of Portuguese language movies, and live variety shows) by paying for newspaper advertising and printing of publicity posters (of course, such collaboration is publically acknowledged). Occasionally, T.A.P. donates round-trip

air tickets to Lisbon for use as prizes at festivals or contests. This airline also brings politicians, journalists, and performing artists to Canada for special events (e.g. in June 1974 for the Dia de Portugal several well-known singers of Portuguese revolutionary songs were flown to Montréal), or transports local Portuguese community leaders (e.g. the directors of the Portuguese radio and television programmes) to Portugal.[34]

d) The two emigrant schools--one sponsored by a Portuguese bank and the other by the Portuguese Catholic Mission--are another important tie. School age children attend classes in Portuguese language and social studies on Saturdays or on afternoons after attending regular Montréal public school classes. Upon completion of the Portuguese courses as well as the Montréal school board curriculum, the Portuguese Government issues a certificate recognizing the Canadian training as equivalent to that in Portuguese schools.

e) The Portuguese Catholic Church (Igreja de Santa Cruz) is an additional trans-Atlantic tie. In actuality it is a mission which is basically responsible to the Catholic Church hierarchy in Portugal who sends its priests. The mission is influential in the life of the community in that a few thousand people attend services weekly (its congregation is much larger than each of the other religious groups --the Evangelists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Pentecostals--which number collectively only in the hundreds). The weekly attendance, however, is low considering that Portuguese are almost all at least nominally Catholics. Nevertheless, the influence of the mission on the life

of many is perhaps best judged by the total attendance at baptisms, first communions, marriages, funerals, and holy day services (e.g. on Easter and Christmas).

The church becomes the centre of public community life on the occasion of several religious feasts. The most memorable occasions are those in which there are street celebrations (during Santo Cristo dos Milagres, São João, and Santo Antônio). On such occasions, the street area in front of the church is blocked off, a mass is celebrated outside in front of the church building, and a two kilometer procession (composed of children /dressed as nuns, angels, generals, saints, and monks/, marching bands, community leaders, and holy statues) is held through the streets of the area. Such festas (festivals) are widely attended (newspaper estimates place attendance at 10,000 to 15,000) partly for the spectacle and partly for the food, drink, raffles, games, and music which accompany them.

f) Branch offices of Portuguese-based banks are another institutional tie. I have already mentioned that one of the Portuguese branch office banks subsidizes a local emigrant school. In addition, like T.A.P., they subsidize local entertainment shows with their advertising support. These banks (not including the Portuguese community's credit union--Caixa de Economia Portuguesa) are not allowed by Canadian law to offer savings accounts, chequing accounts, or loans in Canada. Their main purpose is to transfer funds to (and from) Portugal for savings and investment.

It has often been acknowledged during the last several years in

the Lisbon press and official Portuguese Government statements that emigrant remittances have been a major source of national income in Portugal. The fact that there are three transfer branches in Montréal alone strongly suggests the importance and amounts of such funds.

g) Several Montréal-based Portuguese immigrant-owned importing/distributing firms add another link binding Montréal and Portugal. These companies and corporations secure and distribute a myriad of Portuguese products. They handle a variety of foodstuffs: olive oil, canned goods (fruits, vegetables, and sardines), dried cod (which ironically is caught in Eastern Canadian waters, dried and salted in Portugal, only to be shipped back to Canada), and fresh fish (which arrives twice a week by air). Other popular items also imported for the Luso-Canadian market are records, chinaware, regional handicrafts (e.g. wooden kitchen tools), crockery, religious items (portraits, statues, charms), books, periodicals, and shoes. All of these material items preserve to a great extent a bit of Portugália in the life of Portuguese immigrants.

h) Media ties are also important. Daily short-wave programmes are receivable from Lisbon. Also, the local Montréal Portuguese programmes frequently relay broadcasts of soccer matches and political speeches which they receive on short-wave. In addition, at least two daily Lisbon newspapers are available a day or two after publication, as well as weekly political newspapers--such as Avante (the newspaper of the Portuguese Communist Party), Expresso, A República (a socialist-

oriented newspaper), as well as the ever-popular sports paper A Bola.

i) In terms of light entertainment we also find the community well looked after. Each year perhaps ten commercial films are brought in from Portugal or Brazil. Also, during the course of a year, perhaps a dozen Portuguese companies of entertainers stop in Montréal on their way to Portuguese audiences in Toronto, New England, and California. Such shows range from performances by Amália Rodrigues (Portugal's best-known singer of Portugal's traditional song form, the Fado) in one of Montréal's best concert halls, to the current stars of radio and television, to music hall variety shows held on the local high school stage complete with singers, dancers, comedians, magicians, and ventriloquists.

j) Before the coup, interest in Portuguese politics by Montréal Portuguese was limited mainly to a small left-wing group (with less than one hundred active members) called the Movimento Democrático Português (which is not officially connected to an organization of the same name in Portugal). This group had for over a decade before the 1974 coup opposed the Salazar and Caetano regimes. Since the coup, participation in local political activities and interest in happenings in Lisbon has noticeably increased.

One important legislative alteration made by the post-April 25th, 1974 government which has allowed increased participation by Portuguese emigrants is the right to vote. The extension of suffrage to Portuguese emigrants is a change which markedly contrasts the attitude of the present

government with the previous regimes who treated expatriots as nonentities.

In 1974, the post-April 25th government instituted a programme called "Solidariedade Portuguesa 25 de Abril" (25th of April Solidarity), in which they encouraged Portuguese "Dentro e Fora do País" (Inside and Outside of the Country) to held construct "Um Portugal Novo" (A New Portugal) by remitting to the Lisbon government one day's salary. This programme, which was publicized as a personal effort which individual Portuguese could make to overcome the financial difficulties caused by the previous regime, was impressively received by the Portuguese and Luso-Canadian press which published long lists of contributors and by the many Portuguese individuals, who in total contributed tens of thousands of dollars. The reception and success of the programme goes far in illustrating the interest of Luso-Canadians in the affairs of their homeland.

k) In addition to all of these official and commercial bonds, there exist between the Montréal Portuguese community and Portugal strong personal ones. The simple fact that most families still have relatives in the homeland with whom they communicate by letter is as important as the fact that many send considerable remittances to aid their relatives. Such personal bonds with family and homeland are also expressed by the fact that many Portuguese return home every few years, and that nearly all verbally express the desire to do so. An attestation of this desire is suggested by the presence of numerous travel agencies catering to the Portuguese community and the fact that

even the Portuguese Catholic Mission sponsors charter flights to the Azores and Lisbon.

4.5.2. Relationships among Portuguese colonies in North America are detectable in terms of the flow of goods, information, and people:

a) There are considerable commercial ties among different communities (e.g. in Montréal, Toronto, and New Bedford, Massachusetts). For example, such items as canned foods and phonograph records are sold from one Portuguese firm to another. Also, there are a few immigrant-owned companies which own stores or restaurants in several communities.

b) In terms of media ties, there is one twenty-page monthly newspaper (O Lusitano) which is edited jointly in Newark (New Jersey) and Montréal and which carries news and advertisements from both Luso-American and Luso-Canadian communities. Other newspapers--e.g. Voz de Portugal (a weekly newspaper)--carry articles from other Portuguese colonies (e.g. Ottawa-Hull) and reprint letters from subscribers throughout Canada.

c) There are bonds between political groups: For example, during the last 15 years or so left-wing groups in Toronto, Montréal, and New England have held joint public and private meetings in different cities a few times a year. Usually such meetings have resulted in statements protesting the wars of the old regime or the denial of civil liberties.

d) In addition, there are strong personal ties between colonies.

Individuals often mention family in New England with whom they vacationed, a Portuguese friend they visited in another city, or the Canadian or Northeastern U.S. city they lived in before coming to Montréal.

5. Conclusion.

Ths chapter has presented a brief history of the Portuguese nation, an outline of Portuguese immigration to Canada, and a description of the Portuguese community in Montréal. My purpose in presenting this material has been to provide the reader with the necessary background for understanding the conceptualizations of Portuguese identity which are presented in the next chapter. Specifically, the point of this description has been to establish the historical depth of Portuguese identity, and the social reality of the Portuguese community in Montréal. In the next chapter the connotations (or cultural meanings) associated with the label "Portuguese" in social contexts in Montréal will be discussed as well as the meanings associated with "historical" explanations of ethnic category relations.

Footnotes

1. It might be argued that even the sketchy information presented in this section is too detailed to be likened to popular historical knowledge. I agree. For, like the average Canadian, the average Portuguese is simply not an historian--most people have large gaps in their knowledge of history and many have difficulty in keeping chronological order straight. However, the lack of historical expertise on the part of the general populace is not important in this context. What is important is that most Portuguese--literate or not--are generally familiar with group names such as Lusitanian, Celt, Iberian, and Latin, that such labels arise in the course of everyday-type discussions, and that there is a general awareness of these labels as ancestral group names.

2. Earlier inhabitants of Iberia--for example, the famous Cantabrian cave painters (who are best known through their paintings in Altamira) of 30,000 years ago--are best ignored in this context because there is only the vaguest public awareness that they have even existed. Also, and this is more important, there is no notion of such early men being related to any particular historically known population. In other words, early man is not regarded as linked to any present day nationality.

3. The name "Iberian" was a generic term used by the Greeks to include all tribal groups they found in possession of the

Footnotes (Continued)

peninsula (Atkinson 1965: 18). Ruth Way (1962: 77) suggests the term is derived from the language ancestral to modern Basque and probably means "Land of the /Ēbro/ River."

4. To this day the inhabitants of the coastal towns of Nazaré and Aveiro in central Portugal are taken in popular lore to be descendents of the Phoenicians.

5. As Marques notes:

> When the Romans conquered the Iberian Peninsula and civilized it permanently (second century B.C. to first century A.D.) they found in the west several native peoples whom they classified and labelled. To the north of the Douro lived the Gallaeci, subdivided into Lucenses (roughly to the north of the Minho) and Bracari (to the south of the Minho). . . . South of the Douro the Lusitani were dwelling. The Guadiana basin was populated with Celtici. In the southernmost part were the Conii or Cunei. Of these groups, the Gallaeci and the Lusitani were the most important, and only they prevailed in geography and administration. Between Lusitani and Celtici there were no great differences in degree and form of civilization, for the Lusitani were most probably native peoples who had been celticized (1972: (1) 8-9).

6. The "Lusitanians" are of some interest in this study because they are the earliest people to whom modern Portuguese as a group trace ancestry. It is after that group that Portuguese refer to themselves as lusitanos or lusos; the latter term is frequently and popularly used in forming hyphenated population labels such as luso-canadiano, luso-quebecense and luso-americano.

Footnotes (Continued)

7. It is from among the Lusitanians that nationalistic Portuguese have selected their first heroic ancestor, Viriatus, a shepherd of the 2nd century B.C. who was a central figure in resistance against the Romans. As is written in Pedro Carvalho's primary school history text which was, until recently, used in 4th grade classes throughout the Portuguese education system:

> O nome de Viriato jamais foi esquecido, e a sua memória continua viva num monumento levantado na cidade de Viseu. É que Viriato representa bem a coragem e a lealdade dos Lusitanos, e os Portugueses parece terem herdado as virtudes daquele povo que foi nosso antepassado (1973: 15).
>
> /The name of Viriatus was never forgotton, and his memory continues to live on in a monument raised in the city of Viseu. Viriatus well represents the courage and loyalty of the Lusitanians, and the Portuguese appear to have inherited the virtues of those people who were our ancestors./

8. The Swabian and Visigoth periods have left little impression on Portuguese language, culture, and society (Livermore 1972: 279). Consequently, those occupations are in great contrast to the Roman occupation. Whereas the Celtiberians had learned Latin and assimilated Roman culture, the Hispano-Romans did not to any great extent adopt the ways of their conquerors. It is claimed, for instance, that the Visigoths came to speak Latin and that they were culturally absorbed. The Visigoth period, then, essentially marks the breaking of political ties with Rome rather than a break in the continuity of Latin cultural-linguistic tradition (see Atkinson 1965: 35-44).

Footnotes (Continued)

9. The place know as Oporto in English is simply Porto in Portuguese; the letter o which prefixes the English version is simply the masculine definite article in the Portuguese language. It is from Porto (which was the Roman Portus Cale) that the names Portugal and Portuguese derive. Originally, a person from Porto was called a Portucalense, or Portugalense (Livermore 1965: 274; Vasconcellos 1936: 221-225).

10. Although one can recount many significant events which occurred in the period from the mid-17th century to the beginning of the 19th century, most are of no importance in the present context because they do not bear on the populational or territorial denotation of being Portuguese--that is, the events did not alter Portuguese jurisdiction or boundaries. One exception was the bestowing of the Portuguese colonies of Bombay and Tangier on Charles II of England as a dowry for Catherine of Bragança (daughter of King John of Portugal) in 1662. This dowry reinforced the Anglo-Portuguese alliance and resulted in Portugal gaining arms and men for her struggle against Spain.

11. For information on the organization of the coup see Kramer (1974). For description and analysis of post-April 25th, 1974 politics in Portugal see Maxwell (1975), Fallaci (1975), Bruce (1975), the Insight Team of the Sunday Times (1975), and Fields (1976).

Footnotes (Continued)

12. The names of the traditional regions and also most city names are adapted to form words for denoting individuals and populations. For example, a person from Minho is a minhoto, from Algarve an algarvio, from Braga a bracarense, from Lisbon a lisboeta. Other population labels which are adapted from city or region names are trasmontano (Trás-os-Montes), beirão (Beiras), ribatejano (Ribatejo), estremenho (Estremadura), alentejano (Alentejo), vimarense (Guimarães), eborense (Évora). Some labels are based on ancient historical ties; e.g. a person from Beja is called either a bejense or pacense--the latter name derives from the Old Roman name of Beja which was Pax Julia; a person from Coimbra is known as a coimbrão or conimbricense --the second name derives from the Roman city of Conimbrigum which preceeded Coimbra. Some cities also have popular nicknames; e.g. a person from Porto is called a portulense but also a tripeiro (tripe eater); a Lisboan is known as lisboeta but also as an alfacinha which is a diminutive derived from Alfama, which is the old section of Lisbon.

13. Both the Azores and Madeira Islands were settled chiefly by immigrants from Continental Portugal. However, Spaniards, Flemings, Arabs, African slaves, and individual French and British soldiers are also documented as having settled on these islands (Taft 1923).

Footnotes (Continued)

14. There are also population labels which correspond to individual islands. The most commonly heard are micaelense (São Miguel) and faialense (Faial).

15. Antônio de Figueiredo in an article in the Manchester Guardian (January 11, 1975) entitled "Islands set course for new horizons" notes that M.A.P.A. (the Movement for Self-Determination of the Azores People) is supported by many of the "conservative-minded people, including the landed and trading families" and that in M.A.P.A.'s propaganda it is not clear whether the movement supports complete independence or simply a measure of autonomy.

16. Several of the overseas provinces were divided into administrative districts, however, such detail is superfluous for our purposes.

17. Corresponding to this definition was Salazar's and Caetano's view of the wars in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. According to them the uprising in Portuguese-held Africa could not be seen in the context of colonialism but as a leftist-led attempt to overthrow Portugal--i.e. they were not considered by the pre-25th of April, 1974 regimes to be wars of liberation but insurrection.

18. The body of published materials on the Portuguese in North America, let alone Canada, is by any standards quite small (see

Footnotes (Continued)

Anderson 1970). Among these works which deal specifically with Portuguese in Canada are: Anderson (1974), Anderson and Higgs (1976), Bieler Brettell (1977), Ferguson (1964, 1966), Hamilton (1970), Henry-Nieves (1975), Romão (1973). Among those works which deal with Portuguese in North America, or specifically in the U.S. are: Holmes (1937), Leder (1968), Pap (1949), Rogers (1974), Roucek (1945), Smith (1974), Taft (1923), Trueblood (1977), Vaz (1965).

19. Some claim that Pedro de Barcelos reached Newfoundland in 1492 and João Fernandes, o lavrador (the farmer), reached the Labrador Peninsula in 1495 (Hamilton 1970: 64). It is more generally accepted that Gaspar Corte-Real reached Newfoundland in 1501 and explored as far as Placentia Bay (Canadian Citizenship Branch 1967: 262). In 1501 Gaspar and his brother Miguel explored the coast of Labrador. In 1502 Miguel is known to have set out to explore the coast of Massachusetts; details of his explorations are unknown because he never returned to Portugal (Vaz 1965: 22). In 1542 João Rodrigues Cabrilho (Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo as the Spanish record his name) explored the California coast as the commander of a Spanish fleet (Vaz 1965: 28).

20. See Keating (1968: 75). Also, there is an excellent short film called "The White Fleet" on the Portuguese cod fishers which is

Footnotes (Continued)

available through the Canadian National Film Board.

21. Ferguson (1964: 25) notes that on June 9th, 1963 the Portuguese of Toronto held a festival celebrating the tenth anniversity of their arrival in Toronto. The date and month, however, are quite arbitrary. The date of June 9th seems to have been chosen because it was closest to June 10th, which is Dia de Camões (the birthday of Luis de Camões)--which is also known as Dia da Raça (literally Day of the Race)--a national holiday in Portugal.

22. This information derives from letters deposited in the Canadian Ethnic Archives in Ottawa (Files on "Portuguese Immigration and Canadian Policy," 1929-1954; number RG76, volume 201, file 85380).

I should like to note that these files contain intra-governmental correspondence which reveals strong prejudicial attitudes underlying the exercise of immigration policy during the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. For example, the files show there were a number of Portuguese applicants for immigration to Canada whose visas were refused and rationalized, in intra- and inter-departmental communications, on the basis that Portuguese would be unable to adjust to the cold Canadian climate or that their southern European "mentality" would prevent their assimilation.

Footnotes (Continued)

23. Canadian Government immigration statistics do not list former Portuguese India separately. Of course, in a de facto sense, they have been under Indian rule for 15 years. However, I should note that the Portuguese Indians, and primarily the Goans who make up their largest group, do identify as being "Portuguese" and they are quite different from the Indians in that they speak Portuguese, have Portuguese surnames (like Gomes), and are usually Christians.

24. Antunes notes that according to Portuguese Government figures, clandestine emigration from 1970-72 ran two to three times that of legal emigration. Most of the illegal migrants went to France, which received clandestine Portuguese emigrants at the rate of four to five times that of legal emigrants (1973: 92). Anderson's study of male Portuguese blue-collar workers in Toronto suggests that illegal Portuguese immigration to Canada may be significant but not as high as to European countries. From a random sample of 250 men, Anderson was able to have 201 interviewed and, of the interviewees, 13% had entered Canada illegally (1974: 121).

25. It is important to distinguish between immigration figures and census figures. The immigration figures only record permanent entries, and do not reflect the number of Portuguese "tourists" who work illegally in Canada. In addition, immigration statistics

Footnotes (Continued)

do not account for births, deaths, or return migration to Portugal. Census figures supposedly provide an accounting of all people actually residing in Canada at a certain date. The problem with the census, of course, is the obvious one that illegal immigrants will possibly attempt to escape the notice of census gatherers.

26. According to the Portuguese Consulate in Toronto, there are about 150,000 people of Portuguese extraction in Ontario, between 90,000 and 100,000 of them in Metro Toronto (The Globe and Mail /Toronto/, January 22, 1975, Page 5). These figures are higher than the ones I have given in the text; apparently they include a higher estimate of illegal immigrants.

27. The reason for not listing the Portuguese in the figures on ethnic groups in individual municipalities was obviously not based on the numerical insignificance of the Portuguese, for there were populations which were individually listed that were smaller than the "Portuguese" ethnic group (96,875). These other populations were Austrian (42,120), Czech (57,840), Russian (64,475), Slovak (24,030), West Indian (28,025). It would be interesting indeed to discover the logic employed in reporting such data.

28. The figures for Montréal Portuguese are those most often cited in the Portuguese Canadian press.

Footnotes (Continued)

29. This area is composed of census tract numbers 132 through and including 139, plus 161 and 163. The total population was (in 1971) 38,818, which put the population density at close to 18,000 persons per square kilometer. While this area is where the most visible evidence of the Portuguese is, I know from personal experience that there are also many Portuguese who live within an area a few kilometers to the north and east. It is impossible to give an exact figure or percentage on the Portuguese in this area because, as I said before, the Canadian Census does not provide such breakdowns on the Portuguese.

30. A number of novels have been written about life in this area when it was predominantly Jewish. Best known perhaps are the works by Mordecai Richler such as The Street, St. Urbain's Horsemen, and The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz.

31. Italians have been coming to Montréal since before the turn of the century but in the 1950s the number of Italian immigrants increased substantially (see Boissevain 1970).

32. Table 8 includes only concerns existing at the time of writing. Taking all Portuguese-oriented establishments since the beginning of the Portuguese arrival would easily raise the number to several hundred as there have been numerous short-lived businesses and some now defunct clubs, e.g. an Azorean club.

Footnotes (Continued)

33. Despite the fact that many concerns handle various kinds of merchandise or dispense various kinds of services, I have counted each but once in List 1.

34. The Canadian-owned airline Canadian-Pacific, which competes with T.A.P. on the Lisbon-Montréal route, also provides similar community support; for example, by subsidizing advertising of community events.

V. SITUATIONAL AND CLASSIFICATORY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CATEGORY "PORTUGUESE"

1. Focus

The previous chapter focussed on predominant denotations of the label "Portuguese" in historical and social contexts. This chapter, in contrast, discusses the connotations associated with being Portuguese.

There are two distinct kinds or classes of connotations discussed in this chapter. One type involves the situational connotations associated with being Portuguese in an immigrant community in Montréal (section 2). The other type of connotation involves the ideological or "historical" classification of Portuguese identity (section 3). This distinction between situational and classificatory meanings is, I believe, essential for analysing the cultural significance of ethnic labels. The situational meanings are those which are context-specific and relevant in the "micro" social situation; in the present study, such meanings concern the local connotations associated with being Portuguese in an enclave situation. The classificatory meanings are those which are, in a sense, "macro" or "historical"; these connotations are not specific to the context of the Montréal Portuguese community. The classificatory meanings are ones which are based on general assumptions of Portuguese culture; that is, the meanings associated with ethnic group classification are tied to cultural propositions which are used in Portuguese culture to organize knowledge.

Since, at this point, the reader has not seen my description and analysis of Montréal Portuguese ethnicity, the preceding paragraph about the situational, "micro," local, context-specific meaning of "Portuguese" and the classificatory, "macro," historical, ideologically-relevant meanings of Portuguese identity may strike him or her as vague, or even, incomprehensible. It is, however, possible to differentiate more rigorously between the two types of ethnic label connotations. The situational meanings of "Portuguese" concern those instances in which "Portuguese" is defined as a category which is in contrast to another exclusive category. For example, such situational meanings deal with "Portuguese" when it is opposed to, say, the category "Canadian." The classificatory meanings of "Portuguese" concern those situations in which "Portuguese" is taken to be in a relationship of inclusion with another category. That is, classificatory meaning deals with those situations in which "Portuguese" is included in another category--e.g. Latin, Celt, or Lusitanian--or when "Portuguese" is viewed as including another category--e.g. Azorean, Angolan, Brazilian, or Algarvian.

Below I will argue that in those situations in which ethnic labels are defined solely as exclusive and contrastive categories that an ethnic label's meaning is variable and not formally limited--although meanings are conceptually organized (see section 2.6. and 5.1.). However, in contrast, I will suggest that in those situations where an ethnic label is placed in a relationship of inclusion with another label (either as subsuming or subsumed label) that meaning is formally

limited. Furthermore, my argument is not that label subsumption (also read: category inclusion) always conveys the same, single meaning but that the various meanings conveyed by (i.e. are associated with) the principle of inclusion are classified in a single way. To be more specific, I suggest that category inclusion is linked to ideologies of derivation (or more simply "descent") and authority (or "domination") and that relationships relevant to these ideologies are conceptually organized in the same way.

2. Being "Portuguese" in Montréal

This section shows being "Portuguese" in Montréal to have a variety of connotations, and that the connotations change--sometimes being completely reversed--with alterations in the definition of context. The discussion here of contradictory connotations--e.g. low status/high status, foreign/native, private identity/public identity --necessitates examining the label"Portuguese" in relationship to other group labels, for example "Canadian," and also, in light of the social significance of the notions of "community" and "migration."

Before discussing connotations of the label "Portuguese" it will be useful to first consider the notion held by Portuguese in Montréal of their "community" for it plays a considerable role in making contradictory connotations intelligible.

2.1. The term a comunidade (the community) is used to denote both a human population and a location.[1] Some phrases frequently used as equivalents of the "community" which suggest its populational meaning are: a colónia portuguesa (the Portuguese colony), nosso grupo étnico

(our ethnic group), nossos compatriotas (our fellow countrymen), a família lusa desta cidade (the Lusitanian family of this city), a gente lusíada radicada aqui (the Lusitanian people settled here), os luso-canadianos de Montréal (the Luso-Canadians of Montréal), and os luso-quebequenses (or quebecenses) de Saint-Louis (the Luso-Quebecers of Saint Louis District of Montréal). Spatial-geographic meaning is suggested by the substitution of the following phrases for a comunidade portuguesa: onde moram os portugueses (where the Portuguese live), o bairro português (the Portuguese ghetto), a vizinhança portuguesa (the Portuguese neighbourhood), a zona portuguesa (the Portuguese zone) and--as a few people who stress the rural origins of most of the immigrants call it--a aldeia portuguesa (the Portuguese village).

The physical limits of this community are by no means well defined. While there is tacit agreement about where recreational, political, and commercial activities take place, as well as where most Portuguese live in Montréal, the physical boundaries of the area are unclear and seem to be a matter of little concern. Likewise, membership in the community is a hazy matter. Being part of the Portuguese community is sometimes taken as meaning all individuals who are classifiable as Portuguese, but more frequently, refers to those individuals who interact as, and have an active interest in the affairs of Montréal's Portuguese immigrant population. Both the interactional and locational bases of the community concept are evident in statements which assert or deny membership; for example, it is said that someone is "not one of the community anymore" because he "doesn't go around with Portuguese people"

or because he "lives outside of the Portuguese area."

Who is "really" a part of the "community" is a question to which one finds different answers given by different people at different times.[2] In short, the operational definitions of the "community" vary. In the context of this chapter, however, such variability is of little concern. What is of interest is that the term "community" is representative of a distinction between inside and outside of the group, and that the connotations of being "Portuguese" change as one crosses the conceptual boundary of the "community."

In the following subsections discussion will return to the notion of the "community" and its role in organizing various meanings of being "Portuguese."

2.2. Being "Portuguese" in Montréal usually connotes being an imigrante (immigrant), recém-chegado (recent arrival), estrangeiro (foreigner) or forasteiro (stranger). These associations exist to the extent that even children born in Canada of Portuguese parents are referred to as "immigrant" children. Distinguishing the Portuguese as recently arrived foreigners is sometimes couched in other terms such as neo-canadiano (New Canadian), neo-quebequense (New Quebecer), or quebequense de origem portuguesa (Quebecer of Portuguese Origin). While such terminology may not be intended to be derogatory or degrading, it often serves such ends. By separating the "New" Canadians from the "Old" Canadians (or "Founding Races"--as current official government terminology christens British and French stocks in Canada) a distinction is maintained between "foreign" and "native" elements in Canadian society.

--a contrast which is evaluated in terms of what might be called social worth, respect, or prestige.[3]

It is acknowledged by some that being "Portuguese" in Montréal --being a foreigner or outsider to both Canadian and Quebecois life --is somewhat of a stigmatized identity. As various Portuguese in Montréal have stated: "We are treated as second-class citizens in this country;" "We are looked down upon as stupid because we don't speak their language well;" "We, immigrants, are at the bottom of the society." There is, then, a conscious awareness by Portuguese that they are often not regarded as status equals with the Anglophone and Francophone Canadians--some Portuguese-Canadians state that they feel they are not regarded as "real" Canadians. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to attribute their feelings of inferiority and marginality to overtly hostile acts or xenophobic statements on the part of Anglophones and Francophones. No doubt there are derogatory remarks exchanged on occasion, however, it seems that generally social relations proceed quite agreeably. Instead, the state of relationships between Portuguese immigrants and the "Old" Canadians is perhaps better characterized as one of indifference.

Typically, Portuguese note (or more accurately complain) that Canadians know nothing of Portuguese culture, history, or society; that many Canadians think Portuguese are Spanish speakers or that they speak a dialect of Spanish (this is a particularly sore point for Portuguese because their language is a revered symbol of pride and distinctiveness); that Canadians do not know (or care) of the number

of Portuguese in their midst or about their socio-cultural contributions; that Canadians are generally unaware of Portugal's part in the early exploration of Canada. Some Portuguese blame this indifference on Canadian ethnocentrism, while others see the recentness of their group's mass arrival as well as linguistic and cultural barriers as preventing Portuguese from making a noticeable impact on the Canadian public.

Whatever the real causes, the depiction of Canadians as indifferent to the presence, needs, and desires of the Portuguese immigrants seems to be an apt characterization, for various pieces of major research on the "other ethnic groups" in Canada seem to also reach the same conclusion,[4]

While, as individuals, Portuguese experience acceptance, rejection, respect, and disregard by Canadians to varying degrees, nearly all acknowledge there exists at least subtle indicators of a negative evaluation of being Portuguese in Canada. Even if few outright reminders of inferior status confront individuals[5], it is to be remembered that an overtly low evaluation of being Portuguese as well as indifference amounts to much the same thing--a non-positive evaluation of social worth.[6]

The notion of the "community" is of interest here because it is associated with the conceptual reversal of negative connotations of being Portuguese.

The depiction of the Portuguese as foreigner--that is, the correlation that Canadian : Portuguese :: non-foreigner : foreigner--

is accepted as the view prevalent "outside" of the community. However, "inside" the community this correlation is reversed; that is, the non-Portuguese are regarded as the foreigners. The reversal is evidenced in the altered referents of such terms as foreigner and stranger; for example, in the community press and in ordinary conversation the term estrangeiro ("outsider" or "foreigner") is used to refer to non-Portuguese.[7] Individuals constantly encounter the contradictory connotations of being Portuguese, but with the use of the notion of community they can relegate different meanings to different contexts: "outside" the community a "Portuguese" is a foreigner, but "inside" the community a "Portuguese" is a non-foreigner.

The status evaluation of being Portuguese also changes as one shifts from connotations prevalent "outside" to "inside" of the community. While "outside" of the community being "Portuguese" may carry a stigma of inferiority, "inside" it is esteemed and one is encouraged to be and to act Portuguese.[8]

There are various ways in which members of the community attempt to foster positive evaluations of being Portuguese. For instance, one commonly comes across speeches by the Portuguese Consul, or articles in the community press which draw on the rich history of Portugal in order to demonstrate that present day Portuguese have a legacy to be proud of.[9]

Another counter argument to the low evaluation of being Portuguese are rationalizations which reject the characterization of Portuguese

being recent intruders to Canada. Some dismiss the label of newcomer by pointing to 15th and 16th century exploration of eastern Canada, which placed the Portuguese in contact with Canada before either the English or French.[10] Others argue for the equal status of Luso-Canadians with Anglophones and Francophones on the basis they are all intruders to Canada:

> The population of Canada is made up of emigrants; if we consider the Eskimos and Indians as exceptions, all the rest are descendants of the many who came generations ago. (My translation. Lusitano /Montréal/, Fevereiro/Março, 1973, Ano IX, No. 170/171, p. 5).

In essence, the community is not only where being Portuguese is esteemed but is also a forum for developing respect for their collective identity.

2.3. For Montréal's Portuguese, being an immigrant to Canada is only half the picture, for they are also simultaneously emigrants from Portugal. Their position as emigrants and the connotations which that role carries is best understood in relationship to the concept of a pátria (the homeland or fatherland) or a nação portuguesa (the Portuguese nation). There are two views of the relationship between the Montréal Portuguese community and the pátria or nação. One is that the community is considered to be part of the pátria in which case it is regarded as an overseas extension of Portuguese life and society. The other interpretation is that the community is not part--it is "outside" -- of the nação, in which case Portuguese society is taken as ending at the Portuguese State's physical frontiers. The

first perspective views the pátria or nação as all people called "Portuguese," whereas the second closely ties the people to land boundaries and political jurisdiction. These contrasting definitions are important for comprehending the varied values placed on being an emigrant.

While these two contradictory views of the relationship between the Montréal immigrant community and the pátria are expressed in ordinary conversation, they are also reflected in the contrasting policies of the Portuguese Government found to exist before and after the 1974 coup.

While the Salazar and Caetano regimes were in power, there were periodic calls in the local Montréal Portuguese press for gestures by the Portuguese Government of respect for Portugal's emigrants. In particular, many emigrants requested the right to vote in Portuguese elections (despite the fact that they were outside of the homeland). Recurrently, the denial of this franchise was noted as a symbol that Portuguese emigrants were regarded as "second-class Portuguese." Often it was argued that this denial was unjust because emigrants greatly contributed to the well-being of the economy of the Portuguese Republic by the massive sums of money they sent home to relatives.[11]

With the 1974 coup, the official status of emigrants began to change. The Armed Forces Movement (M.F.A.), who engineered the coup and took over the government administration, explicitly recognized the emigration of millions of Portuguese during the previous regimes

not to have been the result of any defect in the character of emigrants.[12] Instead, the massive emigration was seen by the M.F.A. as a reflection of the policies of the previous regimes which sacrificed the economic development of Portugal for the pursuit of costly wars against the African liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique. It was the lack of economic development that the M.F.A. saw as necessitating the massive emigration. In an effort to eliminate the alienation of expatriot Portuguese and the stigma associated with being emigrants, the April 25th, 1974 Provisional Government initiated propaganda campaigns in Portuguese emigrant enclaves throughout the world. One part of that campaign (already mentioned in Chapter IV.4.5.1., point j), suggested the commonality of Portuguese inside and outside of the country by asserting that it was the moral duty of both to help construct a new Portuguese society. Also, as an official gesture of the equality of emigrants with those at home, the right to vote was granted them.

The following quote most aptly illustrates the point discussed above--that being an emigrant is associated with inferiority and being an outsider. It was published in the Montréal-based newspaper Voz de Portugal shortly after the 1974 coup when the intentions of the new regime were unclear:

> Above all, in respect to the Government's /at the time only proposed/ election. . . not only does it belong to the Portuguese who reside on Lusitanian soil, but also in great part to those who live in foreign lands. It is time to end the idea that the

> emigrant is a debased element, unable to succeed in our own country. Since we well perceive that it is demanding for an emigrant to survive in societies so different and sometimes so hostile, we should accept the fact that we, emigrants by necessity or by the spirit of adventure, are as good or as bad Portuguese as those who live within the territorial limits of Portugal. We all make up part of the Portuguese people. (My translation. Voz de Portugal /Montréal/, Ano XIV, No. 557, 17 de Maio de 1974, p. 1).

These examples clearly point out that the status of emigrant connotes inferiority when the Montréal Portuguese community is considered as "outside" of (i.e. alienated from) the pátria, and that the connotation of inferiority is cancelled with the defining of the community as part of or "inside" the pátria.

Thus, in the case of both immigrant status and emigrant status we see that the distinction between inside and outside of the group, community or pátria serves to conceptually organize contradictory connotations of high status and low status by relegating each to separate conceptual realms.

2.4. The conceptual distinction between "public" and "private" spheres is also related to both the community concept and being Portuguese.

Montréal Portuguese are heard to say that being "Portuguese" in Canada is a "private" matter. As some Portuguese immigrants depict their situation, they have one identity in the "house"--Portuguese--which is restricted to use within a small circle of relatives and friends, and another identity in the "street"--Canadian--which is relevant to activities, rights, and duties in

the general Canadian society.[13]

In contrast to the perspective which characterizes being Portuguese as a private identity which is irrelevant to interactions in the wider Canadian society, there is also the definition of Portuguese as the appropriate identity for "public" life within the community. The defining of Portuguese as an appropriate or inappropriate "public" identity is illustrated by commanding statements from members of the Portuguese community to one another to "not speak Portuguese, this is a Canadian place," or "speak Portuguese in here, this is part of the community."[14]

The conceptualization of "Portuguese" as a "public" identity which is relevant for partaking in the collective life of the community is interesting for it is understood as a quality which undergoes development. For example, it is stated by members of the community that "the Portuguese had no 'public life' 15 years ago, but that today /in the 1970s/ they have a virtually complete community with clubs, newspapers, and many businesses which allows individuals to carry on almost all their affairs in a Portuguese milieu." In short, the "public" aspect of Portuguese identity in Montréal is seen as a fact of recent creation.

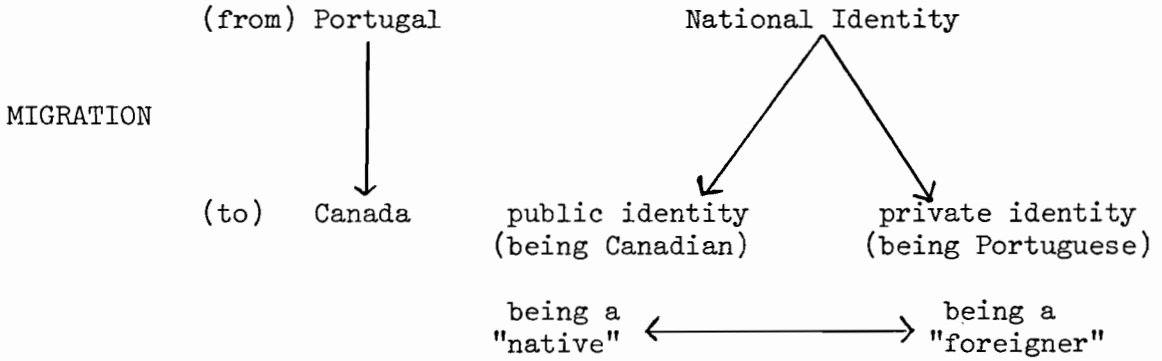
My point here is simply that the contradicition between "Portuguese" being a public and a private identity in Montréal is reconciled by the conceptual boundary of the community. From one perspective (i.e. a "Canadian" view--from "outside" of the community), "Portuguese" is a private identity, but from another (i.e. the view from "inside" the

community boundaries), being "Portuguese" is a public identity.

2.5. Whereas the "community" can mediate and transform the connotation of private identity into public identity, it is the act of emigration from Portugal which initially and conceptually splits a Portuguese's national identity into private and public spheres and which makes a person "Portuguese" at home and "Canadian" in the street.

In Portugal there exists the conceptual distinction between one's public and private lives. There, however, no one speaks of being "Portuguese" in the street and not "Portuguese" at home, not vice versa. While the public/private distinction is used to contrast, for example, one's political and occupational affairs with personal and family matters, it is simply irrelevant to the notion of "being Portuguese" in Portugal. With migration, however, when one because a Canadian immigrant and simultaneously a Portuguese emigrant, a conceptual bifurcation occurs.

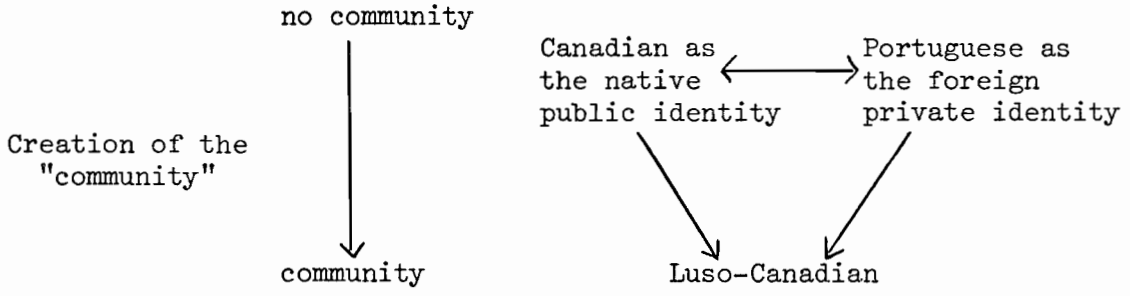
The idea and fact of migration transforms a native into a foreigner, and an "insider" into an "outsider." It bifurcates one's national identity and (at least from a "Canadian" perspective) relegates being "Portuguese" to a private sphere. We might diagram this transformation in the following manner:



To recapitulate, migration from Portugal to Canada splits national identity, makes "Portuguese" a <u>private</u> identity, recognizes "Canadian" as a <u>public</u> identity, and transforms the definition of "Portuguese" from being a <u>native</u> identity (in Portugal) to being a <u>foreign</u> identity (in Canada).

In contrast to the concept and act of migration, the notion of the "community" serves to <u>reverse</u> the connotations resulting from migration. It does so by making "Portuguese" a public identity, and, as we have already seen, by changing the connotation of "Portuguese" from being "foreign" to "native."

The conceptual transformation which accompanies the formation of the notion of "community" can diagrammatically be represented as:



That is, the creation of the "community" mediates the native/

foreigner, and public/private distinctions, and results in a new identity which overcomes the connotations resulting from migration. The new identity of Luso-Canadian (or Portuguese-Canadian) is analytically recognizable as a conceptual mediator--even to the extent that it formally unites hitherto contrasting categories in a hyphenated form.[15]

2.6. The intent here has only been to describe the conceptual environment associated with being "Portuguese" in Montréal. For purposes of illustration, I have focussed mainly on meanings attributed to "Portuguese" as it is contrasted with "Canadian;" parallel remarks could be made in discussing the relationship between "Portuguese" and "Québécois" in terms of respect, nativity, and privacy distinctions, for the "Portuguese" are often considered to also be outside of Québécois society.

We have seen that the label "Portuguese" takes on a variety of connotations when it is contrasted with the label "Canadian," and, furthermore, that contradictory connotations make sense when considered in light of the notions of "community" and "migration." In considering the various connotations of being "Portuguese" with respect to the homeland (Portugal), the "host" society (Canada), and the enclave community in Montréal, a holistic description of associated, situational meanings has been achieved. The result is that the contradictory connotations of being "Portuguese," each of which are situationally asserted and denied, are seen as a coherent conceptual environment. The sense of coherence stems here mainly

from the realization that the situational connotations of being "Portuguese" are not isolated meanings, but rather, that they constitute a system. That is, the situational meanings in actuality are transformations of one another which are associated with different contexts.

3. Cultural Meanings of Ethnic Group Classification

The preceding section focussed attention on connotations associated with the label "Portuguese" when it is contrasted with a label defined as non-Portuguese. It was noted, for instance, that the contrast between "Canadian" and "Portuguese" was related in some situations to a correlation in which, Canadian :: non-Canadian (read: Portuguese) :: native : foreigner, yet, in other situations, the correlated connotations were reversed--becoming, Portuguese : non-Portuguese :: native : foreigner.

It is possible to go a step beyond the study of such situational connotations of ethnic labels--i.e. of categories viewed simply as contrastive and mutually exclusive. Specifically, greater insight into how ethnic labels convey meaning can be gained by more fully examining the system of label classification. In this section I suggest that a complete examination of classificatory meaning necessitates that not only connotations of contrasting and exclusive labels be looked at, but also those connotations which are correlated with labels arranged in terms of the taxonomic principle of inclusion be examined. The first subsection (section 3.1.) of this section deals with the meanings of category inclusion--i.e. when ethnic category A includes ethnic category B. The second subsection of

section (section 3.2.) deals with common category inclusion--i.e. when category B and C are commonly included in another category A.

3.1. Portuguese ethnic label classification conforms to rules which allow: 1) referring to the descendant group by the name of the recognized ancestral group; or 2) calling the subdominant group by the name of the recognized dominant group. Illustrations of these rules are commonplace. One finds these classificatory rules exemplified in daily conversation, newspaper articles, school textbooks, political speeches, encyclopaedias, and dictionaries.

These rules are--i.e. they serve as--social explanations for ethnic label classification. In other words, descent[16] or authority relations are used to justify why ethnic category A is considered to be a kind of ethnic category B.

These rules are never broken or challenged as far as I have been able to ascertain. They constitute cultural assumptions which are basic to communicating ideas; they are essentially cultural propositions which function to convey meaning. The nature of these rules is comparable to such conceptual-cultural definitions as the "sky" is above the "earth" or "heaven" is "up" in relation to "hell" which is "down," insofar as their truth need not be tested but that their acceptance need be demonstrated.

These rules are not discovered by simply asking informants about how they classify ethnic groups. Instead, they are discovered by observing how people actually explain or justify their classifications.

Sometimes these rules are assumed in society to be compatible and sometimes they are assumed to be incompatible. That is, in some cases category inclusion is understood to mean both descent and authority but in other cases inclusion is understood to mean either descent or authority relations. For example, during the 15th and 16th century explorations by the Portuguese it was taken for granted that discovery or conquest endowed the colonizer with rights of authority over a people and territory and that the colonizer had the moral obligation to bestow religion, culture (and language), and civilization on the colonized--i.e. colonizers were taken to be the ancestral "givers" of tradition.[17]

In other cases, for example, during the liberation struggles of the former Portuguese African colonies, there has been disagreement over whether category inclusion signifies that the including category is an "ancestral" or "dominating" people.

In this section I wish to draw attention to these rules about inclusion as distinct classificatory propositions because in this way the dual and often ambiguous meanings of classification will best be demonstrated. In a sense--or more properly on one level--there are at least two distinct systems of ethnic classification: one system based on derivation and the other on dominance. My immediate concern (below in 3.1.1. and 3.1.2.) is to show that these two systems are often offered as contradictory models of social group relations. However, I intend further on to suggest that these two systems are--at a higher level of analysis--two manifestations of a

single conceptual system (see sections 3.1.3. and 3.2.). Specifically I suggest that these two ideologies of ethnic classification are one insofar as they are based upon a common spatial organization of relationships.

In order to illustrate the points discussed above, we will first look at the relationship between the label "Portuguese" and some labels that subsume it (i.e. that include the category Portuguese) and than, at some labels which are often subsumed by the label Portuguese.

3.1.1. The issue at hand--the subsumption of the label "Portuguese" --necessitates consideration of accounts of Iberian history. This is so because it is in the story of the past learned by Portuguese that one begins to recognize the systemic nature of ethnic classification.

The ancient history of the Portuguese concerns a number of group names, among which are: Phoenician, Greek, Celt, Lusitanian, Roman (or Latin), Visigoth, and Muslim (see Chapter IV.2.1.). From among these named groups the Portuguese have chosen a few with which to stress ties. Most usually they emphasize their connections with Lusitanians and Latins. In the Montréal Portuguese community one observes the recognition of bonds with Lusitanians evidenced in assertions of who the Portuguese are (e.g. "Nós, os portugueses, somos lusitanos"--We, Portuguese, are Lusitanians), and also in the names given to newspapers (e.g. the newspaper O Lusitano), stores, and the community itself. Likewise, Latin connections are evidenced in statements that Portuguese are a Latin people ("Os portugueses são latinos"), and in the names given to objects in the community, for

example, the name Mercearia Latino (Latin Grocery Store). In Portugal, the links with Lusitanians and Latins are a matter of national pride, and are similarly evident.

The Portuguese say that they are called "Lusitanians" or "Latins" because they are descendants of those peoples. They cite as evidence of this derivation the fact that they have mainly inherited their traditions, language, mentality, institutions, and blood from those earlier peoples. Thus, the classification of "Portuguese" as "Lusitanian" and "Latin" is one which follows the rule that, including category : included category :: ancestral group : descendant group.

Another explanation for the subsumption of one label by another involves notions of authority. For example, Portuguese say that the Lusitanians and other contemporary Iberian groups became Latins when they were conquered by and came under the power of the Romans. Thus, the idea of authority--as represented in discussions of conquest and power--is used as an explanation for ethnic label classification. In evidence, here is a rule which asserts, including category : included category :: dominant group : subdominant group.

Classification of labels undergoes much manipulation. For example, Portuguese choose to say they are Lusitanians and Latins, but that they are not Visigoths and Muslims--even though they realize historic connections with the Goths and Muslims. The construction of a myth of identity is, it seems, essentially a matter of selecting certain ties with particular historic peoples over others. Furthermore,

the myth of identity and the arrangement of label relations seems to change in accordance with what are seen as current necessities.

For example, in the late 1400s the Spanish and Portuguese kings succeeded in reconquering the areas which had for several centuries been under Moorish control. In 1492 the Spanish introduced the Inquisition, and shortly afterwards the Portuguese did the same (apparently this act was made by the Portuguese under various pressures by the Spaniards). In effect, the Inquisition forced the exile of Muslims and also Jews and Gypsies by demanding their public conversion to Christianity. Up to that time, these peoples were tolerated in the Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms, however, with the Inquisition came their total disenfranchisement. The enforcement of Catholicism as a sign of loyalty to the realms and an official attribute of being Portuguese and Spanish, was seen as a move to purge possibly disloyal groups. In effect, these actions amounted to an official redefinition of Muslim, Jew, and Gypsy as non-Portuguese and non-Spanish.

Another example of redefinition involves the medieval change of the relationship of the categories "Portuguese" and "Spanish." As H.V. Livermore notes:

> In medieval times the Five Kingdoms /of Iberia--i.e. Portugal, Leon, Castile, Aragon, and Navarre/ all regarded themselves as Hispaniae /Spanish/, the successors of the Roman provinces. When Ferdinand and Isabella appropriated the name Spain for the union of Aragon and Castile, the king of Portugal vainly protested what he regarded as solecism.

> Thereafter the Portuguese identified their country with the Roman Lusitania (1969: 9; in footnote 1).

This change of Spanish from including Portugal to being contrastive and exclusive amounted to a symbolic representation of Portuguese sovereignty. Later, when Portugal came under Spanish control (1580-1640), the classification was altered for a time--that is, the Portuguese came to be regarded as a kind of Spanish people.[18]

The myth of the Portuguese past and the justification for label inclusion or exclusion involves a playing off of ideologies of derivation and authority. That is, social rationalizations of Portuguese distinctiveness shift back and forth between emphasizing ancestor/descendant relationships (i.e. any derivation relationship expressed in terms of such things as linguistic, genetic, institutional, or cultural inheritance) to emphasizing relationships of dominance/subdominance (which are often expressed in terms of conquest, power, ownership, or colonization). For example, the Portuguese choose to call themselves Lusitanian despite the fact that Lusitanians were conquered by the Latins, yet they also choose to call themselves Latins despite the fact that the Latins were replaced by Goths and the Goths eventually by the Muslims.

The two faces of the Portuguese myth of ethnicity is clearly evident in, among other sources[19], the propaganda of the recently deposed regime of the Portuguese Republic. In such propaganda one clearly sees the variable invoking of ideologies of derivation and authority. For example, in the history textbooks used in Portuguese

primary schools (which might be regarded as the State's "catechisms" of nationality), on the one hand, descent from the "courageous" Lusitanians is stressed, while, on the other, the justification for non-Continentals (e.g. Angolans, Goans, and Mozambicans) having initially become Portuguese is switched to explanations based on "discovery" as rationalization for territorial annexation, conquest, or colonization.[20]

As further illustrations of the interplay and opposition of ideologies of derivation and authority we will examine two cases--both involve the logical contradiction of an ethnic category variably being opposed to "Portuguese" and subsumed by "Portuguese." Following these examples--which involve the Azoreans and Angolans--we will examine the conceptual unity--the synthesis--of the two ideologies of identity.

3.1.2. We will examine first the relationship of the categories Portuguese and Azorean, and then Portuguese and Angolan. The two examples differ in some details but both ultimately serve to illustrate a common point.

The Azoreans, according to one opinion, are considered to be a kind of Portuguese because most of their ancestors (see Chapter IV, footnote 13) originally came from Continental Portugal, and because ties of language, race, and culture have served throughout history to link the islander and mainlander together as one "people." This opinion, which is held by many Continental and Azorean individuals, is also the official view of both the pre- and post-April 25th (1974)

Lisbon governments. However, since at least the turn of the century, political movements for Azorean autonomy or complete independence have presented an alternative view of Azorean and Continental Portuguese relations.

Typically, justifications for independence stress that Azoreans, by virtue of their geographic and social isolation from the mainland, have developed into a distinct people--among other things it is argued that Azoreans have developed a unique "mentality" and "way of life" which distinguishes them from Continentals. In conjunction with statements of Azorean distinctiveness, it is noted that Azoreans are exploited by the Continental government. For example, M.A.P.A. (The Movement for the Self-Determination of the Azorean People) claims that the Azoreans are taxed by Lisbon without receiving proportionate services in return and also that Azoreans have little say in the administration of their own islands.[21] Others point out that Azoreans are even more oppressed people than the Portuguese African colonies (which I question, although I understand the point) whose desires for independence were realized in 1974 and 1975.[22]

In essence, there are, then, two contradictory explanations for Azoreans being Portuguese: one is that they are descendants of the Continental Portuguese and the other is that they are a colonized, subjugated people of the Continental Portuguese. These two explanations correlate with two views of being Azorean. The ideology of "descent" says that both Azoreans and Continentals are intrinsically kinds of one people--the Portuguese. The ideology of "dominance" says Continentals

and Azoreans are "really" two peoples (dois povos)--this view identifies Continentals as being the "real" Portuguese and Azoreans as a kind of non-Portuguese. While the two views disagree over whether Azorean should or should not be considered a kind of Portuguese, they both recognize the Azoreans as being classified as Portuguese but they disagree over the reason for such a categorization--derivation or dominance.[23]

While the contradictory meanings attached to the classification of Azorean as Portuguese illustrates a conflict between ideologies of descent and authority, the case of Angolan independence ultimately illustrates the reconciliation of such ideological conflict.

Under the Salazar and Caetano regimes, Angolans were officially defined as intrinsically part of the Portuguese people and Portuguese nation. During the later part of Salazar's regime and throughout Caetano's stay in power the explicit ideology was that the Portuguese people (o povo português) consisted of many races which made up only one nation. As this concept is explained in a primary school text:

> The Portuguese nation consists of territories scattered throughout the world.
>
> In each of these territories live individuals of various races, differing one from the other in skin colour and even in customs, religion, and tradition.
>
> Nevertheless, these individuals speak the same language, respect, and love the same flag, and obey the same head of state--they are all Portuguese.
>
> Portugal then, is constituted from various territories where peoples of different races live but is only one nation (Carvalho 1974: 87; my translation).[24]

In other words, the Angolans (as well as the peoples of the other colonies) were officially considered to be Portuguese because of things they had inherited from and shared with the Continentals--namely, language, culture, and state institutions. This shared patrimony was officially regarded as linking the colonies with the metropole and creating a distinctive Portuguese people.

The Angolan liberation movements[25] which became active in the 1960s and fought a long guerilla war with the Portuguese ending in their independence in 1975, interpreted their "Portugueseness" in quite a different way. They interpreted the stressing of common heritage and the calls for national unity put forth by the Lisbon government as colonialist rhetoric designed to distract Angolan attention from the real nature of Continental-Angolan relations; the relationship being that Angola (and all of the overseas provinces) was an economic and political subdominant appendage of Continental Portugal.[26] In the context of the liberation struggles, being "Portuguese" was seen as a symbol of subjugation. This view was also maintained by Portuguese citizens in Portugal and by some Portuguese in Canada (as well as Portuguese living in other countries).

As in the Azorean case, we see here a contradiction in the meaning of being Portuguese: the colonialist's version stresses shared heritage and the liberationist's version emphasizes subjugation. What is interesting in the Angolan case, however, is the <u>conceptual</u> readjustment coincident with the decolonization.

On July 27th, 1974, António Spínola, then President of Portugal, on behalf of (and many observers claim at the insistence of) the Armed Forces Movement announced that Portugal's African colonies would be granted independence. At that point it was officially recognized that the Angolans (as well as the other Portuguese colonized African populations) were a "distinct people" deserving their self-determination, who had been subjugated by the previous Portuguese government. That is, the Continental government had reinterpreted the Continental-Angolan relationship as one based on dominance instead of ties of descent.

When the bilateral independence agreement was signed by Portugal and Angola in 1975, the document relinquished Portugal's authority over Angola, but at the same time it stressed that the two nations were now linked by ties of deep friendship (see Portugal Hoje published by the Portuguese Ministry of Social Communication, 18-1-75, p.3). After independence, in mention of independent Angola--by the Portuguese press or by officials of the Portuguese Government--one often sees it now referred to as a nation of Portuguese heritage, having a people of Portuguese expression which are brother people (povos irmãos) of the Portuguese. Thus, while the Angolans became a kind of non-Portuguese by decolonization, they remain identified as a kind of Portuguese people because of heritage; that is, relations of authority and derivation were officially recognized as distinct.

These two cases depict a connection between the inclusion of one ethnic label by another and two ideologies (or explanations) for such

inclusion--one explanation being descent and the other being authority. It has been shown that these ideologies may come into conflict as contradictory interpretations of the meaning of ethnic label subsumption. However, it was also pointed out that the two meanings of label inclusion may be recognized as distinct--for example, Angolan may be regarded as a kind of Portuguese by descent, but distinct from Portuguese in terms of authority.

3.1.3. The preceeding shows that both relationships of authority and derivation between ethnic labels are expressible by a relationship between name giving category (the includer) and name receiving category (the included). The fact that the two ideologies exhibit the same form of expression--category inclusion--(i.e. ancestor : descendant :: name giver : name receiver; dominant : subdominant :: name giver : name receiver) suggests there might be a conceptual link relating the ideas of descent and authority.

The conceptual unity is found in the common classification of both ancestor/descendant and dominant/subdominant distinctions in terms of spatial relationships. Each of these distinctions is measured in Portuguese culture on a conceptual vertical axis which distinguishes parties in an authority or derivation relationships as being "high" or "low."

In Portuguese, ancestors are called antepassados or ascendentes, and descendants are called descendentes. The relationship between ancestor and descendant is understood to be lineal, directional, and vertical. Most simply, ancestors and descendants are understood to

be part of the same linha (line) or linhagem (lineage), and it is understood that descendants "come down" from ancestors. The verticality of the ancestor/descendant relationship is also suggested by the related words ascender meaning to rise, go up or ascend, and the word descer (or descender) meaning to go down, get down or descend. Thus, the temporal relationship existing between ancestor and descendant is one which is conceptualized in terms of a spatial classification which positions ancestors as those who are "high" and descendants, who "come down" from ancestors, i.e. as those who are "low."

The relationship of dominant and subdominant (which encompasses relationships such as colonizer/colonized) is similarly classified. The socially dominant group is called os altos (the high ones), os grandes (the big or great ones), a classe alta (the high class) or the ones who are em cima (on top). The subdominant group is called os pequenos (the small or little ones), a classe baixa (the low class), or simply those who are em baixo (below). Clearly, the classification of power or authority also involves a metaphor based on verticality.[27]

Noting, on the one hand, the common vertical conceptualization of descent and authority, and, on the other, that descent and authority relationships between ethnic categories are expressed in the same way, it becomes possible to formulate a rule which unites both observations. That is, it is possible to link the form of expression with the classification of the meanings of ethnic labels. Specifically, the rule underlying ethnic label classification is that, name giving category : name receiving category :: a connotation classified as "high" : a

connotation classified as "low;" that is, including category : included category :: high : low.

3.2. We have seen that--with reference to proper names of populations--a relationship between name given and name receiver expresses relationships of derivation and/or authority and that both such meanings are measured in terms of the concept of verticality. There are, however, relationships between ethnic categories which are classified as "horizontal." Typical of such horizontal relationships are those of common descent and similar authority inequality. Ethnic categories, which are part of such (horizontally classified) relationships, are sometimes said to be on the same level (do mesmo nível) as opposed to vertically classified relationships which are regarded as positioning ethnic categories on different levels (dos níveis diferentes).

Whereas the name donor/name receiver relationship (i.e. what I call simple category inclusion) is associated with verticality, horizontally classified connotations are distinguished by the receiving of one name by two categories. That is, horizontality is linked to labels related by common inclusion.

We will now examine the meanings attached to such common category inclusion. What I think is of particular interest here is that the justifications for common inclusion and horizontal connotations are recognizable as a derivation of the rule which correlates simple inclusion (name giving) with verticality.

3.2.1. Portuguese say that there are some peoples (povos, nações,

raças) with whom they have strong ties (laços) because of their common past. For example, they say that Portuguese are linked to the Spaniards by their common Latin heritage, and that the galegos (Galicians--i.e. the people of northwestern Spain) are their "cousins" because Portuguese and Galicians speak languages with common historical roots and also because both peoples have ties with their common ancestors the Celts.[28] Most simply, the inheritance of such things as tradition, culture, "blood," or language from a common "ancestor" is considered to connect two peoples. Furthermore, the sharing of common ancestral ties is symbolized by inclusion in a single conceptual category. That is to say, a relationship of common descent is expressed by the fact that two ethnic categories are co-receivers of the same ancestral name; for example, the common bond between Portuguese and Spaniards is symbolized by their both being called "Latins."

Although Portuguese and Spaniards acknowledge that they are linked by a common past, they also assert that today they are distinct peoples. They say that their respective nationalities and the things which symbolize their nationalities (i.e. language, culture, blood, history) are separate and independent entities which are to be regarded as on a par with one another. They state that socio-cultural sovereignty shows the Portuguese and Spaniards to be on the same level.

The playing off of contradictory notions of commonality ("We are one people"), and distinctiveness ("We are two different peoples") is

achieved here by assigning each assertion to a different reason. The argument is: "We are mutually exclusive peoples in the present, but in the past we were part of one people." Essentially, what we have here is that commonality is claimed in terms of the similar type of relationship both Portuguese and Spanish have to a third category (Latin), while distinctiveness is asserted on the basis of being different named categories.

The idea that Spanish and Portuguese (as related but distinct categories) are on the same (or "horizontal") level is consistent with the rule that ancestor : descendant :: name giver : name receiver :: high : low. The reasoning is: with regard to the named category Latin, both Spanish and Portuguese are name receivers; they are name receivers because they are descendants of Latins; since they are both receivers of the name "Latin" they are both low in relation to Latin; since they are both low (with respect to the Latins) they are on the same level. Co-receivership of a name can--in addition to being interpreted as an expression of ties of common descent--also be interpreted as a symbol of common subjugation.

For example, the Azorean and Madeiran separatists explain that they are not only "brother peoples" by consequence of their common descent, but also by the fact of their common surpression by the Portuguese. They say that the emancipation of Portuguese Africa has elevated those former colonies to the "same" level as the Continentals, while the Azoreans and Madeirans remain at a common low position in the colonial system. To be called Portuguese in

this context is taken by Azoreans and Madeirans to be a symbol of their common inferior position vis-à-vis the Continentals.

In other words, the co-receiving of a name by two categories (i.e. common category inclusion) connotes sharing common descent or being commonly surpressed (dominated, colonized, conquered, discovered). Both connotations place the co-receivers as "low" vis-à-vis the name giver, but "horizontal" vis-à-vis one another.

3.3. This section has examined the meanings attached to a formal nomenclature pattern: the relationship between co-receivers of names has been seen to correlate with the relationships of common descent and authority equality (or, more specifically of common subjugation); being co-ancestor or authority equals with respect to a third category has been seen to correlate with being co-givers of names.

The conceptual unity of all these meanings is their common "horizontal" classification. The common position of two categories--as being both "high" or "low"--with regard to a third category is metaphorically understood as placing such categories on the same level. That is, the relationships of co-receivers identify two categories as formal equals with respect to authority or descent and such equality is conceptualized by their placement on the same horizontal plane.

3.2.2. What we have here, then, is a spatial classification of population labels which is correlated with formal patterns of name transmission. What is most interesting is that the spatial meaning associated with the relationship of co-receivers of a name is consistent

with (is a manifestation of) the rule linking name giving with verticality; that is, if name giver : name receiver :: high : low, then co-receivers are both "low" because they are on the same level.

Thus, the meaning of ethnic label relationships and the forms of ethnic category organization--i.e. the social meanings of ethnic classification--can be regarded as generated by a single rule. A rule linking a formal pattern of name transmission with spatial connotations: name giving category is to name receiving category as the category with a "high" connotation is to the category with a "low" connotation.

4. Taxonomic Position and Spatially Classified Connotations

4.1. The logic of Portuguese ethnic group classification discussed above unifies three kinds of relationships: 1) a formal category relationship--i.e. the notion of inclusion--with; 2) relationships of descent (i.e. ancestor/descendant), and those of authority (i.e. dominance/subjugation) with; 3) the spatial classification of descent and authority relationships--i.e. ancestor and dominant are "high" or "superior" vis-à-vis descendant and subjugation which are "low" or "inferior." It is these relationships which are linked into a cultural rule which constitute the ethno-logic of Portuguese classification and, consequently, allow ethnic labels to convey meaning[29]; meaning is conveyed by the positions assumed by labels in a culturally significant taxonomy.

4.2. This logic of conceptual organization is, I feel, interesting

for it allows conveying at least two meanings at once. For example, when it is asserted that Azoreans are Portuguese, such a statement conveys to some people the idea that Azoreans are descendants of Portuguese while to others the same statement connotes a power relation--i.e. inclusion is taken to signify that Azoreans are a people subjugated by or under the authority of the Portuguese.

The ambiguity of the meaning of inclusion is, I suggest, what makes ethnic classification so emotively powerful and politically useful. Ethnic classification is a means of translating relations of inequality, which are the result of one society imposing its will and control over another, into relations of descent. In a sense ethnic classification (or should I say "nationalist" ideologies) serves to change or redefine "political" relations of domination into the "natural" relations of descent--it changes a relationship based on conflict into one which "morally" is expected to suggest unity and affection.

For me, this explanation about the ambiguity of classificatory meaning more adequately explains why ethnic labels are politically useful and subject to social manipulation than does Cohen's explanation. Cohen simply asserts that ethnic labels are politically useful because they are charged with emotive power (see Cohen 1974b; also see my citation of Cohen at the beginning of II.2.3.). That is to say, my explanation specifies <u>why</u> ethnic labels are "good to manipulate;" they convey meanings as part of a classificatory system which incorporates both meanings of descent and authority.

One point which I hope is suggested by this interpretation concerns the relative value of structuralist and functionalist examinations of ethnic categories. Very simply, my structuralist examination of ethnic classification shows how ethnic categories convey meaning and that ethnic categories are communicatively significant because of their dual interpretation; the functionalist interpretations show simply that ethnic categories are manipulated but leave to speculation why such cultural categories might be subject to redefinition. It is on the basis of my analysis that I have earlier suggested that a structuralist analysis is a complement to functionalist analysis, and that a complete study of ethnic labels logically necessitates the analysis of classificatory organization and meaning (i.e. structure) before the study of use or function.

4.3. There is an aspect of this spatial model of ethnic classification that evidences a sharp contrast with much of the discussion of classification in the ethnoscience or cognitive anthropology literature (see Tyler 1969). Whereas the discussion of such things as ethnobotany, ethnozoology, and kinship in the ethnoscience literature has been concerned with <u>static</u> taxonomies, the present discussion has focussed on the <u>dynamic</u> element of ethnic group classification. Specifically it has been noted that ethnic group classification involves an interplay of two definitions of ethnic group relations. Furthermore, it has been shown that this dialectic interplay between ideologies of descent and authority is

culturally resolved by a conceptual synthesis (evidenced in linguistic categories) which spatially classifies connotations; the conceptual unity of ideologies of descent and authority is, in addition, reflected in the fact that they both employ the same formal organizing principle (i.e. category inclusion) to express relationships.[30]

To cast dynamics of ethnic classification in a slightly different light, it can be stated that the spatial classification of ethnic group relations links both diachronic and synchronic explanations. In essence, it plays off at one level, yet resolves at another level, a descent explanation (i.e. why groups are presently related because of the past) with authority relations (i.e. how groups in the present are related).

Finally, it might be suggested that the logic of ethnic group classification balances both order and adaptability. On the one hand, it allows great leeway for reinterpreting social reality by allowing for the variable invoking of descent or authority ideologies; on the other hand, it preserves conceptual-cultural order by maintaining a spatial classification which is linked to formal category relations.

5. Conclusion

5.1. This chapter has examined the cultural significance of the category "Portuguese." The presentation has implicitly been guided in two ways: 1) there has been a progression from examining the relationships of two categories to examining the relationship

among three categories; 2) the discussion has advanced from examining two categories which are viewed as contrasting and exclusive to examining the category relationship of simple inclusion to, finally, examining a situation which involves both contrast and inclusion--what I have referred to as common inclusion.

The analysis and description has pointed out that a distinction must be made in studying the significance of ethnic categories between "situational" and "classificatory" meaning. The essential distinction involved between situational and classificatory significance, it has been argued, concerns dealing --in the first case--with population categories which are in a relationship of mutual exclusion, and--in the second case--with population categories which are related directly (by simple inclusion) or indirectly (by common inclusion) by a formal relationship of inclusion.

Furthermore, it has been asserted that various connotations are related in a stable fashion with the principle of inclusion. The relationship is stable in that the ancestral group is never called by the name of the descendant group nor is the dominant group referred to by the name of the sub-dominant group. The relationships between the principle of inclusion and relationship of descent and authority has further been identified as cultural propositions which underlie communication. And, furthermore, the ideologies of descent and authority which exhibit unity in a common

form of expression (inclusion) have been shown to also be conceptually linked by a spatial classification of relations.

In addition, the analysis shows the necessity of taking into account cultural information which is not evident in every single incident in which ethnic labels are used. It suggests that an understanding of the significance of ethnic labels demands dealing with the diverse connotations of labels in specific instances and then searching for connections among the diverse meanings. In short, this analysis shows how a holistic perspective of meaning can bring out the richness and order of cultural meaning which may not otherwise be evident.

5.2. As I stated in the introduction, this dissertation focusses on how ethnic labels (and specifically the label "Portuguese") conveys meaning. The argument which I have put forth here has basically been that ethnic labels, to a large extent, convey meaning because social actors relate the labels to an implicit classificatory system. In qualification, I should emphasize that I do not think that classificatory significance constitutes the only kind of meaning. There are, for example, also private, individual meanings attached to ethnic labels. I do not deny the existence of such meanings but leave them to others to investigate.

In addition, I have noted earlier (at the end of Chapter I) that an understanding of social meaning ultimately involves the <u>coherence</u> of cultural systems. Assuming that I have demonstrated the logical unity of Portuguese ethnic classification, in the following chapters

I will try to show how this ethno-logic of ethnicity is related to a broader organization of significance. In particular, my aim is to show that Portuguese ethnic classification and Portuguese kinship classification are transformations of one another and that both are sub-systems in a more general cultural system of meaning.

Footnotes

1. I will be concerned here primarily with the local Montréal Portuguese community. It is understood that the term "community" is also used in connection with other ideas which link it with phenomena of a different scale--e.g. the Luso-Canadian community (a national community)--or, which are located in a different place--e.g. the Toronto Portuguese community.

2. During my fieldwork there was constant conflict between two groups in the "community" over who should control grants given to the Montréal Portuguese by the Federal Government. These grants in one way or another financed the staff for a community social service centre, a multilingual radio station, and a weekly cable television programme. Much of the debate--when it periodically emerged in the local press or personal confrontations--concerned a semantic battle over what the "community" was. One side would argue that their rivals were not part of the community nor could they represent the community because their political orientation was too radical. The other side would counter with the argument that their rivals did not represent the people of the community but only the interests of a small group of petty entrepreneurs who would use the Federal Government's aid to chiefly benefit themselves (see Voz de Portugal /Montréal/,

Footnotes (Continued)

22 de Agosto de 1975, Ano XIV, No. 658, p. 3, and 18 de Julho de 1975, Ano XIV, No. 655, p. 3.

3. Claude Lagadec, in an article entitled "Les Portugais québécois" published in the Montréal French-language newspaper Le Jour, recognizes the term "neo" (as in néo-québécois) as a "fascist" term. He states that the use of a distinction between québécois and néo-québécois is a subtle form of racial discrimination; he argues that one is either québécois or else one is not. Further, he goes on to say that one is not québécois simply because one has inherited a French-Canadian surname, but rather being québécois is fundamentally a result of one's decision to live in Québec.

> Est Québécois celui qui vit au Québec. Ce n'est pas parce que l'on s'appelle Bouchard, Tremblay ou Lefebvre que l'on est Québécois, c'est parce que l'on a décidé d'y vivre. (Le Jour, lundi, 27 janvier, 1975, p. 8)

4. An editorial in the Bulletin of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association (Vol. III, No. 1, March 1976), a report in the Canadian Immigration and Population Study (Tienharra 1974: 40), and Volume IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (The Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups) all discuss the general lack of interest and information Anglophone and Francophone Canadians have about the "Non-Founding"

Footnotes (Continued)

races in their midst. These reports also comment on the lack of social contact between New and Old Canadians.

5. One reminder of inferiority which immigrants recurrently complain about concerns their perception of discrimination by prospective employers. Dozens of times I have heard Portuguese emigrants state that employers have refused to hire them because they lack "Canadian experience" (even for dishwashers and janitors) and because work experience in Portugal is considered inadequate.

6. It should be noted that Canadian public officials occasionally have made an effort to officially honour the Portuguese community. For example, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau delivered a speech in Toronto to the Portuguese community in which he commented on the qualities of Portuguese-Canadians which make them a positive addition to Canadian society (see The Toronto Star, Friday, April 2, 1976, Page B1), former Québec Minister of Immigration--Jean Bienvenue--at various functions in the Montréal Portuguese community spoke on the same theme (see Voz de Portugal /Montréal/, 12 de Setembro de 1975, Ano XIV, No. 661, P. 9), and Montréal's Mayor Jean Drapeau even went to the extent of renaming a small park (located between Boulevard St. Laurent, Rue St. Dominique and Rue Marie-Anne) in honour of the community--Parc Portugal (see A Voz do Immigrante /Montréal/,

Footnotes (Continued)

10 de Julho de 1975, Ano 1, No. 8, pp. 1-2). However, all such acts which aim to pay symbolic tribute to the Luso immigrant community seem also to underscore the fact of the inferior position and status of Portuguese in Canadian society by the very fact that such faint tributes need be made.

7. Other evidence of this reversal is to be found in community-directed publicity for banquets or dances which advertise that Portuguese and "foreign" music will be performed. Another example comes from the public notice posted by one Montréal Portuguese organization which announced that they were sponsoring classes in English, Spanish, and French, as well as Portuguese for foreigners--in the context the last was specifically for the benefit of non-Portuguese of Montréal.

8. There are many indicators of the positive evaluation of being Portuguese in the community. They range from direct statements which assert that in the community or with other Portuguese one need not feel ashamed to be Portuguese, to individuals being reprimanded for not speaking "Portuguese in a Portuguese place."

9. Some local columnists, writing before the 25th of April, 1974 coup, would often mention the 15th and 16th century Portuguese explorations and Portugal's colonization of areas in South America, Africa, and

Footnotes (Continued)

Asia as facts which Portugal should be proud of. Since the coup, however, glories of empire are no longer discussed with such pride. Instead, the decolonization of former possessions and the 1974 coup which deposed the fascist regime of Salazar and Caetano are taken as the national events which should swell the chests of individuals with Portuguese pride. While the content of arguments about pride in identity have rotated 180 degrees (from venerating colonization to rejecting it), the point remains that national history should make one proud of one's ethnic identity (compare pre- and post-April 1974 editions of Tribuna Portuguesa /Montréal/ or O Lusitano /Montréal/.

10. Although the British have long claimed that John Cabot, while on an English expedition, was the first European to arrive in Canada (1497), the Portuguese continue to claim that they made prior contact. The Portuguese claim that João Fernandes and Pedro de Barcelos landed in eastern Canada before Cabot (see Anderson and Higgs 1976: 5-9).

11. I should note that it was widely acknowledge in the Portuguese press (in Portugal and in the Portuguese emigrant community) that remittances by emigrants to underdeveloped Portugal were essential for balancing international trade deficits.

Footnotes (Continued)

12. During the Salazar regime emigration was viewed by the government as an act undertaken by misguided and apparently unpatriotic individuals. An examination of primary school textbooks--which, in a country of widespread illiteracy such as Portugal (approximately 30%), are probably the most widely-read propaganda of the government--evidences the official disapproval. For example, in one third-grade text (Ministério da Educação Nacional 1958: 147) the emigrant is depicted as a peasant motivated above all by a desire for wealth. He plans to go to Brazil for five years and then return a wealthy man. The 600-word story moralistically concludes with a depiction of the emigrant as a poor, pitiful, old man who dies after wasting his life away in Brazil, never having been able to save money to return home. Another story, in a fourth-grade textbook (Gaspar 1968: 62) entitled "Eu sou português" (I am Portuguese) also hammers away at the theme that emigration is bad. The story tells of a black boy returning to Mozambique (which was officially considered an intrical part of Portugal at the time) from work in foreign mines. This boy explains in a conversation that he is very pleased to be back, saying that his foreign employers did not treat him with the respect which was shown to him by his employers in Mozambique. He goes on to say that henceforth he will remain at home and that he never wants to lose his Portuguese identity for the dignity and fair treatment it affords him.

Footnotes (Continued)

13. One teenage girl explained to me that this duality of identity presents a problem in the community between the younger and older generations. This is so because the teenagers who have been educated and socialized in Canada have to deal with two sets of expectations which sometimes conflict. On the one hand, their peers at school expect them to be, feel, and act like "Canadians," while their parents--and generally the older generation--expect them to speak and act "like Portuguese." One conflict in the two sets of values I have come across involves dating practices. Whereas some Portuguese parents still expect their daughters to be continually chaperoned, this contradicts with the Canadian practice of unchaperoned dating.

14. For example, one young waiter in one of the community's cafés often asks his Portuguese clientele for their orders in English. He is constantly being reprimanded by the customers for "not being Portuguese in a Portuguese restaurant."

15. Social recognition of this conceptual transformation--which amounts to the creation of the idea of a "community" as well as a new identity (Luso-Canadian)--is evidenced as taking place a number of times. As a generality, it can be said that the Portuguese in Montréal accepted the existence of their community and being Luso-Canadian much before the non-Portuguese; at least

Footnotes (Continued)

a decade and a half ago they were publishing newspapers in Montréal which expressed their acceptance of these concepts as reality.

In contrast, as late as July 23, 1973 a writer in the Montréal French-language paper La Presse--Florian Bernard--claimed "discovery" of the Montréal Portuguese community. (Incidentally, that writer's "discovery" was looked upon with great irritation in the Luso-Canadian press /see Voz de Portugal, 3 de Agosto de 1973, Ano XIII, No. 561/ because he had misrepresented the size of the community by underestimating it by 5 or 6 times its population.) Such private enlightenment is, of course, of little importance except perhaps as an indicator of the community's invisibility.

More important, from a political standpoint, is the official recognition of the Luso-Canadian community resulting from the Trudeau Government's adoption of a policy of multi-culturalism in 1971. This policy redefines the concept of Canada from being a bilingual, bicultural country to a bilingual, multi-cultural (read: multi-ethnic) one. Acceptance of this policy is often credited to the finding of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism that Canadians of non-British and non-French stock felt their position in Canadian society to be fundamentally one of marginality and inferiority. The adoption of this policy,

Footnotes (Continued)

which essentially amounts to an official recasting of Canadian identity, opened the way for all the "other ethnic groups" (as the Royal Commission suggest they "neutrally" be referred to instead of "New" Canadians) to be publically recognized as Canadian.

Aside from the symbolic acceptance of the Luso-Canadian community, the Federal Government through various grants has supported various projects (e.g. an information and referrel centre) aimed specifically at serving the needs of the members of the "Portuguese" community. Although such funds have been limited, they do demonstrate the Government's recognition of Luso-Canadians in fact as well as principle.

While the Government's recognition of an ethnic community certainly does not insure equal treatment in personal relations, end discrimination, or alter social-economic position, it is important here as evidence of their acceptance of a new connotation of what being Portuguese in Montréal is. A definition which, in effect, reverses connotations which were acquired in the act of migrating.

16. My use of the term descent in this chapter is not to be taken as an anthropological concept but rather as social concept. In its popular usage the notion of descent is often vaguely defined. One finds, in popular usage the term descent used to describe the transmission of a wide range of social "gifts"--blood, language, tradition, history, culture--from predecessors to successors.

Footnotes (Continued)

17. Portuguese notions of the rights and duties of colonization are discussed throughout Ronald Chilcote's handling of Portuguese and African nationalism in his "Introduction" to Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa: Documents (1972: xvii-lvii).

18. Portuguese school books (e.g. Ministério da Educação Nacional 1958: 155) claim that the famous 16th century poet Luís Vaz de Camões (author of Os Lusíadas) took the imposition of Spanish domination as signifying the end of Portuguese nationality.

19. Another very important reserve of nationalist thought is Portuguese literature. Of particular note is the epic poem "Os Lusíadas" written by Luís Vaz de Camões in the 16th century. This epic--which as Pedro de Carvalho's (1974) fourth grade História de Portugal asserts--is the "Bible of the Portuguese People" which all Portuguese "ought to read and study (p. 75)." This epic presents the story of the Portuguese nation starting with their descent from the Lusitanians (hence its title "Os Lusíadas") and proceeds to the establishment in the 16th century of their overseas empire. For this work Camões is popularly regarded as the "major Portuguese poet of all time" and is a national hero--in fact the anniversary of his birth is established as Portugal's national holiday.

Footnotes (Continued)

20. While the initial justification for the overseas provinces being part of Portugal is presented in terms of conquest, colonization, and discovery, the justification for their continued connection was their sharing of Portuguese tradition and language which they inherited from the Portuguese conquerers. Below in section 3.1.2. I will have more to say on the contradiction inherent in these justifications.

21. António de Figueiredo, in an article entitled "Islands set course for new horizons" in the Manchester Guardian (January 11, 1975), notes that the position of M.A.P.A. is hazy. Its statements do not make clear whether it supports only increased autonomy with continued links to Lisbon, or complete independence. See the Toronto-based Correio Português, 15 de Março de 1975, p. 1-2, and 30 de Janeiro de 1975, p. 5.

22. It has been suggested by some that Azorean independence has not been considered by the Lisbon government because the American airbase located on Terceira Island brings millions of dollars to the national coffers (see Voz de Portugal /Montréal/ 13 de Dezembro de 1974, p. 5, and Tribuna Portuguesa /Montréal/ 8 de Outoubro de 1975, p. 6).

23. In the text I have only been concerned with the types of explanations

Footnotes (Continued)

used for categorizing Azoreans as Portuguese or non-Portuguese. My restriction to the kinds of explanations is justified by the concern in this section with conceptual organization.

It is, however, in the periodic surfacing of these ideologies in political contexts that one most clearly witnesses their active confrontation and their social significance.

Since the 1974 coup, the movement for Azorean independence--and its ideology of Azorean distinctiveness--gained support when, for a time, the Communist Party seemed to be gaining power in the post April 25th government (see Newsweek, August 11th, 1975, p. 40). During the summer of 1975 Azorean independence demonstrations took place in the Azores, as well as Toronto and New England. Feelings of Azorean distinctiveness, in addition to anti-Lisbon and anti-Communist rhetoric, were the order of the day (at the time, one often came across automobiles in Canada and New England--presumably owned by Portuguese Azoreans --which displayed bumper stickers reading "Communism Never--Independence for the Azores Now"). The F.L.A. (Front for the Liberation of the Azores) even went so far as to establish an Azorean government in exile headed by one António Almeida, a Massachusetts school teacher. Apparently, the separatist movement has lost much impetus after November 1975 when many Communist sympathisers were removed from the Lisbon government. In addition, the Spring 1976 elections

Footnotes (Continued)

which established a moderate socialist government (consequently, further undermining Communist influence in the Lisbon government) and legislation of May 1976 granting the Azores greater autonomy in island administration is expected to further reduce separatist activities.

The sudden rise and fall of separatist activity is perhaps explained by the fact that M.A.P.A. (and presumably F.L.A.) was supported by the islands' elite families whose economic position would be much threatened by a Communist government in Lisbon. Also, it has been suggested that the United States government was actively fanning the flames of independence sentiment. This is understandable for a Communist government in Lisbon, it was feared, might disallow the U.S. use of the airforce base at Lajes on Terceira Island in the Azores (Lajes is of strategic significance for the U.S.--it was, for example, a major refuelling point for U.S. jets flying supplies to Israel during the 1973 Middle East war). See Correio Português /Toronto/ 30 de Janeiro de 1975, p. 5).

24. For examples which further illustrate this view of the Portuguese nation, see the following documents which are reproduced in Chilcote (1972): "The Civilized Man's Burden," by António de Oliveira Salazar; "Unity and the Nation," by António Júlio de Castor Fernandes; "The Organic Law of the Overseas Provinces;"

Footnotes (Continued)

"A Policy of Integration," by Adriano Moreira; "The Fundamental Principles of Overseas Portugal;" "Integration and Lusotropicology," by Gilberto Freyre; and "'Integration' in the Lusitanian World."

25. See Bruce (1973) and Chilcote (1972).

26. See, among others, documents by Mario de Andrade, Agostinho Neto, Holden Roberto, and Viriato da Cruz which are reproduced in Chilcote (1972). See also António de Figueiredo's Portugal: Fifty Years of Dictatorship (1975) especially the chapter entitled "The Metaphysics of Colonialism."

27. I think it is appropriate to note here that I am not, by any means, the first to remark on the vertical conceptualization of power or descent, and that such a spatial metaphor is not peculiar to the Portuguese but appears long to have been typical of Occidental concepts of order. In an article entitled "Hierarchy and Order" (1973), C.A. Patrides discusses the use of hierarchical conceptualizations of nature, society, and the supernatural from ancient Greek to recent Christian times. He illustrates the use of the notion of verticality in literature, graphic arts, theology, and philosophy. Basic to Western hierarchical ordering, as Patrides notes, is the idea that God is at the top of the ordered system and that he is the source of all "positive" things. What is of relevance here is that this

Footnotes (Continued)

view of the cosmos involves the notion that all things--e.g. life, power, goodness--flow from top to bottom. Such theological conceptualizations it seems have been connected with the way in which social relations (e.g. descent and authority) have been conceptualized in the West.

Among those in the anthropological literature who have remarked upon the Western use of a vertical metaphor are Pierre Maranda (1974: 45-47; and passim), and Walter Miller (1955). Miller's discussion is appropriate to quote in this context:

> In the European cultural tradition a rather remarkable phenomenon can be noted: authority, or "power", is conceptually equated with height or elevation. It is conceived as originating in some elevated locus, and as passing down to lower levels. This metaphorical way of thinking about authority is closely tied in with European religious conceptions, many of which utilize the notion that power originates in a supernatural being or group of beings located in the heavens, or some elevated location. Central Algonkian religious places its deities at the four corners of the universe, and on the same plane as humans.
>
> This way of conceptualizing authority is so well integrated into European culture that it is difficult to deal with authority in any other way. The equation of authority with attitude is firmly built into European linguistic systems; the terms superior, inferior, superordinate, subordinate, have been key terms in this discussion. A man with considerable authority is said to be in a top position, high-ranking, way up there; one with little authority is on the bottom, in a lowly position, down and out. We speak of the haute-monde and the underworld, of overlord and underling, of upper and lower classes (1955: 276-277).

Footnotes (Continued)

28. I will discuss, in Chapter VII, the cultural significance of kinship metaphors. Also, I will try to show how the examination of analogies between kinship relations and ethnic group relations allows specifying what Edward T. Hall (1969) calls the "infraculture"--i.e. the organizational principles underlying culture.

29. Pierre Maranda, among others, has noted that the existence of cultural rules for classifying reality provide the basis for communication and interaction. He states:

> Collective representations provide the member of a society with semantic grooves; they condition the use of language. It is for this reason that they make communication possible. Beyond a common lexicon and syntax, man needs a deeper semantic system in which to cast his social relations and by which to be cast as a member of a group. In other words, there must be a common set of understood, tacit principles, an array of axioms shared by most before any can talk. Thus, collective representation /e.g. that authority and descent are vertically classified/ allow people to communicate and to act (1974: 45).

30. I should note here two points: the first is that the principle of inclusion in Portuguese or generally in Western culture is not used in all domains or fields to indicate authority or descent. For instance, in biological or zoological taxonomy the principle of inclusion is used only to indicate a relationship between general and more specific categories. For example, the

Footnotes (Continued)

classification of Homo sapiens (Species) as included in Homo (Genus) which is included in Primate (Order) which is included by Mammalian (Class) which is included by Vertebrate (Phylum) which is included by Animal (Kingdom) does not involve the notions of authority or descent--although it does seem to reflect the sequence or chronological order of biological distinction which Evolution Theory suggests (that is, the distinction between Plants and Animals happened before the Invertibrate/Vertibrate distinction which occurred before the non-Mammalia/Mammalia distinction, etc.

The second is that descent can be expressed in other ways than inclusion. For example, a list of names may be given to explain descent. And, authority may be expressed without inclusion by stating the spatial relations of categories--e.g. group X is above group Y.

In Chapter VII I will remark on the way kinship terms are formally organized to express descent and authority. There an alternative mode (to the principle of inclusion) of formally organizing meaning will be discussed.

VI. CLASSIFICATION OF PORTUGUESE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the cultural organization of Portuguese kinship terminology. A description and analysis of kin terminology is called for here because, as mentioned earlier (Chapter I.3.2.; Chapter V.5.2.), and as will be exemplified later (Chapter VII.2.), kinship relations are often used to "explain" relations between ethnic labels. The fact that ethnic label relationships are convertible into kin term relationships is important for it suggests (see Chapter I.3. on metaphors as evidence of a link between conceptual systems) that both kinds of relationships are part of a single kind of organization of conceptual categories. That is, the existence of a cultural analogy linking both kin term classification and ethnic label classification suggests that both kinds of classification are sub-systems of one more general and more encompassing system (see Chapter VII.3 and VII.4).

My purpose here is to isolate basic <u>forms</u> of kin term relationships to correlate these forms with their culturally specific connotations and then to correlate the <u>forms</u> and connotations with a classification of kinds of meanings. Isolating a structure of kinship terminology--i.e. an organization which unites form and meaning--permits (in Chapter VII) a comparison with the logical structure of ethnic classification. A comparison of organizing principles makes possible the specification of the particular congruence between the domains of kinship and ethnicity which allows analogies between kin relationships and ethnic relationships.

That is, understanding the "fit" between (or coherence of) the conceptual organization of kinship and ethnicity shows how Portuguese culture allows translating one relationship (between kin terms) into another kind of relationship (between ethnic labels).

This chapter proceeds in the following manner: Section Two discusses kin terms and their genealogical significance. Section Three examines forms of reciprocal kin term relationships: two forms of reciprocal relationships are isolated, these forms are shown to correlate with various connotations, and the various connotations are shown to have a conceptual common denominator.

2. Kin Term Denotation

This section sets forth the genealogical significance of terms which in Portuguese refer to members of the <u>família</u> (family) or are considered <u>parentes</u> (relatives). In this discussion I will employ the following symbols as a shorthand for referring to primary kin terms:

F - Father
M - Mother
S - Son
D - Daughter
B - Brother
Z - Sister
H - Husband
W - Wife

P - Parent

C - Child

Sb - Sibling

Sp - Spouse

2.1. The following list gives the <u>minimal</u> genealogical extension of the basic consanguineous Portuguese kin terms:

pai	-	F		
mãe	-	M		
filho	-	S		
filha	-	D		
irmão	-	B		
irmã	-	Z		
avô	-	FF, MF	-	PF
avó	-	FM, MM	-	PM
tio	-	FB, MB	-	PB
tia	-	FZ, MZ	-	PZ
sobrinho	-	BS, ZS	-	SbS
sobrinha	-	BD, ZD	-	SbD
primo	-	FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS	-	PSbS
prima	-	FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD	-	PSbD
neto	-	SS, DS	-	CS
neta	-	SD, DD	-	CD

To reiterate, the genealogical meanings given for the terms listed above are only those for the minimal (or closest) distance between ego and alter. There are, however, other extended genealogical meanings for some of these kin terms. The extended genealogical meanings are marked in Portuguese by modifying these basic terms in various ways. Since discussion of such modified genealogical meanings is not relevant to most of my presentation, I will spare the reader the tedium of dealing here with the entire system for modifying kin term meaning. However, in Appendix II, I present in full the ways in which the genealogical meanings of Portuguese kin terms are modified. Those modified meanings which are relevant to my discussion are presented in the text proper.

2.2. The Portuguese affinal terms--i.e. those which are regarded as "relatives by marriage" are:

cunhado - SpB, ZSp
cunhada - SpZ, BSp
sogro - SpF
sogra - SpM
genro - DSp
nora - SSp

These terms do not undergo any kind of modification.

2.3. Two points are in order here about the genealogical meanings of kin terms:

1) Beyond the minimal genealogical extension of each term there is often disagreement among Portuguese about the "real" or "proper" genealogical designatum of a term. There is, for example, disagreement over how to reckon a primo relationship beyond the first degree.[1] Some Portuguese insist that a primo segundo is PSbCS (see Figure 1), while others say that a primo segundo is a PPSbCS (see Figure 2).

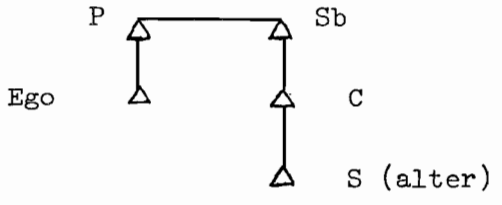


Figure 1

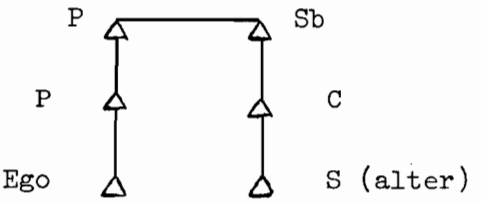


Figure 2

This social disagreement over genealogical significance will be of interest later (section 3.2.), however, for the moment suffice it

to say that beyond the first degree primos may be--but are not necessarily--of different generations.[2] There are, also, other disagreements about genealogical designata. In particular, a problem arises over the extension of kin terms which involve a marriage tie. For example it is common to consider the spouse of tio /PSbSp/ as one's own tia /"aunt"/, and correspondingly to regard the sobrinho of one's own spouse /SpSbC/ as one's own sobrinho /"nephew"/. However, there is disagreement as to whether the spouse of one's own sobrinho /SbCSp/ is one's sobrinha /"niece"/. Also it is unclear to most people whether the spouse of one's primo /PSbCSp/ should be called prima /"cousiness"/. In other words, there is only social consensus about some of the genealogical meanings of kin terms--agreement only exists for the minimal genealogical extension of terms; that is, beyond the minimal extension a term's designatum is often unclear or in dispute.

2) Genealogical definitions do not constitute the only meaning of Portuguese kin terms. For example, a genealogically related tio or sobrinho who is equal in relative age to ego is often referred to as primo and, conversely, a primo who is judged to be significantly older than ego is often called tio, while a primo, who is much younger than ego is often called sobrinho. Sometimes, then, relative age can overshadow the genealogical meaning of a kin term (more on this in section 3).

These two points question the usefulness of discussing kin terms only as genealogical positions because, on the one hand, kin terminology

is not always rigidly connected to specific genealogical meanings and, on the other, genealogy is not the sole meaning of kin terms.

One justification for using a genealogical method for studying kin terminology is that, despite some inconsistent relationships between kin term and genealogical designata, it is useful as a beginning point to describe kin terms as genealogical positions because they are so often (but not always) used to mean genealogical positions. Also, while no perfect correlation between kin terminology and genealogy exists, there is--as Leach (1970: 96) has noted--at least a tenuous connection between the two grounded in "the self-evident fact that mother is 'related' to her child and that brothers and sisters (siblings) of the same mother are related to one another."

Most simply, kin terminology is not genealogy, although the meaning of a kin term often is a genealogical one. It is important to hold this point in mind so as to resist the temptation to explain away the organization of kin terminology as simply a reflection of genealogical organization. As I show below (section 3), in order to account for how kin terms can convey meaning it is essential to examine the way in which kin terms themselves are organized as a system. This means that the <u>forms</u> of relationships which connect kin terms must be isolated and then correlated with the <u>meanings</u> attached to these forms. In such an examination the <u>variety</u> of meanings with which kin relations correlate must be considered and not solely genealogical meanings.

3. Reciprocal Kin Terms

To this point we have only considered the genealogical significance

of basic Portuguese kin terms. Now I wish to focus on the formal nature of relationships which exist between kin terms.

3.1. The kin terms which I have genealogically described do not exist in isolation but rather as entities or elements relevant to certain kinds of relationships. Specifically, kin terms are related in a reciprocal or implicational fashion. For instance, the terms pai /"father"/ and mãe /"mother"/ do not exist in isolation but rather they imply the existence of a relationship with the terms filho /"son"/ or filha /"daughter"/. That is, pai and mãe are terms used reciprocally with filho or filha. More fully, Portuguese kin terms are related in the following ways:

pai or mãe	reciprocates	with	filho or filha
tio or tia	"	"	sobrinho or sobrinha
sogro or sogra	"	"	genro or nora
avô or avó	"	"	neto or neta
irmão or irmã	"	"	irmão or irmã
primo or prima	"	"	primo or prima
cunhado or cunhada	"	"	cunhado or cunhada
esposo(a)	"	"	esposa(o)

It is to be noted that each term in this list has a counterpart which serves to indicate either male or female gender (e.g. a male parent is pai while a female parent is mãe). The gender distinctions evidenced in this list are of little importance in the present discussion except insofar as they mask more fundamental relationships. It is possible to more clearly demonstrate the existence of underlying fundamental patterns if we can disregard the superficial gender

dichotomies; we can accomplish this by gathering (or collectivizing) kin terms into their respective plural categories. As a rule, male and female terms are always collectivized by terms which are classified as masculine plurals.[3] That is,

pai and mãe	constitute	the	category	pais
filho and filha	"	"	"	filhos
irmão and irmã	"	"	"	irmãos
tio and tia	"	"	"	tios
sobrinho and sobrinha	"	"	"	sobrinhos
avô and avó	"	"	"	avós[4]
neto and neta	"	"	"	netos
cunhado and cunhada	"	"	"	cunhados
sogro and sogra	"	"	"	sogros
esposo and esposa	"	"	"	esposos

There are two kin terms which cannot be collectivized like the other kin terms; they are genro /"son-in-law"/ and nora /"daughter-in-law"/.[5] For our purposes the only important fact about these terms is not that they seemingly constitute an exception to the rule of plural collectivization but that genro and nora constitute a de facto class insofar as they are each reciprocals with the class of sogros.[6]

Having reduced the number of kin terms by eliminating most of the gender dichotomies, the list of reciprocal kin relations can be seen to evidence two kinds of patterns: one pattern consists of reciprocal relations between terms which are members of different kin categories. For example, the term pai (or mãe) which is a member of the category pais reciprocates with both filho and filha

which are members of the contrasting category filhos; other reciprocal relations between terms of different categories involve tios and their sobrinhos, sogros and their genro or nora, and avós and their netos.

The other pattern consists of reciprocal relations between terms which are members of the same (plural) kin category. For example, the term esposo is used to reciprocate with the term esposa, both of these reciprocal terms are members of the same category esposos; other reciprocal relations between terms which are members of the same plural linguistic category concern the categories of irmãos, primos, and cunhados.

Put differently, the patterns exhibited in the reciprocal pairing of kin terms are of two kinds: 1) an asymmetrical form--i.e. a reciprocation of terms from different categories; and 2) a symmetrical form--i.e. a reciprocation of terms from the same category. The kin term relations which exemplify each type of relationship are:

Asymmetrical Relations	Symmetrical Relations
pais/filhos	irmãos
tios/sobrinhos	primos
sogros/genro (or nora)	cunhados
avós/netos	esposos

3.2. Having identified two formal patterns underlying Portuguese kin terminology, we will now examine meanings which are associated with each form. In particular, we will be concerned with the "generational" meanings of kin categories and the authority and respect connotations

of kin relations.

3.2.1. Portuguese call the first ascending generation a velha geração (the old generation) and the first descending generation a nova geração (the new generation). To make more elaborate distinctions they simply identify generations with lineal kin categories of the appropriate generation. For example, they speak of the generation of their avós (e.g. a geração dos avós), pais, filhos, or netos. All of the basic kin categories I discussed earlier are understood to belong to one of these generations or to ego's own generation. Tios and sogros belong to the generation of pais; sobrinhos and genros belong to the generation of filhos; and irmãos, primos, cunhados, and esposa(o) belong to ego's generation:

generation + 2	avós
generation + 1	pais, tios, sogros
generation 0	irmãos, primos, cunhados, esposo(a)
generation - 1	filhos, sobrinhos, genros
generation - 2	netos

Inspection of how kin categories are classified in terms of generation reveals that all asymmetrical reciprocal kin relations involve kin categories which are of different generations--avós/netos, pais/filhos, tios/sobrinhos, and sogros/genros--and that all symmetrically reciprocal kin are those which are regarded to be of the same generation --irmãos, primos, cunhados, esposos.

This correlation of asymmetrical form : symmetrical form :: different generation : same generation is quite neat when considered only in terms of the minimal genealogical extension of terms. However,

the correlation appears to break down as soon as one considers the fact that second or more distant cousins are sometimes reckoned to be of different "generations." For example, a primo segundo is sometimes reckoned as PSbCC, which makes ego and alter of different generations, yet, the reciprocal exchange of terms between primos segundos exhibits symmetry (ego calls alter primo segundo /or simply primo/, and alter calls ego primo segundo /or simply primo/.

It might be argued that when Portuguese say that primos are of the same generation they are ignoring the genealogical definitions of distinct primos--that is, they are only considering the minimal definition of primo. This may be so, however, a better explanation for primos being classified as a member of ego's generation can be obtained by examining the alternative meanings of geração ("generation") and primos.

Geração is used in two ways. One meaning given for geração is the genealogical distance between pais and filhos. The other meaning of geração involves the notion of relative age; individuals of the same approximate physiological age--whether kin or not--are regarded as constituting one generation.

With lineal kin, being of different genealogical generations always implies being of different relative ages simply because procreation is impossible before puberty. However, while similarity or difference of age is usually correlated with being of the same or different genealogically defined generations, this is not always the case. This correlation is sometimes seen to break down in connection

with tios, primos, and sobrinhos. For example, sometimes a genealogical tio and sobrinho are of the same relative age, and sometimes primos (and especially distant primos) are of different relative ages. (It is not uncommon, for example, for primos segundos /"second cousins"/ or primos em terceiro grau /"third cousins"/ to have a 20 or more year difference in age). In such cases, it is common for more attention to be paid to age than genealogical position. For example, a tio and sobrinho of the same relative age usually call each other primos, and in the case of primos of different relative age the elder is often called tio and the younger sobrinho. When questioned about this practice, individuals often remark that they know what their "real" family relationships are, but that they do not "feel" that it is "appropriate" to use the "real" terms because of their respective ages.

The fact that relative age sometimes overshadows genealogical position shows why primos justifiably exhibit a symmetrical form in reciprocal relations. Most simply, primos exhibit a symmetrical form of reciprocation because they are "always" of the same geração --at least with respect to the relative age definition of geração.

Thus, the correlation between "generational" classification of kin categories and reciprocal kin forms--i.e. Asymmetrical Form : Symmetrical Form :: different generations : same generation--always holds because "generation" is not solely a genealogically defined concept. Rather, "generation" is a concept which synthesizes or encompasses both genealogical and relative age meanings. This is

clear from the fact that the connotation of geração oscillates between the two meanings.[7]

3.2.2. Kin categories also correspond with connotations of respect and authority.

It is a stated norm that filhos should submit to the wishes of their pais. Obedience to and respect for one's parents are among the strongest moral obligations children have; it is an obligation which is continually stressed throughout schooling and in home life. It is also a moral obligation that children show deference to individuals of parents' generation. In the case of elders other than parents, the imperative to "obey" is reduced to the weaker duty to "respect." In short, there is a respect differential between different generations: filhos, sobrinhos, genros, and netos are expected to respect (in Portuguese, apreciar, estimar, respeitar) their pais, tios, sogros, and avós.

In contrast, between kin who are irmãos, primos, cunhados, or esposos there is no respect, deference or authority differential. In such relationships ego and alter are expected to maintain mutual and equal respect.[8] It is important to note here that the equal ranking of these kin can be altered by other factors. For example, a younger sibling is expected to yield to the wishes of and show respect for an older sibling (especially, in the case of the eldest brother); likewise, a wife is traditionally expected to show respect for and to submit to the authority of her husband. However, in each of these cases the rank differential is not based on being siblings

(irmãos) or spouses (esposos), but rather on distinctions based on relative age or sex.[9]

To summarize:

pais, tios, sogros, avós = respected categories
filhos, sobrinhos, genros, netos = respector categories
irmãos, primos, cunhados, esposos = categories of mutual and equal respect

Most simply, the inspection of respect connotations reveals a correlation with the two forms of reciprocal kin relations. Specifically,

Asymmetrical kin forms : Symmetrical kin forms :: respect inequality : respect equality.

3.3. Thus, generation and respect correlate with reciprocal forms of kin relations in the following way:

Asymmetrical Kin Forms	Symmetrical Kin Forms
different generation	same generation
respect inequality	respect equality

What is interesting here is that both generation and respect relationships share a common conceptual framework. Specifically, both are measured in terms of vertical and horizontal spatial axes.

The vertical conceptualization of generational difference is evidenced by the following. For one, there are direct statements that pais are "em cima" (above) their filhos; for another, the fact that members of the velha geração (the old generation) are called the superiores (superiors) of the nova geração (the new generation) suggests a distinction between high (i.e. superior) and low (i.e.

inferior). Also, the fact that the velha geração is the generation of one's ancestors while the nova geração is the generation of one's descendants suggests a vertical classification of different generation for, as noted in the last chapter, the notion of descent involves the idea that offspring "come down" or "descend" from their progenitors. In contrast, being of the same generation is understood as being neither higher nor lower; generational equality implies being on the same level--i.e. on the same horizontal conceptual plane.

Inequality of respect or authority is also measured in terms of a high/low distinction. For example, one who is very respected, eminent, noble, or appreciated is "highly" regarded--he is altamente estimado (highly esteemed) or altamente respeitado (highly respected). One who is in a position of authority is a superior (which is the same in English, superior), is one who has an alto cargo (a "high" task or responsiblity), and is one who is elevado (elevated). Conversely, to be under another's authority is to be in an inferior position, it is one who is subordinado (subordinate) and must be submissive (submisso)--to be in such a situation is to be em baixo (below). In contrast, those who stand in positions of equal authority and respect are spoken of as being on the same level (do mesmo nível) --as being neither higher nor lower than one another.

Thus, the spatial classification of kin category connotations and the forms of reciprocal kin relations adhere to the correlation,

Asymmetrical Kin Forms : Symmetrical Kin Forms ::

"vertical" connotations : "horizontal" connotations.

Footnotes

1. Two points are perhaps relevant here: 1) the disagreement mentioned in the text about reckoning kin only exists in the "folk" or everyday usage of kinship terms and is not evident in Canon Law or Civil Law, which maintain very rigorous genealogical meanings of kinship relations; 2) the classification of PSbCC as a primo(a) segundo(a) /"second cousin"/ is in contrast to the anthropological or genealogical usage which would regard such a genealogical relationship as a "first-cousin-once-removed."

2. To give a further example, a primo(a) terceiro(a) /"third cousin"/ may be either PPPSbCCC or PSbCCC (i.e. what anthropologists would call a first-cousin-twice-removed). What we have here, then, are two modes of reckoning cousins. One way determines degrees of relationship in terms of the number of generations from an ancestral sibling pair. For example, first cousins (PSbC) are both one generation down from a sibling pair, second cousins are both two generations down (PPSbCC), etc. The other way to calculate relationship is to determine distance by counting each lineal link from a first cousin relationship as an additional degree. For example, whereas PSbC is a first cousin, PSbCC is a second cousin, PSbCCC is a third cousin, PSbCCCC is a fourth cousin and so on.

   It should be noted here that others have remarked on the disagreement over the genealogical denotiation in anthropological

Footnotes (Continued)

kinship literature. This social dissensus has, in particular, been noted in the literature on Yankee or American kinship (see Goodenough 1965: 287, footnote 11).

3. Each of the plural forms are markedly masculine for, while they can be used to include both male and female kin together, they can be used to denote the plural of only the masculine term. For example, the term pais can refer to "parents" or only "fathers," and the term esposos can mean "spouses" or only "husbands."

4. A close examination of this list will reveal what may appear as an exception to the rule of masculine plural collectivization. This is so in the case of avô (PF) and avó (PM) being collectivized as avós--a plural which is formed from the feminine term avó. While orthographically there is a contradiction, there is no conceptual contradiction because the term avós is regarded as a masculine term when it is used to subsume avô and avó. The definition of avós as masculine is easily shown when we examine the term in the context of a sentence because Portuguese grammar dictates that a noun and its modifier must agree in number and gender. As proof one can examine which definite article is used with the term avós. In Portuguese the definite articles are:

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	o	os
Feminine	a	as

Footnotes (Continued)

In common usage we find the phrase os avós to collectivize avô and avó, as avós to mean the plural of avó, and os avôs to mean the plural of avô (that is, os avós is "grandparents;" as avós is "grandmothers" and os avôs is "grandfathers").

This rule of masculine collectivization is, of course, not limited to Portuguese kin terminology but is a general rule in the language. I make note of the rule because it differs markedly from English (which, e.g. father and mother are collectivized as parents, which suggests no particular gender).

5. Portuguese simply do not use the term genros to include both genro and nora. However, the terms genro and nora are sometimes regarded as kinds of filhos. For example, a parent will refer to his married daughter (filha) and her husband (genro), or to his married son (filho) and his wife (nora) simply as meus filhos /"my children"/.

6. The terms genro and nora, in essence, constitute the class of "non-sogros" which is reciprocal with the class sogros just as filho and filha constitute the class of "non-pais" which is reciprocal with the class pais.

7. Rodney Needham (1966) discusses the fact that in many societies kin terms have the dual meaning of genealogical position and relative age.

Footnotes (Continued)

8. Without going into an elaborate discussion of the grammar of the Portuguese language, I should like to note that the linguistic forms used in personal address between kinsmen reflect their unequal or equal rank. As an ideal norm (and one which is closely adhered to in practice), members of the lower generation speak to those of the upper generation using pronouns and verb form which are considered to be "formal" or "respect" forms (e.g. verbs with third-person endings); in contrast, the upper generation speaks to the lower generation using forms which are considered to be "familiar" or "informal" and which do not connote special respect (e.g. verbs with second person endings). Members of the same generation speak to each other using "familiar" forms (e.g. verbs with second-person endings).

9. For further information on family roles, and authority in Portuguese society see Cutileiro (1971).

VII. KINSHIP CLASSIFICATION AND ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the forms of reciprocal kin relations and the conceptual unity of connotations attached to those forms. Here we take our analysis of the organization of meaning a step further by examining the correspondence between the structure of Portuguese kin terminology and Portuguese ethnic classification.

2. Kinship as a Metaphor for Ethnic Relations

Kinship is metaphorically used as a framework for expressing ethnic relations. We find kin relations used to express both relationships between individuals and the group as well as between groups.

2.1. The Portuguese people as a group constitute a nação portuguesa (the Portuguese nation). The nação is spoken of as the pátria or as the mãe pátria. The term pátria is used to refer to both one's native land and native group; it is derived from the Latin word pater meaning father, and usually translates as "fatherland" even though it also denotes a social group rather than a place. The term mãe-pátria literally translates as "mother-fatherland." Individuals who are part of, or members of, a particular pátria (e.g. who are members of the Brazilian, Portuguese, or Spanish nations) are spoken of as being filhos (either filho or filha depending on their sex) of their pátria. The relationship, then, between an individual and his nation, pátria, or ethnic group is clearly portrayed as a

relationship between the kin categories of filhos and pais. Furthermore, members of the same pátria are considered to be irmãos (siblings): they are irmãos portugueses (Portuguese brothers).[1]

2.2. Also, and perhaps more important in light of the concern of this dissertation with relationships between ethnic categories, kin relations are used to express relations between ethnic groups; that is, the relationship between ethnic categories is sometimes explained in terms of kin relationships.

The kin relations used to express ethnic category relations are pais/filhos, irmãos, and primos. For example, it is said that Brazilians are filhos of the Portuguese (see Carvalho 1974: 67), Angolans are povos irmãos (brother peoples), Spanish Galicians are the irmãs ("sisters") of Portuguese (see Rodrigues Lapa 1975), and Castilians are often called primos of the Portuguese. Such metaphoric usages are commonplace and examples could be considerably extended.

One important fact about such metaphoric statements is that ethnic categories do not stand in a constant kin relationship with one another. For example, while one hears that Brazilians or Angolans are the filhos of the Portuguese, one also hears it stated (or sees printed) that they are irmãos of Portuguese. Also, Spanish are variably described as irmãos or primos of Portuguese.

Perhaps the key to the variable kinship metaphors is the dual meanings of the kin terms. Simply put, the meanings of kin terms oscillate between connotations of descent and rank.[2] The dual meanings are:

pais are either ancestors or dominant
filhos are either descendants or subdominant
irmãos are either co-descendants or authority (rank) equals
primos are either co-descendants or authority (rank) equals

For example, it was common for the Portuguese colonies to be described as the filhos of the Portuguese nation. The accompanying interpretation of such a description was that the colonies received "civilization" from the Portuguese--i.e. the colonies were taken as cultural and social descendants of the Portuguese. In contrast, nationalist movements in the Portuguese colonies would metaphorically explain their subdominance of the Portuguese by saying that they were regarded and treated as children (filhos) of the Portuguese. Similarly, in stressing that Brazilians are filhos of Portuguese (see Carvalho 1974: 67) it is pointed out that Brazil inherited culture, blood, and history from Portugal, but in speaking of Brazilians as a "brother people" it is noted that the Brazilians are a sovereign political entity--that is, in the "family of nations" Brazilians and Portuguese are each independent and equal powers (see Ministerio da Educação Nacional 1958: 142).

In speaking of povos irmãos ("brother peoples") connotations shift between those involving common descent and those involving equality of rank. For example, Spaniards and Portuguese are said to be povos irmãos because both peoples share common descent from the Latins, however, in other contexts (especially in socialist and communist literature), these povos irmãos are seen as united in their common struggle against the "oppressive system of private ownership." The latter usage clearly

suggests mutual respect and common position in a system of power relations.[3]

While sometimes a primos metaphor is used instead of an irmãos metaphor, the more popular usage for expressing common descent or common rank involves the notion of irmãos (e.g. "São povos irmãos" --"They are brother peoples") rather than the notion of primos (e.g. "Nossos povos são primos"--"Our peoples are 'cousins'"). The more popular usage of irmãos over primos is perhaps explained by the fact that irmãos suggests a closer and stronger type of social relationship. For the purposes of the present analysis, the substitution of irmãos for primos (or vice versa) is, however, of no importance. This is so because we are concerned here with formal (or syntactic) relationships and not with purely semantic differences between terms. While irmãos and primos have quite different genealogical referents, what is only of importance in the present context is that both kinds of relationships exhibit a symmetrical form of reciprocal relations.[4]

3. Structural Correspondence of Ethnic and Kinship Classifications

3.1. The metaphoric use of kin categories to explain ethnic category relations suggests there to be some kind of "fit" between the structure of ethnic classification and that of kinship terminology. The nature of the structural correspondence can be demonstrated by comparing ethnic label relations and kin category relations in terms of their respective forms and correlated meanings.

To express that ethnic category B is a descendant of or subdominant

to ethnic category A, one has two choices: B can be said to be a kind of A, or B can be said to be the filhos of A. For example, to express that the Azoreans (or Angolans) are descendants of the Portuguese or subdominant to the Portuguese it is said that they are a kind of Portuguese (see Chapter V.3.1.2.), or that Azoreans are filhos and the Portuguese are their pais. Either mode of expression connotes that the Azoreans are "low" (as descendants or subdominants) as compared to the Portuguese who are "high" (as ancestors or dominant group). In terms of formal relationships between categories we see that the relationship between including category and included category (i.e. ethnic category name giver and name receiver) is translatable into an asymmetrical kin form (i.e. between pais/filhos). That is, a relationship of ethnic category inclusion is transformable into an asymmetrical form of reciprocal kin. This makes sense from the standpoint that both of these formal relationships correlate with connotations which are vertically classified.

To express the opinion that ethnic categories X and Y are both descendants of, or subdominant to, category Z is expressible in two forms: X and Y may both be depicted as a kind of Z (i.e. the X and Y may be said to be irmãos or primos because of their common relation to Z). For example, Azoreans and Madeirans are said to be a kind of Portuguese because both are descendants of the Portuguese or because both are subdominant to the Portuguese. Or, Azoreans and Madeirans may be said to be "brother peoples" on the basis of their common descent or common subjugation. In formal terms, then, there is a relationship

between common inclusion of ethnic categories and a symmetrical form of reciprocal kin (in this case irmãos). In other words, common inclusion (i.e. co-receiving of a category name) translates into a symmetrical kin form. This makes sense because both of these formal category relationships correlate with connotations which are classified as horizontal.

Thus, there is a correlation that, asymmetrical kin form : symmetrical kin form :: ethnic category inclusion (i.e. a name giver/ name receiver relation) : common inclusion of two ethnic categories (i.e. co-receiving of a category name) :: a vertical connotation : a horizontal connotation.

We can go a step further in the comparison of kin and ethnicity classification by determining what, on the one hand, is common about an asymmetrical relationship and a relationship of inclusion; and what, on the other, is common about a symmetrical relationship and a relationship of common inclusion. That is, the similarity between kinship and ethnic group classification concerns determining what is fundamental about the unidirectional patterns of transmission of names in ethnic classification and the reciprocal exchange of terms in kinship.

Most simply put, each kind of formal category relationship evident in ethnic label classification and kin terminology positions categories in one of two ways: elements in any of these formal relations are placed in either identical (or equal) positions or in contrasting (or unequal) positions. I will handle the latter of these situations first.

In a relationship of category inclusion there are two contrasting

positions. Either a category is the includer or the included category; put differently, one category is the name giver and one is the name receiver. Taking an example I have given before, Portuguese are called (are included in) the category Lusitanian. The directionality of the relationship (name donor/name receiver) is tantamount to an unequal or different positioning of Lusitanian and Portuguese. In an asymmetrical form of kin reciprocation categories are similarly contrasted. In the pais/filhos relationship each party gives and receives a different term of address; that is, the fact that a pai and filho exchange terms which are part of contrasting categories (filhos and pais) underscores their difference.

In a relationship of common category inclusion there is an identical positioning of categories. Each category shares the same position of being included by a third category. To illustrate with an example used before, the Spanish and Portuguese are called Latins (are included in the category Latin). The fact that both Spanish and Portuguese are name receivers of the category Latin place both in the same or equal position in this instance of name transmission. Likewise, in a symmetrical form of reciprocal kin term exchange, each party has an identical position in the relationship because it gives and receives a term which is part of the same kin category. For example, irmão and irmã have an identical position because they call each other by terms which are part of the same kin category (i.e. irmãos).

Understanding that category inclusion and an asymmetrical form of reciprocation both define categories as contrasting (or different)

positions in a relationship, and that common inclusion of two categories and a symmetrical form of reciprocation define categories in identical (or the same) positions in a relationship allows specification of the underlying commonality of the conceptual domains of kinship and ethnicity. In light of the vertical connotations of inclusion and asymmetry, and the horizontal connotations of common inclusion and symmetry, it may be said that both domains adhere to the rule that contrastive positions in a relationship : identical positions in a relationship :: vertical connotations : horizontal connotations; or put differently, unequal positioning : equal positioning :: verticality : horizontality.

This rule isolates the commonality of kinship terminology and ethnic classification and explains why ethnic relations may be translated into kin relations. Essentially, it shows both domains--both systems of organizing meaning and form--to be part of a system which adheres to a more general principle of organization.

3.2. If this rule which relates unequal and equal positioning with conceptual spatial axes dissolves the difference between kinship and ethnicity (as cognitive systems) it only does so at one level; it defines the most general type of commonality. In order to understand how these two systems remain as separate conceptual systems it is necessary to specify the difference between each system.

The difference between kinship structure and ethnic classification logic lies in the distinctive handling of connotations which are classified as high and low. In ethnic classification meanings which are high

(ancestorship and dominance) and low (descent and subdominance) are expressed by including the "low" category in the "high" category. In contrast, in kinship terminology the low category (e.g. filhos) is not included in the high category (e.g. pais); instead such categories are deemed mutually exclusive. That is, ethnic classification uses the principle of inclusion to express verticality, while kin terminology uses exclusion to express verticality.

4. Conclusions

4.1. This chapter has attempted to show the underlying similarity of ethnic group classification and kinship term classification, both of which were discussed in detail in earlier chapters. For the purpose of summarizing the main points of my discussion, I have constructed a chart which appears below (see Table 9). This chart when read across specifies the kinds of formal relationships and connotations which are associated with Portuguese ethnic classification and kinship classification, the ways in which connotations of such ethnic classification and kin term classification are conceptualized, and the ways in which formal organizational principles used in Portuguese ethnic and kin classification are similar.

When read up and down, each column is intended to indicate various correlations (i.e. analogies or propositions) among formal relations, connotations, classifications of connotations and classifications of formal relations. For example, Column 1 indicates that the formal principle of inclusion in ethnic label classification is used to

Table 9. The Conceptual Structure of Portuguese Ethnic Classification and Kinship Classification

	Column 1	Column 2
Ethnic Classification		
- formal principles	inclusion	common inclusion
- connotations expressed by formal principles	ancestor/descendant dominant/subdominant	co-descendants co-subdominants
Kinship Classification		
- formal principles	asymmetrical reciprocity	symmetrical reciprocity
- connotations expressed by formal principles	"genealogical" generation difference relative "age" difference respect differential	generation similarity "age" similarity respect equality
Common Classification of Connotations	vertical (i.e. high/low)	horizontal
Logical Synthesis		
of formal principles of ethnic classification and kinship classification	contra-positioning (unequal positioning)	identical-positioning (equal positioning)

express relationships between ancestor and descendant or dominant and subdominant, the relationship of inclusion is transformed into one of asymmetrical reciprocity in kinship classification which in turn is used to express differences in "genealogical" generation, relative age, or respect. Furthermore, all of the connotations of ethnic and kinship terms listed in Column 1 are noted to be commonly classified as "vertical," and finally, the formal organizing principles listed in Column 1 are noted to be logically related as instances of contra- (or unequal-) positioning. I leave for the reader the task of reading the relationships which are depicted in Column 2.

4.2. The analysis and synthesis which I have presented in these last three chapters is admittedly very abstract. In fact my discussion has ended on a level of abstraction which is 6 degrees or levels from primary observed data. Specifically, the degrees of abstraction are as follows:

Degrees	Types of Data
first	primary isolation of ethnic label or kin term
second	observation of the contrasting of terms
third	noting of connotations of contrasting terms
fourth	noting of correlation between formal term relations and connotations
fifth	correlating formal relations and classifications of connotations (i.e. isolating a cultural structure which unites form and classification)
sixth	synthesizing (i.e. showing the unity of) ethnic classification and kin term classification structures.

The justification of proceeding to such an abstract level[5] is essentially that it allows specification of the similarity of cultural

phenomena (i.e. naming and classifying behaviour) which would otherwise go unnoticed. By abstracting from primary data this far it has been possible to show how cultural activity is meaningful for members of a society. It shows that acts of naming and classifying make sense because such activities are founded on a coherent system which a society has taken for granted in its attempt to organize perceptions of reality.

Footnotes

1. The usages given in this paragraph are commonplace, however, for anyone who wishes further illustration of their employment, I suggest that the Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira (1935) be consulted--of particular interest are entries entitled "Povo," Nação," "Pátria," "Irmão," "Família," "Filho."

2. The notion of rank is used here to variably connote authority and respect relations. In the present context it is impossible to rigorously distinguish between "authority" and "respect."

3. One will find abundant examples of fraternal or sibling metaphors in the Portuguese Communist newspaper Avante, and also in the weekly newspaper O Emigrante: Voz de Portugal (Lisbon).

4. A similar point can be made about the contrast between povos irmãos ("brother peoples" or "sibling peoples") and metaphors which suggest that two peoples (e.g. Portuguese and Spanish Galicians) are irmãs ("sisters"). That is, while the contrast between irmãos ("brothers" or "siblings") and irmãs ("sisters") involves a semantic component which distinguishes masculine and feminine, what is important on a syntactic level is that both kinds of relationships involve what have been referred to as symmetrical reciprocal relations.

5. It should be noted that the process of abstracting to such a level involves the transformation of metaphoric relations into

Footnotes (Continued)

metonymic relations which was discussed in Chapter I.3. Another way of looking at the process of abstraction is that it involves a progressive discovery of relationships; that is, we start with an element, then we look at relationships between elements, then we look at the relationships (or classes) <u>of</u> relationships between elements, then we look at the relationships (supra-classes) <u>of</u> relationships <u>of</u> relationships, etc.

CONCLUSION

1. Summarizing Comments

This dissertation has attempted to show how ethnic labels (i.e. proper names of populations)--used by Montréal Portuguese to identify their own group and to distinguish it from other groups--can convey meaning. The ethnic labels themselves are names which have been chosen in the distant past--during a variety of historical periods--to designate social groups. It has been argued that ethnic labels presently take on connotations when they are related (or, more properly, are understood to relate) to other population labels.

On the one hand, ethnic labels have been shown to take on connotations in various situations which are of immediate relevance to the life of Portuguese immigrants in Montréal. It has been argued that such "situational" connotations vary with a subjective evaluation of social context--for example, whether a person evaluates a situation as being "inside" or "outside" of the community. The variability of "situational" connotations has been correlated with those instances in which one ethnic label (e.g. "Portuguese") is regarded as contrasting with and as mutually exclusive with another ethnic label (e.g. Canadian).

On the other hand, it has been shown that ethnic labels can convey meanings which are not simply tied to an individual's evaluation of context but which are linked to formal rules of category organization. That is, it has been argued that some cultural meanings of ethnic labels are linked to positions in a taxonomic system of classification. Such meanings are not limited to contexts in Montréal but concern the

ways in which Portuguese culture generally conceives of "historical" group relations. To put the matter differently, it has been suggested that there are connotations that ethnic labels can take on which are based on stable cultural propositions. That is, it has been asserted that stable meanings are dependent on an ethnic label being used in conjunction with a structured conceptual system which unites formal category relationships with meaning.

The taxonomic or classificatory ordering of meanings of ethnic labels has been described as cultural rules which link category inclusion (or as I have sometimes referred to this principle of categorization, name transmission or name giving) with ideologies of descent and authority. Specifically, I have noted that category inclusion is linked with both relationships of ancestor/descendant as well as of dominant/subdominant. Furthermore, I have suggested that the ideologies of descent and authority associated with inclusion are conceptually united by a spatial conceptualization which utilizes notions of vertical and horizontal axes. In short, the structure of ethnic label classification which has been isolated concerns a link between formal category relations and a spatial conceptualization of descent and authority.

In addition, I have shown how the logic or order of ethnic label classification used by Portuguese is a transformation of an ethno-logic which is found to underlie another conceptual domain, Portuguese kinship terminology. It has been shown that Portuguese kin terms are classified with regard to genealogical position, relative age,

and respect; that such connotations are spatially conceptualized; and that the connotations and their spatial conceptualization correspond with formal category relations--specifically symmetrical and asymmetrical reciprocity (see Chapter VI).

Ultimately, it has been argued (in Chapter VII) that not only are ethnic and kinship classification based on logics which are transformations of one another, but also, both of these logics are part of a supra-logic which concerns a contrast between the spatial axes of verticality and horizontality and a correlation between contra-positioning and equal- (or identical-) positioning in formal category organization.

The structural analysis of ethnic classification (as well as the analysis of and comparison with kinship term classification) presented here is to be understood as limited in two important ways. First of all, the analysis of ethnic label meaning is a formal or "syntactic" analysis. The aim of such an analysis is to link logical form with meaning. Such an analysis is in contrast with analyses of other kinds of meaning which have been mentioned in the Introduction: pragmatic and semantic meanings.[1] Secondly, the present analysis of ethnic label classification is limited insofar as it is based solely on Portuguese data. While I do not expect that the present analysis is directly applicable to non-Western societies, it seems (at least intuitively) that it may be directly applicable to other Western European cultures. Conceivably, my analysis is relevant to, at least, Spanish, French, Italian, and British societies because all of these

societies share a common kinship classification which is based on that of the Roman Catholic Church, and because the notion of verticality is basic to conceptualizing authority and genealogy in these cultures. Of course, however, such similarity must be demonstrated and not simply assumed. In any case, I hope that the procedures and analysis set forth in this dissertation will facilitate comparisons of Portuguese classificatory systems with those of both Western and non-Western societies.

In summation, it is hoped that the meaning of ethnic categories as understood by members of Portuguese culture has been clarified by this analysis of cultural order and conceptual coherence.

Footnotes

1. From my understanding, pragmatic meaning involves considerations of the personal or private meanings which individuals attach to their use of a word, while semantic meanings have to do with the statistical meanings of a word and the componential analysis of a term's denotation (see articles in Tyler 1969).

APPENDIX I: Comments on Field Research

Since it is usually held that an anthropologist's conclusions about and understanding of a culture are intrically related to the quality and duration of social contacts during field research, I will briefly describe the personal involvement upon which this dissertation is based.

The data and analysis presented in this dissertation are the result of over 5 years contact with Portuguese living in Montréal. Over that period of time the types and intensity of my contacts varied a great deal. In retrospect, it seems that my field experience was divided into three periods. Very briefly, the first period involved my gradual introduction to the life of the Montréal Portuguese through contacts with a number of friends; the second period was characterized by participant-observation in the community; and the third period involved rechecking data and interpretations with informants, and writing initial drafts of dissertation chapters. Each of these stages or periods deserve further elaboration.

During the first stage I was living about two kilometers from the commercial center of the Portuguese community. At that time I was completing course requirements for an M.A. degree at McGill and was beginning field research on the manipulation of identity by Spaniards in Montréal for my M.A. thesis. Eventually I casually (and without any intent) met many Portuguese through friends or in my role as part-time musician.

My first important contact with any Portuguese in Montréal was in

May 1971, when I met a middle-aged Azorean musician named Artur Gaipo. During the summer of 1971, I began to learn to accompany Portuguese fado music from Senhor Gaipo; he played the Portuguese guitarra (a 12 stringed instrument of the cittern family, similar in appearance to a large mandolin) and I accompanied on the viola (the Portuguese name for the modern 6-string classical guitar). Since I had played classical guitar for a number of years, I quickly picked up the basics of accompanying fadistas (singers of fado). In the fall of 1971, we formed a quartet of guitarras and violas with two other Portuguese musicians. Through the remainder of 1971 and throughout 1972 this quartet (while playing as a musical ensemble or as accompanists for fado singers) performed in Portuguese social clubs, in community festivals (e.g. Miss Portugal of Montréal Contest), at private parties (inside and outside of the community), in Portuguese and Spanish restaurants, on local Montréal cable television, the C.B.C. French television network, on the Montréal English-language radio, and in several Québec prisons. Eventually, we recorded two extended-play records ("Balada de Montréal" and "Uma Guitarra nos Açores," Mil Records, 4078 St. Laurent, Montréal) which were sold in Portuguese stores in Canada, the United States and the Azores Islands.

I mention this musical side of my life because it stimulated my interest in the Portuguese community, and more importantly, because it allowed me to make contacts with many members of the community long before I began or even thought of undertaking any kind of formal research.

Through my role as a musician, I (who was variably introduced as American, Spanish, or Galician) met local representatives of the Portuguese Government (e.g. The Portuguese Consul and Vice-Consul), the Portuguese parish priest, local club officials, community activists, and businessmen, as well as the personal friends and family of many people. In all, I met several hundred members of the community. Of that number, there were at least 180 whom I knew by name and with whom I would occasionally converse. Of this total there was a smaller group of about 40 people (of both sexes) with whom I had very frequent contacts and who contributed greatly to my understanding of Portuguese language and culture.

In the fall of 1972, I completed my M.A. degree and began to consider sites and societies in which to further pursue research on ethnicity. I eventually decided that the Montréal Portuguese were an appropriate group to study. Among the various reasons for choosing this group were: 1) as immigrants in multicultural and multilingual Montréal, the Portuguese were constantly encountering situations in which their own or others' group identity was of social significance; 2) by 1972, I had developed splendid contacts throughout the Portuguese community; and 3) Portuguese-Canadians were at the time a fairly large immigrant population in both Montréal (pop. 30,000) and Canada (pop. 150,000) which had not been extensively studied.

In the spring of 1973 I began studying the Portuguese language with a private teacher. Prior to this, I had picked up a bit of Portuguese but had mainly communicated with Portuguese in English or with some others

in Spanish. In September 1973, my wife and I joined a Portuguese class of 4 people which was being held at the Movimento Democrático Português in Montréal (M.D.P.). In November 1973, I submitted a Ph.D. research proposal to the Anthropology Department at McGill University, passed an oral examination, and soon began the second and more "formal" period of my field research.

From November 1973, for about the next 12 months, being with Portuguese was a full-time pursuit. During that time I continued to periodically perform with various Portuguese musicians on weekends in the community. In addition, I also taught English and guitar to several individuals in the community. Through the M.D.P.--which was the centre of the community's opposition to the Caetano Regime--I had access to discussion of Portuguese political affairs and to local political activities. Among the best places for talking with Portuguese and learning their language was in one of the several local café-restaurants. For a period of about 10 months I went daily to a certain café where Portuguese men (among whom were taxi-drivers, waiters, real-estate agents, salesmen, carpenters, and maintenance men) would meet in the afternoon for uma bica (a demi-tasse) between 2 p.m. and 6 p.m. There were about 50 regulars to this café--of which about 20 returned every day--who would drop in during the afternoon for an espresso before, after, or to break up work. From this group I learned much colloquial Portuguese and had very good opportunities for observing the use of ethnic labels and kinship metaphors. In late Spring 1974, after a long search for

housing within the community, my wife and I moved to an apartment close to its commercial centre (we remained there until August 1976). In short, from November 1973, I enjoyed constant interaction with many Portuguese in Montréal. (In addition, my understanding of Portuguese society was further augmented in the summer of 1974 when my wife and I went to Portugal for 6 weeks to study at the University of Coimbra's Summer School of Language and Culture.)

In the beginning of my "formal" research, I experienced a sense of frustration in my attempts to make sense of the conceptual order of the Portuguese uses of ethnic identity. Those early attempts were essentially grounded in the theory and practice of those ethnoscientists who try to discover the componential definitions of cultural categories. At the time, I tried to find some kind of stable denotation for such labels as "Portuguese," "Azorean," "Canadian," "Spanish," and "Algarvian," and very frankly I had no success. Initially I simply kept fieldnotes on (among other topics) the unsolicited reasons given for ascribing self or others to an ethnic category. Next, I recorded about 20 hours of interviews with 10 people in the community which focussed on the arrival of Portuguese to Canada and the problems of immigrant life. During these interviews I would ask about relations between groups--e.g. Continentals and Azoreans, Madeirans and Azoreans, Cape-Verdeans and Continentals, Canadians and Continentals, Galicians and Portuguese, Québécois and Portuguese--and what made these peoples different. Then, in some unrecorded interviews I tried some of the eliciting techniques discussed

in Tyler (1969)--which attempt to identify native cultural categories and the cultural content which distinguishes them--in order to identify salient characteristics of Portuguese identity. Also, for the entire period of research (beginning in late 1972) I read the weekly Montréal Portuguese newspapers, Voz de Portugal and Tribuna, the monthly O Lusitano, and the sporadic O Voz de Immigrante, as well as Lisbon-based papers (e.g. Diário de Notícias, Expresso, and O Século) looking for instances of the use of ethnic labels. Although certain notions, such as "blood," "language," and "citizenship," continually emerged as social explanations for one's identity, the disagreement among individuals about the "real" meaning of an ethnic identity suggested to me that I might be looking at the wrong kinds of data if my interest was in discovering how ethnic labels convey meaning.

Eventually, I realized that in my search for the meaning of "Portuguese" and other group names I had been assuming that any stability in cultural meaning involved the denotation of a label. At about this time I re-read Lévi-Strauss' The Savage Mind (1966) and finally realized that one of its main points was that totemic or other names transmit meaning to a large extent by their position in a classification system. From that point on I decided to ignore the reasons given for the membership of individuals in an ethnic category and to concentrate on the explanations given in society for the relationships between ethnic categories.

From about November 1974 (which perhaps begins the third stage of

my work) to March 1975 I tried to put some of my ideas about ethnic label meaning on paper. My efforts were not very satisfactory, mainly because I had still not freed myself of concern with label denotation; I had not considered the common spatial classification of descent and authority, and, while I could see some link between ethnic label relations and kinship terminology, I was unable to explicitly isolate the formal patterns underlying kin term relations or the correspondence between ethnic classification and kin term organization.

For many months (perhaps over a year) I puzzled over the organization of the kinship terminology. At first I was confused by the fact that Portuguese disagreed about the genealogical denotation of some terms (e.g. primo segundo), and then by the fact that genealogical meaning was sometimes ignored altogether when relative age was deemed important.

Eventually, during early 1976, many of my hitherto fuzzy notions became somewhat clearer. Gradually I was able to comprehend (and articulate to some degree) a relationship between category inclusion, descent, and authority. At that point I consulted entries in a number of reference works in Portuguese (e.g. Ferreira 1951, Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira 1935-60, and Machado 1967) to check my analysis. Consistently, I would find my hypothesized relationship demonstrated (i.e. that descent or power relations were given as explanations for category inclusion). Then, with the unintentional help of about a dozen Portuguese I further checked my analysis. This I did by breaking the rules which I had arrived at. For example, I

would call the ancestral group by the descendant group's name (e.g. I would say that Latins were really Portuguese) or suggest that the conquering or dominant group should be called by the name of the conquered or subdominant (e.g. I would say Canadians should be called Cree, or Indian). What I verified to my own satisfaction with such intentional mistakes was that the correlation between inclusion, descent, and authority is well (if only implicitly) accepted. In order to convince myself about the spatial classification of descent and authority, I consulted Portuguese dictionaries and encyclopaedias,and took note of how my informants would explain such ideas. For me, one fact which well exemplifies the implicit vertical classification of descent and authority is that my Portuguese informants would often accompany their description of members of different generations, the relations between different classes, or the difference between ancestor and descendant with hand gestures which would position one conceptual category in space above or on top of the other. Similarly, in checking my hypothesis about the relationship between ethnic classification and kinship terminology, I would proceed by breaking cultural rules (e.g. I would say that "Portuguese are called Lusitanians because Portuguese are like brothers to the Lusitanians"). In most cases my informants would simply correct my "mistake" or else say that I had things backwards. Other informants would become annoyed that I, a university graduate, could confuse things so much, or with the fact that my thinking was so contradictory. What is important, I think, about such "annoyance"

is that it is a further indication of the implicit acceptance of the rules of conceptual order which I have suggested.

In August 1976, my contacts with the Montréal Portuguese and the completion of my dissertation were interrupted when I accepted a Visiting Lectureship in Vancouver. After an academic year of teaching, I resumed full-time writing of my dissertation. I found that after having given lectures on related material, my ideas about Portuguese ethnic classification were considerably clarified. Consequently, I set out to rewrite and integrate the dissertation chapters I had previously written. Thus, the final version of this dissertation is the result of my efforts from April to August 1977.

APPENDIX II: Modification of Portuguese Kin Terms

It is possible to modify the genealogical meaning of these terms in several ways: 1) with prefixes, 2) by combining terms, or 3) by adding terms which are not themselves kin terms.

1) The terms avô, avó, neto, and neta are modified by the use of prefixes. The prefixes indicate lineal distance from ego. For example, the prefix bis- (meaning two) is used to denote the third generation of lineal distance from ego (i.e. two generations from ego's parents or ego's children), and the prefix tres- (or tri-) --meaning three--is used to indicate the fourth degree of lineal distance from ego (i.e. the third generation from parents or children):

bisavô - PPF
bisavó - PPM
bisneto - CCS
bisneta - CCD
tresavô - PPPF
tresavó - PPPM
trineto - CCCS
trineta - CCCD

Theoretically, by using prefixes it is possible to extend the number of terms for lineal kin indefinitely. Practically speaking, however, the Portuguese do not use any prefixed terms for lineal kin aside from the ones I have mentioned. Furthermore, while all of the bis- forms are common knowledge, this is not so for the tres- (tri-) forms; this is understandable for the limited length of human life precludes the need for terms which denote very distant lineal kin.

2) There are terms which are formed by combining two basic kin

terms, for example:

tio-avô - PPB
tio-avó - PPZ
sobrinho-neto - SbCS
sobrinha-neta - SbCD

This form simply indicates that one's tio-avô (tia-avó) is a tio (tia) of the same generation as one's avô (avó), and that one's sobrinho-neto (sobrinha-neta) is a sobrinho (sobrinha) of the same generation as one's neto (neta).

It is logically possible to extend this list by employing prefixed lineal kin terms (discussed above), e.g. tio-bisavô to mean PPPB. However, while Portuguese say they understand the meaning of such a term, they in fact would never use it.

3) Degrees of primo relationships are indicated in two ways: a) by combining the term primo with a kin term; or b) by using a non-kin term as a modifier.

The only kin terms combined with primo or prima are irmão and irmã. The combined forms are primo-irmão (also primo coirmão) and prima irmã (also prima-coirmã). The genealogical designata of these terms are:

primo irmão--PSbS
prima-irmã--PSbD

The terms primo-irmão and prima irmã refer to the "closest" kind of primos. There are, however, ways for expressing more distant relationships. Portuguese express distance between primos in terms of degrees. They speak of a primo of the nth degree, e.g. primo em

terceiro grau (primo in the 3rd degree). Usually the expression of degrees of relationships is shortened simply to ordinal numbers --e.g. segundo (second) or terceiro (third) is placed after the term primo (i.e. primo segundo or primo terceiro). All primos of the second degree distance or beyond are called primos de longe or primo longínquo which literally means distant cousin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allport, Gordon
1954 The Nature of Prejudice. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Anderson, Grace M.
1970 A Selected Bibliography on Portuguese Immigration. Queen's Park, Toronto, Ontario: Department of the Provincial Secretary and Citizenship, Government of Ontario.

1974 Networks of Contact: The Portuguese and Toronto. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University.

Anderson, Grace M. and David Higgs
1976 A Future to Inherit: Portuguese Communities in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Antunes, M.L. Marinho
1973 A Emigração Portuguesa desde 1950: Dados e Comentários. Lisboa: Gabinete de Investigações Sociais.

Arribas, Antonio
1964 The Iberians. London: Thames and Hudson.

Atkinson, William C.
1965 A History of Spain and Portugal. Harmondworth: Penguin Books.

Barth, Fredrik
1969a Introduction. In F. Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

1969b Pathan Identity and Its Maintenance. In F. Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Barthes, Roland
1967 Elements of Semiology. London: Jonathan Cape.

1970 Mythologies. St. Albans, Herts.: Paladin. (Originally published in French in 1957. Selected and translated by Annette Lavers.)

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann
1967 The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books. (Originally published by Doubleday and Co. Inc. in 1966.)

Bieler Brettell, Caroline
1977 Ethnicity and Entrepreneurs: Portuguese Immigrants in a Canadian City. In George L. Hicks and Philip E. Leis, eds., Ethnic Encounters: Identity and Contexts. North Scituate, Massachusetts: Duxbury Press.

Blom, Jan-Peter
1969 Ethnic and Cultural Differentiation. In F. Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Boissevain, Jeremy
1970 The Italians of Montréal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society. Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, No. 7. Ottawa: Information Canada.

Boudon, Raymond
1971 The Uses of Structuralism. London: Heinemann. (Originally published in French as A Quoi Sert La Notion de Structure in 1968. Translated by Michalina Vaughan.)

Brandenstein, C.G. von
1970 The Meaning of Section and Section Names. Oceania, 41: 39-49.

Bruce, Neil
1973 Portugal's African Wars. Conflict Studies No. 34. London: The Institute for the Study of Conflict.

1975 Portugal: The Last Empire. South Devon House, Newton Abbot, Devon: David and Charles (Holdings) Ltd.

Canada, Dept. of Secretary of State, Canadian Citizenship Branch.
1965 Notes on the Portuguese in Canada. Citizen, Vol. II, No. 5, December.

1967 The Canadian Family Tree: Centennial Edition 1867-1967. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canadian Ethnic Studies Association
1976 Editorial: Multiculturalism at the Crossroads of Immigration Debate. Bulletin, Vol. III, No. 1, March, pp. 2-4.

Carnap, Rudolph
1974 Foundations of Logic and Mathematics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Midway Reprint. (Originally published in Foundations of the Unity of Science, Vol. I, No. 3: Toward an International Encyclopedia of Unified Science in 1939).

Carvalho, Pedro
1973 História de Portugal: para a 4ª. classe. Porto: Porto Editora, Lda.

Chilcote, Ronald H.
1972 Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa: Documents. Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press.

Cohen, Abner
1965 The Social Organization of Credit in a West African Cattle Market. Africa 35: 8-20.

1966 Politics of the Kola Trade. Africa 36: 18-36.

1968 The Politics of Mysticism in some Local Communities in Newly Independent African States. In M. Swartz, ed., Local-Level Politics. Chicago: Aldine.

1969a Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns. University of California Press.

1969b Political Anthropology: The Analysis of the Symbolism of Power Relations. Man 4: 217-235.

1971 The Politics of Ritual Secrecy. Man 6: 427-448.

1974a Two-Dimensional Man: An Essay on the Anthropology of Power and Symbolism in Complex Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

1974b Introduction: The Lesson of Ethnicity. In Abner Cohen, ed., Urban Ethnicity. A.S.A. Monograph No. 12. Toronto: Tavistock Publications.

Colby, B.N.
1966 Ethnographic Semantics: A Preliminary Survey. Current Anthropology 7: 3-32.

Cortés, Fernando, A. Przeworski, and J. Sprague
1974 Systems Analysis for Social Scientists. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Cox, Oliver Cromwell
1948 Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics. New York: Doubleday and Company.

Cutileiro, José
1971 A Portuguese Rural Society. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Douglas, Mary
1972 Deciphering a Meal. Daedalus, Special Issue on Myth, Symbol, and Culture. Winter.

Douglass, William A. and Milton Da Silva
1971 Basque Nationalism. In O. Pi-Sunyer, ed., The Limits of Integration: Ethnicity and Nationalism in Modern Europe. Research Reports, Number 9. Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts.

Driver, Harold E. and William C. Massey
1957 Comparative Studies in North American Indians. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, XLVII (New Series), Part 2.

Eidheim, Harald
1969 Where Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma. In Fredrik Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Fallaci, Oriana
1975 Disintegrating Portugal: An Interview with Mario Soares. New York Review of Books, Vol. XXII, No. 9, November 13, pp. 23-30.

Ferguson, Edith
1964 Newcomers in Transition. Toronto: International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto.

1966 Newcomers and New Learning. Toronto: International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto.

Fernández, Ronald Louis
1972 Ethnicity as a Symbol System: A Theoretical Discussion Exemplified by Case Studies of Spaniards in Montréal. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Department of Anthropology, McGill University, Montréal.

Ferreira, Júlio Albino
1951 Dicionário Inglês-Português, Português-Inglês. Porto: Editorial Domingo Barreira. (Primeira Edição 1933)

Fields, Rona M.
1976 The Portuguese Revolution and the Armed Forces Movement. New York: Praeger.

Figueiredo, Antônio de
1975 Portugal: Fifty Years of Dictatorship. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Frake, Charles
1964 Notes on Queries in Ethnography. In A.K. Romney and R.G. D'Andrade, eds., Transcultural Studies in Cognition. American Anthropologist, Special Publication, Vol. 66, No. 2, Part 2, pp. 132-145.

Fried, Morton H.
1975 The Notion of Tribe. Menlo Park, California: Cummings Publishing Company.

Friedman, Jonathan
1974 Marxism, Structuralism and Vulgar Materialism. Man, New Series, 9, 3: 444-469.

Gaspar, Joaquim
1968 Livro de Leitura: 4ª classe. Coimbra: Atlântida Editora.

Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds.
1975 Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Gluckman, Max
1962 How Foreign are You? Race, 4: 12-21.

Gonçalves, José Júlio
1971 Portugueses Dispersos Pelo Mundo. Lisboa: Agência-Geral do Ultramar.

Goodenough, Ward
1965 Yankee Kinship Terminology: A Problem in Componential Analysis. In E. Hammel, ed., Formal Semantic Analysis. American Anthropologist, Special Publication, Vol. 67, Part 2, pp. 259-287.

Gordon, Milton
1964 Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origin. New York: Oxford University Press.

Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira
1935-60 Lisboa: Editorial Enciclopédia.

Gregg, John R.
1954 The Language of Taxonomy: An Application of Symbolic Logic to the Study of Classificatory Systems. New York: Columbia University Press.

Grillo, R.D.
1974 Ethnic Identity and Social Stratification on a Kampala Housing Estate. In Abner Cohen, ed., Urban Ethnicity. Toronto: Tavistock Publications.

Hall, Edward T.
1969 The Hidden Dimension. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

Hamilton, Jon
1970 Portuguese in Transition. The Board of Education for the City of Toronto, Research Department.

Hammel, Eugene
1965 A Transformational Analysis of Comanche Kinship Terminology. In E. Hammel, ed., Formal Semantic Analysis. American Anthropologist, Special Publication, Vol. 67, No. 5, Part 2, pp. 65-105.

Hannerz, Ulf
1974 Ethnicity and Opportunity in Urban America. In Abner Cohen, ed., Urban Ethnicity. Toronto: Tavistock Publications.

Harris, Marvin
1964 Racial Identity in Brazil. Luso-Brazilian Review, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Winter): 21-28.

1970 Referential Ambiguity in the Calculus of Brazilian Racial Identity. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 26: 1-14.

Harris, Marvin and Conrad Kottak
1963 The Structural Significance of Brazilian Racial Categories. Sociologia 25: 203-209.

Helm, June, ed.
1968 Essays on the Problem of Tribe. Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society.

Henry-Nieves, Rohn
1975 Ethnicity: The Canadian Experience and the Portuguese in Toronto. Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Friends' World College.

Hicks, George L.
1977 Introduction: Problems in the Study of Ethnicity. In George L. Hicks and Philip E. Leis, eds., Ethnic Encounters: Identities and Contexts. North Scituate, Massachusetts: Duxbury Press.

Holmes, Urban Tigner
1937 Portuguese Americans. In Francis Brown and Joseph Roucek, eds., Our Racial and National Minorities: Their History, Contributions and Present Problems. New York: Prentice-Hall.

Insight Team of the Sunday Times
1975 Insight on Portugal: The Year of the Captains. London: Andre Deutsch.

Isajiw, Wsevolod W.
1974 Definitions of Ethnicity. Ethnicity 1: 111-124.

Keating, Bern
1968 The Grand Banks. New York: Rand McNally and Company.

Köngäs Maranda, E.K.
1971 'A Tree Grows': Transformations of a Riddle Metaphor. In E.K. Köngäs Maranda and P. Maranda, eds., Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays. The Hague: Mouton (2nd Edition).

Kramer, J.
1974 Letter from Lisbon. New Yorker, Vol. 50, No. 31, pp. 101-132.

Krohn, Roger and Huntly Duff
1972 The Other Housing Economy: Self-Renewal in a Central Montréal Neighborhood. A Report to Canada Council, Grant No. S70-0179. Mimeographed.

Leder, H.H.
1968 Cultural Persistence in a Portuguese-American Community. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University.

Leach, Edmund
1961 Rethinking Anthropology. London: Athlone Press.

1962 On Certain Unconsidered Aspects of Double Descent Systems. Man, 62: 130-134.

Leach, Edmund
1964 Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse. In Eric Lenneberg, ed., New Directions in the Study of Language. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, pp. 23-63.

1967 Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure. Boston: Beacon Press. (First published in 1964.)

1971 More about 'Mama' and 'Papa'. In Rodney Needham, ed., Rethinking Kinship and Marriage. A.S.A. Monograph, No. 11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1976 Culture and Communication: The Logic by which Symbols are Connected. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lever, Henry
1968 Ethnic Attitudes of Johannesburg Youth. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude
1966 The Savage Mind. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Originally published in French as La Pensée Sauvage in 1962.)

1967 Structural Anthropology. New York: Basic Books. (Originally published in French as Anthropologie Structurale in 1958.)

Livermore, H.V.
1965 Portugal. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 18: 273-284.

1969 A New History of Portugal. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (First published in 1966.)

1972 Portugal, History. Collier's Encyclopedia, Vol. 19: 278-288.

1974 Portugal, History of. Encyclopaedia Britannica (Macropaedia), Vol. 14: 864-874.

Machado, José Pedro
1967 Dicionário Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa. Lisboa: Editorial Confluência. Segundo Edição. (Primeira Edição 1952)

Maranda, Pierre
1974 French Kinship: Structure and History. The Hague: Mouton.

Marques, A.H. Oliveira
1972 History of Portugal. (Vol. I: From Lusitania to Empire; Vol. II: From Empire to Corporate State) New York: Columbia University Press.

Maxwell, Kenneth
1975 Portugal Under Pressure. New York Review of Books, Volume XXII, No. 9, May 29, pp. 20-30.

Michaud, Josette
1974 Montréal Mosaic: Avenue de l'Esplanade to Jean Talon Market. In Exploring Montréal: Its Buildings, People and Places. Published by the Montréal Society of Architecture in Affiliation with Greey de Pencier Publications.

Miller, W.
1955 Two Concepts of Authority. American Anthropologist 57: 271-289.

Mitchell, J.C.
1974 Perceptions of Ethnicity and Ethnic Behaviour: An Empirical Exploration. In Abner Cohen, ed., Urban Ethnicity. Toronto: Tavistock Publications.

Moerman, M.
1965 Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who are the Lue? American Anthropologist 67: 1215-30.

1968 Being Lue: Uses and Abuses of Ethnic Identification. In J. Helm, ed., Essays on the Problem of Tribe. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Murphy, Robert F.
1971 The Dialectics of Social Life: Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Nagata, Judith A.
1969 Adaptation and Integration of Greek Working Class Immigrants in the City of Toronto, Canada: A Situational Approach. International Migration Review, IV (1): 44-70.

1974 What is a Malay? Situational Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society. American Ethnologist, 1 (2): 331-350.

Naroll, Raoul
1964 Ethnic Unit Classification. Current Anthropology, V (4): 283-291.

1968 Who the Lue Are. In J. Helm, ed., Essays on the Problem of Tribe. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Needham, Rodney
1966 Age, Category and Descent. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 122: 1-33.

Needham, Rodney
1971 Introduction. In Rodney Needham, ed., Rethinking Kinship and Marriage. A.S.A. Monograph, No. 11. London: Tavistock Publications.

Paine, Robert
1974 Second Thoughts About Barth's Models. Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper No. 32. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Pap, Leo
1949 Portuguese-American Speech: An Outline of Speech Conditions among Portuguese Immigrants in New England and Elsewhere in the United States. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University. New York: King's Crown Press.

Parkin, David
1974 Congregational and Interpersonal Ideologies in Political Ethnicity. In Abner Cohen, ed., Urban Ethnicity. Toronto: Tavistock Publications.

Patrides, C.A.
1973 Hierarchy and Order. In Philip P. Wiener, ed., Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas. Volume II: 434-449. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Piaget, Jean
1970 Structuralism. New York: Harper and Row. (Originally published in French as Le Structuralisme in 1968. Translated and Edited by Chaninah Maschler.)

Pitt-Rivers, Julian
1969 Mestizo or Ladino? Race, 10: 463-477.

Portugal, Ministério da Educação Nacional
1958 O Livro da Terceira Classe. Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand.

Pouwer, J.
1966 The Structural and Functional Approach in Cultural Anthropology. Anthropologica (Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde), Vol. 122: 129-144.

1974 The Structural Configurational Approach: A Methodological Outline. In Ino Rossi, ed., The Unconcious in Culture. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R.
1952 Structure and Function in Primitive Society. New York: The Free Press.

Rodrigues Lapa, M.
1975 A Galiza, O Galego e Portugal. Biblios, LI: 45-64 Universidade de Coimbra.

Rogers, Francis M.
1974 Americans of Portuguese Descent: A Lesson in Differentiation. Sage Research Papers in Social Sciences, No. 90-013. London: Sage Publications.

Romão, Isabel
1973 Le processus de migration: La mobilité professionnelle, la mobilité sociale et l'acculturation chez les ressortissants d'un groupe ethnique à Montréal. Unpublished Master's Thesis in Sociology. Université de Montréal.

Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist
1972 Metaphors and Folk Classification. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 28 (1): 83-99.

Rossi, Ino
1974a Intellectual Antecedents of Lévis-Strauss' Notion of Unconscious. In Ino Rossi, ed., The Unconscious in Culture. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company Inc.

1974b Structuralism as a Scientific Method. In Ino Rossi, ed., The Unconscious in Culture. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company Inc.

Roucek, Joseph S.
1945 Portuguese Americans. In Francis Brown and Joseph Roucek, eds., One America: The History, Contributions and Present Problems of our Racial and National Minorities. New York: Prentice-Hall.

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
1970 The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. Book IV of Final Report. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Saussure, Ferdinand
1974 Course in General Linguistics. Glasgow: Fontana/Collins. (Translated from the French by Wade Baskin, Edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye with Albert Reidlinger.)

Schermerhorn, Richard Alonzo
1970 Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research. New York: Random House.

Schein, Muriel D.
1975 When is an Ethnic Group? Ecology and Class Structure in Northern Greece. Ethnology, XIV (1): 83-98.

Schildkrout, Enid
1974 Ethnicity and Generational Differences among Urban Immigrants in Ghana. In Abner Cohen, ed., Urban Ethnicity. Toronto: Tavistock Publications.

Simonis, Yvan
1974 Two Ways of Approaching Concrete Reality: 'Group Dynamics' and Lévi-Strauss' Structuralism. In Ino Rossi, ed., The Unconscious in Culture. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company Inc.

Smith, M. Estellie
1974 Portuguese Enclaves: The Invisible Minority. In Thomas K. Fitzgerald, ed., Social and Cultural Identity: Problems of Persistance and Change. Southern Anthropological Society, Proceedings, No. 8. Distributed by the University of Georgia Press.

Spradley, James P.
1972 Foundations of Cultural Knowledge. In James P. Spradley, ed., Culture and Cognition: Rules, Maps, and Plans. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company.

Sturtevant, William
1964 Studies in Ethnoscience. In A.K. Romney and R.G. D'Andrade, eds., Transcultural Studies in Cognition. American Anthropologist, Special Publication, Vol. 66, No. 3, Part 2, pp. 146-170.

Taft, Donald Reed
1923 Two Portuguese Communities in New England. New York: Columbia University.

Tambiah, S.J.
1969 Animals are Good to Think and Good to Prohibit. Ethnology, 8: 424-459.

Tienhaara, Nancy
1974 Canadian Views on Immigration and Population: An Analysis of Post-War Gallup Polls. Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Government of Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration. Ottawa: Information Canada.

Trueblood, Marilyn A.
1977 The Melting Pot and Ethnic Revitalization. In George L. Hicks and Philip E. Leis, eds., Ethnic Encounters: Identities and Contexts. North Scituate, Massachusetts: Duxbury Press.

Tyler, Stephen A.
1969 Introduction. In S. Tyler, ed., Cognitive Anthropology. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

van den Berghe, Pierre L.
1967 Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Van der Leeden, A.C.
1971 'Empiricism' and 'Logical Order'. Anthropologica (Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde), 127: 15-38.

Vasconcellos, J. Leite de
1936 Etnografia Portuguesa: Tentame de Sistematização. Vol. II. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.

Vaz, August Mark
1965 The Portuguese in California. Oakland, California: Irmandade do Divino Espirito Santo (I.D.E.S.) Supreme Council.

Wallace, Anthony F.C.
1961 Culture and Personality. New York: Random House.

Ward, Frances
1975 Cape Verdeans: Mixed Race Seeks Identity. Los Angeles Times, June 23, pp. 1 and 10.

Way, Ruth
1962 A Geography of Spain. London: Methuen.