

Bilingualism in Canada

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カナダの二言語政策

コンラッド・フォルテン

SUMMARY IN JAPANESE: 多くの人々はカナダ人を完全に二言語主義の国と考えているが、1981年の前回の国勢調査では、実際にフランス語と英語を話せるのは370万人のカナダ人で、これは人口の13%にしか相当しない。1971年の国勢調査時からは2%の増加しかみられない。だが歴史的にみると、二言語政策はニューフランスが英国の植民地となった1763年に始まる。つまり英国による征服以前は、ニューフランスの全住民がフランス人であり、公共機関も完全にフランス式のものであった。フランス人は自分たちの言語を守るために長年イギリス人との政治闘争にかかわったが、1867年にようやく英領北米法により英語とフランス語の併用が認められ、1982年憲法の「自由と権利の章典」につながるのである。当初、カナダのフランス語はフランスで使用されている言語のまねであったが、次第に独自の言語に発展して特有の発音と語いをもつほどになった。また英語は、元来、1776年のアメリカ革命への参加を嫌ったロイヤリスト（王党派）がカナダにもたらしたイギリス英語とアメリカ英語の混合英語である。労働力、公務執行、言語教授法、英仏両系の少数民族教育などの分野で二言語の使用能力上の問題があり、今日のカナダ人の大半が支持している二言語政策の発展を遅らせている。

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General Situation

Some misguided conceptions of Canada's population pattern have led to the belief that most Canadians speak English and French. One can also occasionally hear the opinion that spoken French in Canada is a prerogative of Quebec while English is only spoken in the other provinces outside of Quebec. Regretfully, these two opinions must be tabbed as erroneous. In regards to the first opinion, we can at most affirm that bilingualism has made significant progress in Canada but has not become the characteristic of most English and French Canadians. The second opinion which would seem to make Quebec the sole home province of French simply ignores the existence of French minorities residing in noticeable numbers in Ontario, Manitoba and New Brunswick having French as their mother tongue. Furthermore, English is also used in Quebec by an English-speaking minority of close to 2,000,000.

Bilingualism, however, whatever may be its situation, has overshadowed many national issues in Canada to become a problem of utmost concern to government authorities and in educational circles.

Today six out of ten people in Canada use English as their mother tongue while one-quarter of the entire population use French in their childhood.¹ The former grew by 15% between 1971 and 1981 while the latter had a lower growth rate of 7.9%. Although their real numbers increased, the percentage of French Canadians in the total population decreased in one decade; they dropped from 26.9% of the total population to 25.7%. Their increase in real numbers is almost entirely due to the higher birth rate in Quebec, where the French speaking population increased by 9%, as compared to less than 2% in other provinces.²

Canadians who use English as a mother tongue according to the 1981 census numbered 14,912,460. The other founding nation, the French, in that same category, had a total population of 6,249,100. However, the two nations differ in the manner in which they are distributed: English Canadians reside in about every corner of Canadian territory while 85% of French Canadians occupy the province of Quebec; nearly five hundred thousand can be found in Ontario and several hundreds of

thousands are distributed in the provinces of Manitoba and New Brunswick. In other provinces, there are few French Canadians the Francophones being slightly below 6% of the total population of the country.³ It is useful to note here that French in Canada, outside of the provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick, has undergone some change in its use in recent years. Across the country, 24.6% of Canadians, or 5.9 million, gave French as the main language used in the home in 1981, as compared to 25.7% or 5.5 million in 1971. Therefore, there has been a drop of 9.5% in the everyday use of French in ten years.⁴

If data concerning mother tongues are compared with data on language use, it becomes clear that outside Quebec and New Brunswick, the number of Francophones has decreased from 5.3% to 3.8% of the total population. This phenomenon has an explanation in the fact that a language transfer has taken place: some Francophones no longer use French in their daily lives. The problem is practically non-existent in Quebec but outside of that province it is said that as many as 40% of Francophones have become victims of language transfer, having lived separated from the nourishing source of their mother tongue. It is inevitable as a minority that they mostly become assimilated to the English speaking segment of the population of the country.

After pointing out certain basic facts concerning the linguistic status of the two founding nations of Canada we are now better prepared to assess the bilingual ability of the two major national groups. Since the passing of the Official Languages Act in 1969, any Canadian who can carry on a conversation in English and French is considered to be "bilingual" in census surveys. The 1981 census has revealed that about 16 million Canadians could only speak English. As far as French is concerned the same census showed that approximately 4 million Canadians could only speak French. However, the big surprise occurred when the census also revealed that no more than 3.7 million Canadians could speak English and French! This last group represents about 15% of the Canadian population, an increase of 2% since 1971. About one-third of Francophones are bilingual compared to only 8% of English speaking Canadians or "Anglophones". There is a bilingual population of 2 million in Quebec which amounts to more than one half of Canada's bilingual population. Nearly 1.5 million, or 29% of Franco-

phones in Quebec and one-half million, or 60%, of Quebecers whose mother tongue is English or another language are officially bilingual.⁵

In other provinces we can safely assert that Francophones are bilingual, being surrounded by English-speaking people and English institutions. If they only use French upon arrival in their English environment, they will become bilingual with time. The number of bilingual Anglophones decreases as they move away from Quebec where it was possible for them to keep and improve the French they had assimilated in that province. The highest percentage of bilingual Canadians, whose mother tongue is not French, can be found in New Brunswick and in Ontario.⁶

Historical Development of Bilingualism

Various views and misconceptions have existed for some time in Canada concerning the right to use English and French. However, from the beginning of the political and constitutional history of the country, there emerged a development in bilingualism which pursues its course even today. Truly, we can state that in earlier times more emphasis was put on the preservation of the Roman Catholic faith of the French Canadians and that only later language became the centre of debate in government circles. But we must also remember that for the early French colonists religion and language were practically inseparable: to be Roman Catholic was to be French.⁷ Therefore, history records the existence of language rights from the dawn of Canadian civilization. But what do we mean by "language rights"? It is not only the right of a citizen to communicate with other citizens of the same country in his own language, whether it may be English or French as in our case. No one has ever legally challenged this right in Canada. But occasional social action has been undertaken to bring the French into the English fold. We are rather concerned with the rights of English or French speaking Canadians which they possess by law or custom to use their mother tongue when dealing with public authorities. More specifically, a language right is a legal protection for the use of a given language.⁸ The user of a particular language has the right to communicate in the conduct of affairs in the parliamentary and legislative process, in the

everyday administration of government, in the rendering of justice and in the public school system. This language right may also include participation in private activities.

Thus, we can best obtain knowledge of language rights in a country by checking out whether a given language is approved by the constitution of the country or in its political, social, educational and economic life.

As we have earlier implied, the struggle between the English and the French linguistic groups marked the early beginnings of Canadian history.⁹ Debate and controversy did not overrun Quebec alone but affected the entire country as well. Till 1713, the French, since the days of Jacques Cartier who had first discovered the New Land in 1534, dominated Canada in an undisturbed manner. However, England ambitiously eyed New France, as Canada was then known, and war broke out. The French, not receiving enough military aid from France, their territory became a prey for the English. Thus, on April 11, 1713, Acadia, until then mainly a French possession, became a British colony. According to article XIV of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Acadians who wished to remain in their conquered land were allowed to keep their Roman Catholic faith and thus to remain French, although English was to be the language adopted by the government. At that time, there were about 1,700 settlers in Acadia who were all French. Until 1749, the French speaking population had reached about 10,000; the use of English could be noticed strictly among officials of the colony, including the military. The Acadian self-government survived and consequently the French language, for practical purposes, remained the language of the new colony. Gradually, the English settled in Acadia and most of the Acadians, accused of not being loyal to the British Crown, were shamefully deported in 1785. As a result, the English became the predominant linguistic group in the Maritimes. But French never did disappear in Nova Scotia and today, in New Brunswick, it has received considerable recognition in the conduct of public affairs.

In 1760, the British conquered all the territory hitherto occupied by the French and Canada officially became a British possession by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. From now on the linguistic battle between the English and the French would be carried on in Quebec and in Ontario.

Till the Conquest the French population had risen to 65,000 inhabitants, most of whom were Roman Catholics. The terms of the capitulation of Quebec and Montreal were contained in English and French texts. As England had decided to maintain an interim military government till 1763, nothing was changed in the daily use of French in public affairs and in the written law or proclamation of laws.

But the Royal Proclamation of 1763 dealt with the four new English colonies in America, that is, Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, in exactly the same manner and suggested that assemblies should be instituted to establish statutes and courts of justice to resolve disputes as closely as possible as may be agreeable to the laws of England. Naturally, when efforts were made to apply the Proclamation to the French population surprise and confusion ensued as Quebec had not been molded by English politicians. The English minority cried out that the assimilation of the French would solve the problem while the predominantly French speaking population petitioned for the maintenance of French law, access to French-speaking lawyers, and a bilingual system of justice. Meanwhile, Governor Murray, who had led the military interim government, made a favourable report of the grievances of the French population to British authorities who decided to adapt their policy to the situation in Canada. After deliberating the matter, the British Government proclaimed an ordinance in 1766 permitting French Canadian lawyers to practice in all courts and provided for a system of mixed, civil juries; entirely English for cases involving English citizens only and entirely French for parties of the French linguistic group. There would be mixed juries in other cases. This structure is still the foundation of the jury structure prevalent today in the province of Quebec. In 1771, the French made another step forward in the implantation of French law as the seignorial system of land tenure received recognition by British authorities. Thus, land grants could be made according to the old French law. But such a concession to the French established a clear distinction in custom between the two founding nations as the English followed their own laws and customs.

Cultural duality continued to characterize Canada with the Quebec Act of 1744. Article VIII was of particular importance to the French people as French law received recognition in controversial matters

concerning property and civil rights. Although English criminal law was confirmed, French criminal law still commanded respect and the French acted according to its statutes. Religious freedom was again affirmed but nothing was stated about language rights. But a legislative council resulted from the Quebec Act; the debates and records of the council remained in both languages while it published its ordinances both in English and French. In regards to the system of justice the Act recognized the equality of both languages and thus it laid the foundation for bilingual use in the Quebec Government till the present time.

As it has often happened in Canada, the French Canadians rejoiced in the rights which they had obtained while the English looked on the situation with evident displeasure. The English Canadian population grew ostensibly as a result of massive emigration of Loyalists from the south who had refused to take part in the American Revolution in 1776. The English, now feeling stronger as a national group, desired an elective or representative assembly, the acceptance of English as the sole official language and the abrogation of French law. The British Parliament resolved to settle this first serious confrontation of the two founding nations, knowing quite well that the French Canadians would resist any attempt to restrict the use of their language and of French law. It was therefore decided to divide the province of Quebec into two regions corresponding to the linguistic and cultural distinction of its inhabitants.

The division of Quebec became official by the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791. The former extension of Quebec, which reached the state of Ohio, soon suffered some delimitation as Upper Canada came into existence (now Ontario) with its neighbour Lower Canada, the actual province of Quebec. In each of these newly created land segments there would be an appointed legislative council and an elected popular assembly. Any Canadian subject could be elected to either of those government bodies.

In Lower Canada, the legislative assembly, as might be expected, became the stage for heated arguments about the use of the proper language, in particular in regards to the speaker. But, at the same time, progress in the equal use of languages emerged from the offset in the practice of using English and French in proposing bills and motions.

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Also bills should be translated and read in both languages. An established rule stipulated that the official text of bills would be the language of the area of law to which the bills referred. The French language became the medium of expression for bills touching upon civil law while English automatically served as means of expression in cases of criminal law. In Upper Canada, where the English dominated in numbers over the French the situation did not reach the same proportion as in Lower Canada. In 1792, section VIII of the Quebec Act where it was stated that French law could be accepted in matters of property and civil rights, underwent a radical change as the English inserted the laws of England in its place. They also refused to admit any longer mixed juries.

However, the French language did not disappear completely from the political scene in Upper Canada. For instance, the statute creating a Court of King's Bench for Upper Canada required that notices attached to processes served on French Canadian defendants be written in the French language. In 1793, a resolution passed by the legislative assembly stipulated that there be unofficial translations of Upper Canada statutes for the benefit of the French population.

Nevertheless, bilingualism seemed to be doomed in Upper Canada. In 1822, the United Kingdom Parliament received a bill from English Canadians strongly advocating the reunification of Lower and Upper Canada and the suppression of the French language. The French resisted the bill and consequently the British Crown dropped it altogether. The people in both Canadas were victims of unrest which ignited two rebellions, one in 1837 and one in 1838. Matters did not improve as the legislative assembly of Upper Canada passed a resolution declaring that English would become the only language of the debates of the legislature in courts of justice and in all public documents.

As the rebellion of 1837 and 1838 had achieved little in settling differences between the French and the English, the United Kingdom Parliament suspended the Constitutional Act of 1791, as far as it affected Lower Canada, and a special council was created to govern the province. All the members of this council were English. Its ordinances in printed form and also court proceedings remained bilingual.

As discontent still persisted in Canada, mainly among the French, the British Crown appointed the Earl of Durham High Commissioner and Governor General of British North America with the task of investigating the causes of discontent in Canada and of suggesting some solution. After five months of inquiry, Lord Durham produced his well-known *Report on the Affairs of British North America*. Durham held the opinion that Lower and Upper Canada must be united in order to eventually provide an English majority in the legislature. He also favoured the assimilation of the French by an increase of English settlers. And he emphasized the importance of responsible government to make the executive responsible to the legislature, an unknown procedure till the present time.

The result of the Durham Report centered mainly on the Union Act of 1840 which stipulated the union of Upper and Lower Canada. The use of French in the courts was unaltered but section XLI of the Act stipulated that all records and proceedings of the legislative council and of the legislative assembly were to be maintained in the English language only, although unofficial translations could be permitted in French. But the French language population, always resisting measures to remove French from the political world, obtained the removal of section XLI of the Union Act. The official status of French became a reality in 1949 when Lord Elgin read the speech from the throne in both languages.

The United Province of Canada could thus be qualified as officially bilingual at least 18 years before the introduction and approval of the British North America Act in 1867. It should be remembered that during those turbulent years the French language always enjoyed recognition in the courts of Lower Canada, no matter what happened at the legislation level. Time was now ripe to formulate in a clearer way the status of the English and French languages in Canada. A firmer legal foundation was provided by the British North America Act of 1867. Section 133 of the Act reads as follows:

Either the English or the French language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and

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both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this, and or from all or from any of the Courts of Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages.

Both the English and French languages may be employed in the General Parliament and in its proceeding, and in the Local Legislature of Lower Canada and also in the Federal Courts and in the Courts of Lower Canada.

Despite lingering problems with language use, particularly in Manitoba, the B.N.A. Act remains a cornerstone in the implementation of bilingualism in Canada.

But there still remained problems to be solved, especially the difficulty of having English and French accepted throughout the country and not only at the government level. In 1967, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism published a report on the obstacles confronting a better widespread use of English and French in Canada. As a result of this report, Parliament passed the Official Languages Act in 1969 declaring that French and English were the official languages of Canada. Also the Act went on to add that the customer could choose French or English when requiring services embodied in federal institutions. Furthermore, on this same occasion, a Commissioner of Official Languages was chosen and authorized to supervise the general use of the two languages. All political parties and most of the public endorsed this latest act of Parliament.

A final step was taken by the Canadian Parliament concerning language rights in 1982 when it created the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Canada's new Constitution, in which sections 16 to 22 presented more detailed legislation concerning the use of French and English.¹⁰ The new statutes clearly permit a wide use of both languages in practically any areas of Canada where there are federal offices and not only in Ottawa. Furthermore, native peoples need not fear limitations in the use of their own language in particular cases, such as court

trials. Emphasis is put on the bilingual rights of New Brunswick but, generally, the statutes of the new Charter reinforce those of the B.N.A. Act.

As one can surmise, the historical development of bilingualism in Canada reveals periods of struggle to maintain especially the use of the French language. Much of the bitter feeling between the two founding nations, the English and the French, could have been avoided if the French would have been allowed more readily the use of their language in a land where they were the majority in the early years of the British colony. Some British leaders understood the problem but they remained a minority.

English in Canada

The study of the English language in Canada has not been completed and, although it is rather complex because of existing linguistic influences, can afford interesting research. Much has perhaps left to be known about English in Canada as discoveries concerning its origins and ingredients have practically begun in the late nineteenth century.

It is also useful to point out that many Canadians today are not too concerned about the specific character of some of the English used in Canada. There is simply little awareness in regards to the fact that this English is, in some cases, different in its essence. They would prefer to regard Canadian English as a means of expression similar to that used by their American neighbors.

This so-called indifference displayed by English Canadians towards their own language differs considerably from the marked interest manifested by French Canadians when they consider Canadian French. For English Canadians, there has never been a real danger of losing one's language and consequently no threat has been aimed at their national existence. French Canadians, on the contrary, have had to keep almost constantly their eyes focussed on their language, using all possible means to assure its survival. Thus, English Canadians not having the same preoccupations have lived peacefully and almost nonchalantly, linguistically speaking.

As will be pointed out in more detail farther on, Canadian English

has much in common with American English. Therefore, Canadian English is by no means comparable to the English heard in India, Australia or South Africa. In these countries, a very distinct British type of English is used by the people, possibly due to the fact that educators were primarily of British stock or because one or the other country was occupied by British military forces at some time or other.

When one looks at the curriculum of universities and colleges in Canada, he surprisingly learns that no courses are offered on Canadian English; again this is proof that Canadians think that their language is not peculiar and does not warrant research.

Theories about the origin of Canadian English are linked to the different stages of the development of the Canadian nation.

One explanation, which dates back to colonial days, simply asserts that Canadian English was purely British English. This theory could not be accepted today but a milder form of it would be that originally there was less British English which was being contaminated by American English than what took place later on and especially today. It is true to say that for a long time some native-born Canadians either sent their sons to be educated in England or entrusted them to the care of English masters in Canada. One must also add that the Canadian school system was deliberately orientated toward England and away from the United States. According to linguistic scholars, that part of Canadian education which concerns itself with syntax, grammar and spelling has, for a hundred years and more, been based almost exclusively on British models. British dictionaries, and not *Webster* for example, have been widely used in Canada and it is only recently that Canadian dictionaries have made their appearance. Thus, in 1962, Jean-Paul Vinay put out at Montreal for the first time *The Canadian Dictionary* which clearly constituted a move in favour of Canadian English. This dictionary was followed by the *Dictionary of Canadian English Series* published at Toronto in 1962, 1963 and 1967.¹² Because there was a trend in Canadian society to keep the British style of schooling, some scholars maintained the opinion that Canadian English was clearly British English. In the first edition of *a History of the English Language*, published in 1935, Albert C. Baugh, noted linguist, pointed out that Canadian English retained certain features of English

pronunciation and vocabulary which would seem to affirm that Canadian English was originally British but modified by the very strong influence of American English. Later, Baugh modified his views but added a new conclusion, without much proof that "nevertheless the English of Canada can only be described as a variety of American English."¹³ It is rather easy to counter the theory that Canadian English is more British than American by observing the fact that English spoken in Canada has many more similarities with General American English than with Standard English. The scholars who advocated the idea that Canadian English was more British than American insisted on believing that American English, in its spelling and pronunciation, had crossed the border to contaminate the already existing Standard English widely used in Canada. However, there is no real evidence to support the contamination theory, although it may seem attractive on patriotic grounds.¹⁴ It is not easy to determine when American idioms are the product of normal social and commercial contacts with the United States and which were brought in by early American settlers; both can claim to be part of original Canadian English as much as British expressions. However, the contamination theory has remained as a popular belief. Articles appeared in Canadian and American newspapers opposing or favouring the contamination of Canadian English by the American English. Nevertheless, no defender of the British English theory has ever been able to describe the dialect which is supposed to have been the original English speech of Canada. It will probably be impossible to reconstruct the original English speech of Canada, but if we except Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, it was certainly not British English in the sense of English imported directly from the British Isles. It is a fact that the greater part of English-Canada, which now constitutes the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland, was originally inhabited by Americans and not at all by Englishmen. The United Empire Loyalists were the Founding Fathers of Canada and the language which they brought with them was that of the inhabitants of eighteenth-century New York and Pennsylvania. And even today some of the words they used can be found in English Canadian speech.

Although the British English or contamination theories were not

abandoned, the political scene which lay behind them began to change. The coming of Confederation and a growing sense of independence after it gradually was perceptible and made Canadians less inclined to consider English as their only spiritual and cultural support. Gradually, therefore, American speech became to be considered as one of the original elements of Canadian English. At first, this opinion was doubtfully voiced but as time went on it was sincerely stated that Canadian English was like American English principally because it is American English of which its origins are to be found in the eighteenth-century speech brought to Canada by the United Empire Loyalists who refused to remain in the United States following the Revolutionary War. The Loyalists established schools and universities wherever they established themselves. A major part of the educational systems of Ontario and the Maritime Provinces can be credited to the Loaylists; they brought textbooks from the United States or they imitated them. There was a counter reform by Ryerson in the direction of British education but American education, particularly the idiom, was well entrenched in Ontario when British immigrants began to arrive later on.¹⁵

However, we can best obtain more information on the way Canadian English evolved by examining the people who spoke it. At the time of the American Revolution there was in Canada an English-speaking population of about 25,000. In the east, Newfoundland was the first English-speaking colony in North America. The island was colonized almost entirely by settlers from Ireland and the southwest countries of England. By 1763, Newfoundland had a population of about 8,000 people whose distinctive brand of English had been very little affected by North American speech. And we may add that this English spoken in Newfoundland had little effect on the English spoken in the rest of the country.

But in Nova Scotia the situation was quite different. This peninsula had first been settled in 1604 by the French who named it Acadie. Great Britain obtained the peninsula in 1713 and its name changed to Acadia or Nova Scotia. As late as 1784 Nova Scotia did not have a British settlement. When Halifax was founded in 1749, a call for volunteer settlers was made in London, Holland and Germany. Many immigrants came from Britain, a thousand from the American colonies and about

1,500 Germans and Swiss settled in the Scotian town of Lunenburg. However, there followed the expulsion of the native Acadians by the British in 1755 because their loyalty to Britain was suspect. To replace the Acadians, Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia issued a proclamation to the American colonies asking for settlers. It is estimated that by 1775 there was, in Nova Scotia, a population of 18,000, excluding the Indians, of which possibly three-quarters were New Englanders. Since this total included the non-exported remnant of the French Acadians and about 2,000 Swiss and Germans, the number of British English colonists in Nova Scotia could not have been more than 3,000.

Two groups were clearly visible in Nova Scotia. First, the group made up of the British garrison, the clergy and the governing class. These people were established mainly at Halifax. The second group was made up of Scots who had settled for the most part in Pictou and Antigonish counties, Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island. The early Scottish migrations to British North America rank second only in importance to those from the United States. By 1803, there were about 12,000 Scots in Canada and more of them continued to immigrate, populating large areas of the Maritimes as well as both Upper and Lower Canada.

At the time of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Quebec, with a population of 60,000, contained only a few hundred English-speaking people. By 1766, there were no more than 600 of them, mostly merchants and fur traders. In the year 1774, they were estimated at about two or three thousand, and it is impossible to distinguish between those who were natives of Great Britain and those who had come from the United States. There was a predominantly French type of government at Quebec City; the rest of the country was wilderness and uninhabited except for some trading posts that had been erected at strategic places. There were probably not more than a few hundred English-speaking people living in the part of the country which is now called Ontario.

Into the territories that we have mentioned, between the years 1783 and 1784, came a great number of Loyalists; the exact number cannot easily be known. Not less than 35,000 entered Nova Scotia and many moved to Upper Canada which is now called Ontario.

Quebec received a smaller number of Loyalists but which cannot be

overlooked. It appears that 6,800 Loyalists were in the old Province of Quebec in 1785, which was then all of Canada. However, this number is sometimes put at 10,000 and these Loyalists went to settle in Upper Canada, the Ontario of today; they were followed by other Loyalists. Some of them certainly came from the United States while others moved there from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at a time when the interior of the country was becoming more populous.

The counting of Loyalists is a difficult and uncertain procedure but the total number could have been around 40,000; this number could have been increased by continuing immigration. After 30 years the main flow of Loyalists had entered Canada. In this latter group, were pioneer farmers whose only motive was the traditional American search for better land and a good home.

Even Quebec felt the influence of the Loyalists. By 1807, approximately 15,000 Americans had moved north to settle below the St. Lawrence River. By 1812, the total population of the Eastern Townships was estimated at 20,000, mostly of American stock. It is surprising to note that an American established the town of Hull situated in Quebec, opposite the city of Ottawa. His name was Philemon Wright, a New Englander, born in Woburn, Massachusetts; he had come to Quebec with his family and a few artisans and farmers. Also some Germans settled in the Niagara Peninsula and in some counties which are now part of Southern Ontario.

As time went on, the continuing flow of Americans entering the country began to worry many Canadians and this attitude turned into opposition. In 1812, a newspaper reported that the population of Canada had reached 100,000 of which four-fifths were Americans and one-fifth British. Following the war of 1812, the British Government fostered immigration to Canada to counter the American threat and at Confederation time half of Canada's population of 3,500,000 was of British descent.

The effect of early American emigration to Canada must have been considerable.¹⁶ It was not until 1815 that Britain, no longer involved in wars with Napoleon, seriously began to look to Canada as an outlet for her surplus population. By that time, however, Canada was mainly a colony of Americans, created by American, living by choice under the

British. As far as the Loyalists are concerned, despite their adherence to the British cause, they were Americans and their distinctive ways of speaking can be traced by linguists from Nova Scotia to the Great Lakes.

Long before the end of the eighteenth century, a distinctive American English had begun to emerge in Canada. Contemporary Englishmen observed this American English was uniform and there was an absence of dialects; they noted also that the pronunciation was unaccented, monotonous, and that the vocabulary was vigorous. Early Canadian English could have been especially eighteenth-century American with some slight British influence and sprayed, in some regions, by some Scot, some German and Acadian French. Irish and British immigrants formed isolated groups that affected little the main speech employed by most Canadians. Another factor that did not help to propagate British English in Canada was that Englishmen were suspect because of their association with the old colonial regime and also that their distinctive accent was not favourably looked upon. However, the supporters of Standard English point out that although the continuing American linguistic influence is not to be ignored in Canada, Canadians have, nevertheless, kept this influence in check because of their sense of inferiority and also for reasons of national pride. They also stated that the pronunciation of such words as the vowel sound of "hot", the low front vowel of "grass" and the pronunciation of "tomato" to rhyme with "potato" may well have come from England and later been strengthened by their presence in the United States.

However, American English, as used in Western Canada, has never been seriously challenged. The English-speaking West was settled almost entirely from Eastern Canada and the United States. Farmers from Upper Canada and Scots from the Red River area opened up Manitoba around 1870 with help of Americans who were looking for good land in Canada. Some years later, Saskatchewan and Alberta were colonized in part by settlers from Ontario but also by those from the American West. Thus, around 1915, a million Americans were living in Southern Alberta and Saskatchewan. Today, the cities of Calgary and Edmonton have clearly taken on a strong American trend with American English very similar to what is used in the United States. Fewer

Americans were attracted to British Columbia for the simple reason that suitable farmland could not be found in that province. As a result their place was largely taken by immigrants from Great Britain, although American influence was always strong here as elsewhere because communication between north and south has always been more active than communication between the east and the west, especially before the Canadian Pacific and National Railways were built. One cannot discard the fact that an increased number of Americans crossed the border after the Vietnam War as many young men wished to escape from the United States to avoid participating in the war; others simply and openly admitted that they preferred to live in a more secure environment. Naturally, this immigration has helped greatly to give to Canadian English a more American colour and will continue to do so.

Canada has developed, over the two hundred years of her existence, as a predominantly English-speaking nation, a distinctive vocabulary which deserves serious consideration.¹⁷

The first Canadian vocabulary was that of the frontier and it was probably extensive, although like frontier French it vanished before the coming of civilization. With the close of the eighteenth century an increasing number of Canadianisms began to appear. As the frontier widened and the land opened up before a flood of American Loyalist and British settlers, new words had to be found to describe objects and institutions which were either new to European experience or very different from things existing elsewhere. One example was "plains provisions", a Red River colony term for Buffalo meat. Others were the "French coast" (1842) or "Treaty Shore" of Newfoundland; "separate school" (1835), not to be found in any English or American dictionary, which means a school supported by Roman Catholics; "Red River cart" (1858); "York boat" (1864); "union station" (1865); the "McIntosh" (1910) or "McIntosh Red" (1878), a superior eating apple first found in Dundas County, Ontario, by John McIntosh in 1811; "Land of the Little Sticks" (1896), "a region of stunted trees at the southern edge of the Barren Lands"; and a number of political terms such as "acclamation" (1844), an election without opposition; and "endorsation" (1869), approval or ratification.

The rudimentary state of Canadian linguistics led to much confusion

between Canadianisms and Americanisms. Some expressions; claimed to be mainly used in Canada, were also part of the American vocabulary such as "sleigh", "bob-sleigh" or "bob", "American" for the inhabitant of the United States; and a variety of terms for the international boundary, including "the line", "the boundary line" and "the lines".

The early Canadianisms which are still in use are a deep part of Canadian history: "metis" (1816), a half-breed of white and Indian ancestry; "The Company" (1697), meaning the Hudson's Bay Company; "whiskey jack" (1743), the blue jay; a corrupted word for the Cree Indian tribe word "wisketjan", and "Canuck" (1849) meaning "Canadian". Then were newer Canadianisms such as "mountie" (1914); "hydro" (1916); "chuck wagon" (1923); "blue line" (1931); "gud road" (1957) and "cat train" (1946).

As the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (1967) contains 879 double-columned pages it is a fact that the number of truly Canadian expressions is rather extensive. Those Canadianisms which relate to objects originally or exclusively found or developed in Canada are often put together from the names of the finder or developer such as in "McIntosh Red", "Fife wheat", "Durham boat" and "McGill fence". Sometimes the Canadianisms come from the names of places, as in "York boat", "Red River cart" or "Kamloops trout". Other typical Canadian expressions are completely new; examples of these are "Socred (Social Credit)", "mountie (Mounted Police)", "Newfie (Newfoundlander)" or "splake (kind of trout fish)".

Regional expressions are quite numerous. For example, from the Maritimes have come the words "bogan", "fish flake", "rampike" and "tilt". From Ontario one can discover such words as "firereels", "pogey" and "pool train". From the Prairie Provinces came the words "bombardier", "grid road", "pothole trout" and "wheat factory". British Columbia also has its words, such as "longstocking", "salt duck" and "steelhead".

However, one will find more Canadianisms in other fields such as the names of birds: "fool hen" and "venison hawk". And names of animals are typically Canadian such as "burdash", "chipmunk", "harp" and "muskox". The words "goldeye", "keta", "kokanee" and "muspike" are

Canadianisms for fish. To name certain plants, Canadians have chosen such words as "avalanche lily", "chokecherry", "deadman's daisy", "epinette", "moosemisse" or "snow apple".

In their daily vocabulary, Canadians more or less maintain themselves between British and American usage. But it has also been observed that when British English and American English use different words to denote a certain object, Canadian English often favours American English. For instance, Canadians will prefer to use "airplane", "aluminum", "specialty" instead of the British expressions "aeroplane", "aluminium" and "speciality".

But Canadian English will sometimes follow British usage in such expressions as "luggage" instead of the American "baggage", "made-to-measure" instead of "customs-made", "porridge" in place of "oatmeal", "drains" and not "sewerage" in a house, "staircase" and not "stairway", "tie" and not "necktie".

A more common situation is to observe British and American expressions being used side by side in Canada. Thus, Canadians drive a "motor-car" but also an "automobile". Canadians do both "odd jobs" and "chores"; they make use of "clothes-pegs" as well as "clothes-pins"; they carry out both "rubbish" and "junk"; they receive either a "parcel" or "package" from a "postman" or "letter-carrier"; they pour a drink from either a "jug" or "pitcher"; they wear both "overshoes" and "galoshes"; Canadian men hold up their trousers with both "braces" and "suspenders"; they eat "undercut" or "filet" as well as "tenderloin", and "sirloin", not excluding "porterhouse". Canadians use either the "lavatory" or the "toilet", play with both a "pack" and a "deck" of cards, and take a rest either by going on a "holiday" or a "vacation".

In both the big cities of Montreal and Toronto it is reported that the ordinary speech of even cultured Canadians is closer to American usage than British usage, except, of course, for Old Country people living in Canada or Canadians who have visited England and wish to display the fact by their speech. However, it is interesting to note that not all Montreal speakers have favoured the American term over the British one, nor did they favour all American terms to the same degree. Thus, an inquiry has revealed that more than 90% of the Montrealers that were questioned preferred "back-yard" to "back garden", "candy" to

"sweets", "flash-light" to "torch", "sidewalk" to "pavement", "street-car" to "tram", "sugar-bowl" to "sugar-basin", "taxes" to "rates", "undershirt" instead of "vest" and "wrench" instead of "spanner". More than 75% preferred "apartment" to "flat", "boundary" to "frontier", "clothes-pin" to "clothes-pegs", "glue" to "mucilage", "hall" to "hall-way" or "passage", "janitor" to "caretaker", "living room" to "parlour" or "sitting-room", "pants" to "trousers" and "roomer" to "lodger". These observations are the result of a study of Montreal English undertaken by Donald E. Hamilton during 1957 and 1958.

Dialect studies such as these are always local, and one could not conclude that what has been said of Montreal repeats itself in other parts of Canada. But four words from the Montreal list can be compared with a similar test conducted along the Ontario-United States border in 1954. The comparison is interesting because in these cases Ontario usage corresponds to the British one while Montreal usage prefers the American term. Thus, while 71% of Montrealers preferred "napkin", 79% of people in Ontario wanted to use "serviette"; 58% of Montreal speakers said "suspenders" but 81% of Ontario speakers preferred "braces"; 50% of people in Montreal used "kerosene" while 86% of Ontario speakers liked "coal oil". Instead of "tin", 74% of Montrealers had a preference for "can" and 57% of Ontario residents also preferred the latter.

Elsewhere in Canada, such as along the middle border, between Thunder Bay and Saskatchewan, it was discovered that American speech apparently had greater influence north of the border than Canadian English had south of the border. But some typical Canadian expressions were also observable, such as "asphalt road", "blinds", "chesterfield", "elastic band", "tap" or "veranda". Mention should also be made of the interrogative "eh?", pronounced to rhyme with "hay" and used when calling for the repetition of something not heard or understood clearly. According to Harold B. Allen of the University of Minnesota, this word is so typically Canadian that immigration officials at the Canadian-American border can identify a Canadian if he uses the word.

There has never been other than an imaginary boundary between Canada and the United States, as studies in linguistic geography clearly

prove. For example, a fundamental region similarity exists between the speech of New York State, Ontario and Michigan because eastern Ontario was originally settled by Loyalists from New York and western New England, while Michigan obtained much of its early population from Ontario and New York State. The use, around Welland, Ontario, of words such as "weatherboards" for "clapboard", "overhead", a barn loft, and "thick milk" for sour milk, proves that Pennsylvania Loyalists once lived in that region.

American communities living near the Canadian border have borrowed some Canadian words of everyday speech but the number is small. Examples of these are "whippetree", "darning needle", the dragon fly, "county town", "warden" for the principal officer of a county, "reeve", the chief township official, "chesterfield" for sofa, and "coil", a small pile of hay racked up in a field.

The word "store", an Americanism, has brought about some criticism from English travelers. It has been discovered that this word was used as early as 1721 in the United States and in Canada around 1816. It is still used in Canada to describe a retail establishment but when an impression of elegance is sought, "shop" or "shoppe" will be used. Also such combined words as "barber shop" and "bake-shop" are popular. In other combinations, "book-store", "grocery-store" and "drug-store" have been borrowed from the United States.

In almost all fields of Canadian life American speech is predominant in Canada. However, exception could be made for the political and legal areas in which British expressions have been used for many years. In the British North America Act, the vocabulary used reminds one of the British Parliament: "dominion", "provinces" as political divisions of a federal state, "Governor-General", "privy council", "Lieutenant-Governor", "executive council", "parliament", "House of Commons", "Upper House", "session" (of parliament), "member" (of the House of Commons), "electoral district", "decennial census", and "disallowance", to name but a few.

Much of the political vocabulary heard in Canada is from England and some Americans might not know its meaning. Examples of this are the words "constituency" and "by-election". At the provincial level, "Premier", "Member of Provincial Parliament" or "Member of Legisla-

tive Assembly” are clearly of British origin.

At the local and municipal levels, political terms are almost entirely taken from American speech. From New England have come “mayor”, “controller”, “ward” and “run for office” (wish to be elected).

The names of political parties in Canada are clearly of British inspiration. For instance, Canadians speak of the “Liberal Party” or “Liberals”. The party opposing the Liberals is the “Conservative Party” or “Conservatives”. One will also hear occasionally the word “Tory” to describe the Conservatives.

Canadian and American law vocabulary is both extensively British. When different words exist in England and America, the tendency in Canada is to use the English word. Thus, if a judge addresses a jury, this is called a “charge”, rather than a “summation”; also when the court rests, this is referred to as to “recess” rather than to “adjourn”. In Canada the expression “crown attorney” is preferred to “district attorney” (United States) or to “public prosecutor” (England). A judge of the Supreme Court is known as “Mr. Justice” (adding his name) and when he is in court he is addressed as “Your Lordship” or “My Lord”. Judges of the county and district courts are called “His Honour” and addressed as “Your Honour” while police magistrates are known as “His Worship” (adding his name) and addressed as “Your Worship”.

Canadian journalism is generally the same as American journalism. Conservative presses follow the British style while popular newspapers have a typical American style. However, a higher quality of English can be found in magazines, quarterlies and other publications such as “Canadian Forum”. In regards to spelling, the British one will prevail in formal writing, otherwise American spelling will generally be adopted.

As there are many varieties of speech in Newfoundland, some quite distinct from what is spoken elsewhere, it is necessary to explain English usage prevalent in that country island.

Several distinct dialects have been observed in Newfoundland and also regional modifications to a fluctuating standard English which is not British English nor Eastern North American English but which has points of resemblance with both. Special historical and geographical factors can explain the unusual variety of Newfoundland English.

Because the island was very early occupied by settlers, speech sometimes manifests traces of British English spoken at a very early period. The geographical isolation of Newfoundland and, within the island, the isolation of small communities for many generations, have fostered the independent development of those features of local speech that make it clearly different from that of its neighbouring English communities. The geographical factors explain the variety of the local dialects themselves which have not yet been investigated. It is mainly to geographical isolation, rather than to the transplanting of English from the Mother Country in the 16th century, that the unusual features of Newfoundland English are to be attributed. Unchanged by contact with a widespread standard literary English, the local dialects have retained many of their original characteristics. However, these dialects have undergone some development and change in the areas where they have been used.

In regards to vocabulary, it is interesting to note that some words used in Newfoundland have originated from the dialects of the British Isles. There is also speech which is obsolete or archaic and only found in Newfoundland. Some examples are "angishore", a weak, miserable person; "bautom", a ball of wool or yarn; "bavin", a brushwood faggot used for kindling; "dean", a valley; "droke", a narrow lane; "clever", strong, healthy; "nish", tender, delicate or sore; "proud", an inflamed finger; "rote", roar of the sea; "siche", a small brook; and "yesses", earthworms.

The survival of dialectical speech in Newfoundland is not the most important factor in the history of the English language on the island. The popular speech used in Newfoundland whether it be slang or dialect has been characterized by its flexibility and freedom in the use of words. Introduction of new words has been common. Examples of such linguistic innovations are: "barber", vapour of the water after a cold night; "bim", low-grade cured codfish; "bogie", a small stove used in schooners and boats; "breastney", a load of firewood, that can be carried on the shoulders; "brin bag", a coarse sack for vegetables; "catter", quilt; "clumper", small iceberg; "crackie", a small, noisy dog; "dally", a lull in the wind during a snowstorm and "pinky", a cheap wine.

It often happens in Newfoundland that a word will be given some

additional meaning. For instance, the word "alabaster", usually having the meaning of gypsum, a mineral, could also have the meaning of doll; "car" can also be a sled for carrying wood; "cat", means also an alder bush; "chute" is a steep, narrow lane; "drops", a liquid drug; "gage", a hiding-place from which to shoot sea birds or other animals; "lead", a passage of open water in an icefield, and "send", a sea swell during a calm.

Although most Newfoundlanders use the words which characterize their speech, less of their peculiar vocabulary can be found in the cities of the island. The reason for this situation is that occupations and interests connected with Newfoundland's special English are almost unknown in the cities. Those activities and interests are linked with areas situated outside cities and not strongly influenced by a large number of people speaking a more educated language.

For example, a very special vocabulary is connected with the fisheries industry: "barbel" is an oilskin apron used when splitting fish; "bark-pot", a container in which nets are soaked in a preservative brewed from the barks of trees; "bunt", the middle part of a fish net; "collar", to moor a small boat; "covel", a tub with side handles; "crozen", the top of a barrel and so on. In the fisheries and their associated activities will be found the greatest number of local words. But other industries, too, have made their contribution.

The seal hunt, an annual activity, has its own vocabulary: "dog", the man who carries the gunner's ammunition; "scunner", the man who directs the sealing vessel; "swatch", a patch of open water in an icefield.

In the timber industry, some words are sometimes employed, such as "pike-pole", a pole used by loggers when driving logs down river; and "caulks", which are spiked boots.

As Newfoundlanders live close to nature, they have invented words to describe their natural surroundings: "bally-catters", ice formed on seashore; "cronic", a dead fir or spruce; "mall down", a green lichen on fir trees; "scrape", a steep, narrow path; "snotty var", a fir tree; and "turr", an Atlantic common swimming and diving bird.

Not enough is known about sounds and syntax in Newfoundland English to describe them. However, when one listens carefully, he can detect peculiarities in the intonation of Newfoundland English. Lin-

guistic conservatism and development in Newfoundland English have made research in both fields a necessity. There has been an increasing economic and social change in Newfoundland since the Second World War with extensive population shifts and isolation has slowly been something of the past. Despite this evolution, there will remain in Newfoundland a distinctive English speech. This is a proof that "unity in diversity" describes Canada best, not only politically but also linguistically. Therefore, disparate speech in Canada, i.e., differentiated according to regions, truly points to the impossibility of ever arriving at a typical "Canadian English".

It has been said that there is a danger that the English spoken in England become a dialect of American English because, since 1923, linguistic differences are slowly disappearing between the two continents. If such is the case, what can we say about Canada and the United States? As we have mentioned before, there has never been but an imaginary line to keep them apart. From the very beginning, there has been an intimate mingling of peoples from both countries of what was not until 1828 finally determined as the international boundary. We have also mentioned that long before the Revolutionary War of 1776, or the fall of Quebec, New Englanders had entered New France to colonize the country, especially Nova Scotia, and a steady inflow from the south of population has continued since then, two of the most important groups being the Loyalists in the eighteenth century and the Americans who helped to colonize the Canadian west in the nineteenth. If there is any American influence on Canadian speech, therefore, one need not be surprised.

However, the cultural dependence of Canada on the United States is even more important of a factor, perhaps, to be considered in this situation. Canadians have resented and resisted this American cultural penetration into their country but, nevertheless, through its medium, the contemporary American idiom has become part of Canadian speech. It has been reported that, in 1902, some writer in the *Saturday Review*, a London publication, complained that all cabled news printed in Canada passed through American channels. The truth is that the influence of American films, magazines, books, radio and television, on Canadian speech has been extraordinary. Not only has this influence

been persistent but Canadians themselves, sometimes unconsciously, have been strongly attracted by the culture of its giant neighbour.

In the field of entertainment, many Canadian artists have fled, so to speak, to the United States, lured by the possibility of making better money to reward their talents. Some of them live partially in the United States and partially in Canada.

In the field of literature, best-sellers in the United States are also best-sellers in Canada. Canadians know as much about American music as Americans themselves.

In recent years, American and Canadian sports, especially football and ice hockey, have become equally popular in the United States and Canada. Both countries use the same expressions to describe action in sports in general; the only exception to this situation might be in Quebec where a lot of American expressions dealing with sports have been translated into French; however, French minorities in other provinces use borrowed American expressions as such.

To make matters even more difficult, the development of linguistic Canada has been rather confusing and bumpy. The first British and American settlers brought their dialects to places where they wanted to settle, something which hardly facilitated the establishment of standard speech. At the beginning there was little native literature and Canadians hesitated in asserting themselves; consequently, they slowly developed and recognized a personal way of speaking. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was apparent that Canadian English was almost similar to American English. But some linguists contended that Canadian English was different and truly Canadian. M. H. Scargill insisted that Canadians do speak Canadian when they use such expressions as "insulin", "splake", "Clear Grits", "Socreds", "separate schools" and "Manitoba waves". In 1903, F. E. L. Priestley stated that "the industrial power and importance in world trade achieved by Canada in the last quarter of a century have given Canadians a calm conviction that they need be neither English nor American but Canadian." This conviction acts as a persistent and effective limit to that wholesale imitation of American modes of thought and speech which one might expect of "fear".¹⁸ And he concludes to "the emergence of a distinct Canadian national character, and a distinct Canadian language". Priestley also

remarks that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is an example in the use of authentic Canadian English in its radio programming. However, one can doubt seriously whether CBC English has a strong influence on the English spoken by the people in everyday life. Despite CBC efforts to give Canadian English a distinctive character, the popular response has not been encouraging. For instance, the CBC has used the English pronunciation "shed-yule" for schedule but in tests twice as more people preferred the American "skedyule". Furthermore, it has always been clear that Canadians have become irritated on hearing English accentuated and pronounced words over Canadian airways.

At least, Priestley has the merit of promoting a distinctive Canadian English and this could happen with time. If Canada's population continues to grow and if the country's self-sufficiency should assert itself at some time in the future, Canadian English may develop to be different from British or American English. But for the time being, this appears simply to be utopian. The pattern or lifestyle of the majority of Canadians being American it seems clear that this situation greatly favours American speech. Someone has said that a difficulty in this conflicting problem is that there are too many Canadians who refer to the British or to the Americans as being the foundation of their language. It is true to say that Canadians have had a more sympathetic attitude towards England than towards the United States because they have always feared annexation to their giant neighbour. But the CBC, or any other means favouring standard Canadian English, cannot overcome the growing penetration of American English into Canada. Although many Canadians still look upon American speech with marked dislike, and although many people in educational circles have fought against it, American English has penetrated everywhere in the country. In Alberta, some tests have revealed that the majority of speakers pronounced the American way in 1955; we can easily add that this phenomenon has increased today. But there is a hope for a separate identity in Canada which will promote a more distinct Canadian English.¹⁹ A trend in this direction is manifested in the extensive development of English Canadian literature in the last ten years, in which one can observe authentic Canadian themes and a more distinc-

tive form of expression which we could call Canadian, i.e., exempt from too much American slang and endowed with a softer type of English. As far as the English used by the man of the street, we could safely say that, although many borrowings have been made from American speech, Canadian English could be classified as being a form of English lying between British English and American English. In general, Canadians speak more slowly than Americans do and they also pronounce more clearly. And, of course, the English of French Canadians, especially in Quebec, is evidently distinctive and can never be compared with any other as it is tinted considerably with French accentuation and pronunciation.

Even if there might seem to be a desire for and even the existence of a distinctive English amongst Canadians, many people will say that it is but imaginary and cannot easily survive.

French in Canada

When the conversation amongst linguists and other people interested in languages concentrates on French in Canada there often emerges the view that French Canadians speak a corrupted form of French. In France, especially, there is a tendency to look down upon the type of French spoken in Canada. The most common opinion is that French Canadians speak a French which was popularly known and used by Frenchmen in the seventeenth century.

Such allegations are erroneous as can be easily proved by historical data. The French language in Canada had its official beginnings in 1763 when New France became a colony of England. From then on till the present time, this language underwent an evolution and formation which have given it a particular and distinct character. This statement counteracts the one made by certain people that Canadian French was purely Norman. Some Frenchmen did come from Normandy when New France was founded but they were not all from that region; others came from Ile-de-France, Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge, Perche, Anjou, Beauce, Champagne, Picardy, Touraine and Maine.

Another opinion concerning Canadian French is that it is a patois of less quality, separated from the Gallic tongue. This view is still a more

far-fetched theory because it would suppose that the first French settlers who came to Canada spoke only that dialect; on the contrary, these settlers came from various regions of France and spoke several patois particular to the region from where they originated.

The opinion that French was a mixture of French, English and Indian is hazardous because even if Canadian French has borrowed words from the English and Indian languages, these words have been given a French spelling, especially the English words. As far as the idea that the Indian vocabulary was part of French is concerned, very few words have penetrated both the English and French languages in Canada. The Indian culture has always been marginal in regards to the two main cultures, English and French.

Let us now try to reconstruct the linguistic situation at the dawn of New France.²⁰ It is correct to say that the colonists spoke the patois of their birthplaces but a higher standard of French prevailed in Ile-de-France because the better educated class of people lived in that region. However, this division in expression was not to last very long as special circumstances began to favour a more homogeneous language. The early French colonists were faced with virtual extinction by the Indian tribes. The colonists also were unaccustomed to the harsh Canadian countryside. These two factors contributed greatly to the formation of closely knit communities in the midst of which intermarriage resulted. It was natural for the patois to slowly recede and be replaced by a unified French language. This process took place by 1763. And it is thus that "le canayen" was born, a particular French spoken by all French Canadians living in Canada.

This brings us to the different appellations used when referring to Canadians who have made French their mother tongue. Since 1758, the Canadians who are not of French origin have come to consider the French speaking population as "French Canadians" and their language as being "Canadian French". However, French Canadians consider themselves as "Canadiens" because they are fully aware that they first settled in Canada before any other nationality. This fact is to be remembered if we consider the discontent of French Canadians in the Province of Quebec when they affirm that their rights have been disregarded by English Canadians after the conquest of New France by

the British. Also French Canadians like to speak of their language as "français", "français-canadien", "canadien-français" and sometimes "franco-canadien"; this last expression is mostly employed by the learned class and rarely by the common people. It is curious to note that travelers from England, in their journals, have simply referred to the French in Canada as "Canadians", possibly for the same reason that the French Canadians spoke of themselves as "Canadiens". In politics, the word "Francophone" has been used to mean someone whose main language is French; in the Cities, when an inquiry was being made on the state of bilingualism in Canada, the Royal Commission, in charge of the investigation, freely used "Francophone". However, for French Canadians, it seems that "canayen" is better accepted. It is admitted that "canayen" sounds cheap and denotes a low-grade category; some Canadians think it has a synonym in the word "habitant" meaning people speaking Canadian French in the province of Quebec. But there is still a stronger term to denote Canadian French; "parler joyal" (cheval) has become popular in Quebec in recent years although it was already part of the *Glossaire du parler français au Canada*, a written agglomeration of words and expressions supposedly used by French Canadians and published in 1930. To these appellations were added new expressions in everyday speech which demonstrated an evolution in the French language and which would be prevalent till the present day. Such was "parler en franc tarmes" which means to speak like "habitants" or country folk. When one spoke like city folk, it was said that such was "parler en tarmes". There was some effort made to revive French forms in the line of Ile-de-France French but this was met with little success. For instance, "Québécoien" was suggested instead of "Québécois" but the word had a short existence. And, as a definite measure against neologisms, "joyal" emerged as a powerful force.

Till the eighteenth century, at least, the purity of the French language in Canada was maintained and this can be ascertained by the written testimonies of famous men of the times. To mention only one of these testimonies, we have the recorded words of the annalist De Bacqueville de la Pothérie: "Although," she wrote in 1753, "there is here a mixture from almost all the provinces of France, one cannot distinguish the speech of any one of them in particular among the Canadians." ²¹

After New France became an English possession in 1763, French Canadians were faced with a new situation, not only politically, but also culturally. Till then, France had been their main support in maintaining their spiritual, political and linguistic values. However, they now found themselves on their own and they would soon discover that special efforts would be required on their part to maintain their language. In 1776, thousands of Loyalists, who had refused to participate in the American Revolution, peacefully invaded Canada and reinforced the already existing English population made up of garrisons and newly arrived immigrants from England. Naturally, the English exercised linguistic pressure on the French Canadians who, in an attitude of pride, refused to be assimilated. They felt that their survival as a nation was at stake and the French language became a political symbol and not just a means of communication or a cultural value. This struggle for national identity on the part of the French was to continue till the present day.

The English Regime naturally brought with it more intimacy between the French and the English. Linguistically speaking, there resulted "speech mixture" and the French borrowed words and expressions from the English which were inserted in the French vocabulary; the opposite was negligible, probably because the English overwhelmed the new society with their language in all domains. After the seizure of Quebec, testimonies identify French as "passable", that is, acceptable. But there was no doubt that some deterioration was taking place. This observation is repeated by John Lambert who had written a book about his travels in Canada and in the United States, in 1810: "The Canadians have had the character of speaking the purest French," he remarked, "but I question whether they deserve it, in the present day."²² Lambert's criticism is mainly directed at the introduction of Anglicisms and antiquated phrases inserted in the French language. Also in the same year, Jacques Viger published *Néologie canadienne*, a book that contained spellings and pronounced words that were alien to general practice in France; it also included a list of foreign words that had become part of the language. The situation worsened as "barbarismes" and "expressions vicieuses" increased and became a growing concern. Canadian French could not be described as "patois"; in fact, no one at

that time could accept the word. In 1850, Théodore Pavie, writing in the "Revue des Deux Mondes", had this to say: "They speak an old French of little elegance; their pronunciation which is heavy and expressionless (denuée d'accentuation) is not unlike that of lower Normandy".²³ The general impression was that good French had gone bad. There were expected reactions but many people hesitated about purging the language; the reason they gave for this hesitation was that observers would have the impression that French in Canada was not genuine French. However, courageous men like Jacques Viger (1810), Abbé Thomas Maguire (1841) and amateurs from 1865 to 1900, spearheaded the purge. There was also a struggle between two factions about the necessity of the purge in the French language: "les clercs" (clergy) wanted to maintain the French used in France while "le peuple" (the people) favoured "épuration" (purge) of the existing language. It is only in 1902 that the purge of the French language in Canada became a serious endeavour as *la Société du Parler Français au Canada* was founded with specific aims. This Society had as objectives to study, conserve and perfect the written and spoken French of Canada. The first step in its work was to check the progressive Anglicization of Canadian French. In the linguistic history of Canada this was really the first serious study of the language. Furthermore, the Society culminated its work with the *Glossaire du Parler Français au Canada* which was published in 1930. It also gave its attention to the compilation of a linguistic atlas of French Canada. Work in this direction was actually undertaken in the 1940's. Some field studies were completed in Gaspésie and also other research was begun in other parts of the province of Quebec. But there was still much more to be accomplished in the field of regional linguistics. Another important development was the publishing of the *Dictionnaire canadien* in 1962 by Jean-Paul Vinay at the Lexicographic Research Centre of the University of Montreal. This was a bilingual Canadian dictionary which contained rules and usage reflecting international standards of French and English. It also contained direct guidance on the terminology and style which are peculiar to the French and English languages used in Canada.

Following World War II, and particularly since the "Quiet Revolution" of the early 1960's, the French language in Quebec has been a very

central issue in the province. A newly established “Ministère des affaires culturelles” was set up to improve standards of written and spoken French. Also in 1960 was created the “Office de la langue française” with the objective of cleaning up the language. Some progress was made but more work will have to be done in order to restore French to its original purity.

A major step, however, was accomplished in Quebec when French only was accepted as the official language of the province. As Canada is a bilingual country there has been sharp criticism outside of Quebec voiced by some Canadians and, of course, by the English minority in Quebec itself. However, one must try to understand the decision of the Quebec Government to accept French only as the official language. The matter is not so much a political one but rather a measure taken to assure the survival of the French language and, consequently, the survival of the people who speak that language. The French Canadians are firmly convinced that their forefathers founded Canada with their sweat and blood; the victory of their ancestors against nature and other hostile elements is an inheritance that French Canadians do not want to relinquish to others. And, we may add, they wish to develop their culture freely now that they have all the means at their disposal to do so. The government of the province is dedicated to that task.

Indian tongues, first of all, affected little Canadian French because there were very few books of grammar and vocabulary concerning those tongues and, secondly, because those tongues were very difficult to learn.²⁴ So very few Indian words penetrated the French language. A few of those Indian words were common to both French and English, such as “babiche”, “manitou”, “mocassin”, “tobaggan”, “tomahawk” and “wigwam”. A. Marshall Elliott, a leading linguist of the late nineteenth century, could only find sixteen Indian words used in the French language. Pascal Poirier, another linguist who made some research on Indian vocabulary in 1916, found a few Huron and Algonquin words that succeeded in penetrating the French language of Canada; some vocabulary of the Abnaki and Micmac tribes seem to have become part of the speech of the Acadians. According to Poirier, this little amount of Indian vocabulary to be found in the French tongue was due to the inferior cultural status of the aborigines.

Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century there was serious worry amongst French Canadians that, barbarisms and Anglicisms, being widespread in Quebec, they would soon no longer speak French. The English environment exercised on them so much pressure that everyone in society seemed to form a resistance movement to Anglicization and this, sometimes, with more zeal than learning. For some time no one knew exactly what would happen to French as the struggle went on. At the beginning of the English conquest, laws, language and religion were imposed along British lines, something totally incomprehensible to the conquered French. In 1774, the Quebec Act permitted the English and French cultures to live side by side and guaranteed to the French Canadians their religion, their civil law and their language. Despite these concessions, Anglicization was not checked and especially court terms were favoured by the English Government in Canada. Later, French terms were allowed but the English vocabulary was so deeply rooted that it remained in use. Not only English words linked with the tribunals were in use but also Parliament vocabulary such as "bref", "Chambre des Communes", "Conseil Privé", "discours du trône" and others.

Aside from the legal and parliamentary domains, the French language, as popular speech, survived without too much difficulty. One of the reasons for this is that there was a well unified rural population in Quebec that was greatly separated from English society. Only the "seigneurs" had some contact with the ruling classes and learned some English vocabulary. This situation lasted for almost a hundred years until a part of the French Canadian population became urban; these city dwellers began to speak a different French from that used by French Canadians in the countryside. The French spoken in the cities was qualified as being degenerate. French Canadians obtained jobs from the English but, at the same time, their French was heavily penetrated by English expressions. But the French Canadian middle and professional classes were also victims of Anglicization as they began to use vocabulary related to special trades and other skills exercised mostly by the English Canadians. Thus, amongst the words used in everyday industry one might find "accountant", "baking-powder", "bill of lading", "broker", "discount", "pamphlet" and

“wrench”, just to mention a few. Sometimes a French form and pronunciation would be given to English words: examples of these are “saife”, “shaïpe”, “strappe” and “waguine”. Again, there were some words whose ending in -er had been changed to -eur, as in “groceur”, “informer”, “lofeur”, “proposeur” and “shaveur”. Another form which appeared was the elision of a letter in French, such as the suppression of the “r” in “coppe” (copper), or the transposition of the “r” as in “robre” (robber). Sometimes the “k” was reproduced as “qu” in words like “couque” (cook) and “coquerie” (cookery). Borrowings from words ending in “ng” were also common; thus “shirting” became “cheurtine” or “chatine” in French, and “pudding” was transformed to “poutine”. The final “-y” was often transposed to “-ie” in French as the word “grocerie” testifies.

In *le ramage de mon pays* (1939) and later in *le français du Canada* (1970), Victor Barbeau has clearly distinguished between French borrowings from the English, that are real English words, and not disguised, and others that are disguised in the sense that they have been manhandled in the borrowing process to such an extent that they are neither French nor English; the new word is a mixture of French and English. In the first category were included words such as “old timer”, “pushing”, “stag”, “stock”, “wise”, “call” and “défroster”. In the second category, unaccepted expressions, according to Barbeau, included some of the following: “adidou” (how do you do), “anéoué” (anyway), “bécosse” (back-house), “cannages” (canned goods), “kikeur” (kicker) and “tchipe” (cheap) and many others. In other words, it is sometimes difficult to recognize the original English word such as in “mitaine” (meeting-house) and “quibou” (juke box). However, the situation gets worse with the literal translation of English words and phrases: “ami de garçon” (boy-friend); “chapeau mou” (soft-hat); “chiquer la guenille” (chew the rag); “dû au fait que” (due to the fact that); “feu” (fire); “liqueurs douces” (soft drinks) and more. There is another form of Anglicization which can be detected: it consists in giving to French words the meaning that English has given them after borrowing them from French but that literary French no longer has or never did have. For example, “application” is a perfectly good French word meaning “diligence” (il travaille avec application—he works

diligently). But Canadian French uses the word in the English sense of a request for a job, whereas French would correctly use "demande" or "requête". Similarly, "enregistrer" (to register) is French, but the word cannot be applied to assuring the safe delivery of a letter, as is often done in Canada, because the right word is "recommander". To round out our explanation of extravaganza in the French vocabulary, we must add that some purists have tried to translate certain English words in a French which is complicated and not well understood. For instance "no afterglow matches" become the long expression "allumettes sans incandescence résiduelle" in French; or again the expression "blé filanté" will translate the popular "shredded wheat". Some French Canadians completely abandoned such translations and decided to return to the French of France while others decided to simply use more English as a snobbish attitude towards what they considered a degenerated French.

But it may be surprising to state that French Canadians have not escaped an influence which has affected the vocabulary and pronunciation of Canadian English; that influence is the American speech which has crossed the border into Canada. And a stranger fact to consider is that French Canadians, while being adverse to Canadian English, have come to accept more liberally the American language in their daily vocabulary. Victor Barbeau points out that it is not the intellectuals' speech that has penetrated French Canadian society but rather that of the vast common people or that of the so-called man of the street. With the invasion of American culture on Canadian soil have come words and expressions welcomed by English and French Canadians alike. Canadian French often uses the American word or expression as such: "gag" (bon mot); "local" (train de banlieue) and "O.K." (d'accord), are some examples of such borrowings. Other American speech is translated to a certain degree: "caractère" (character); "voiture de patrouille" (patrol wagon); "disque jockey" and "prix coupés" (rabais) are overheard expressions. One point can be stressed: it is difficult to trace the real origin of such expressions as it is not too clear whether they are direct American borrowings or whether they have come from Canadian English which itself accepted some American speech at one time or another.

Although Canadian French had less linguistic influence on Canadian

English, it is evident that because of the penetration of French Canadian settlers in most of the populated regions of Canada and even because they ventured into certain areas of the United States, some French vocabulary did become part of the English vocabulary as early as 1698 and later: "portage", "batteau", "chowder" (chaudière), "rapide", "levée", "prairie", "cache", "voyageur" and "sault", to mention only a few words of vocabulary. Some expressions originated with the French Canadian trappers such as "mush" (marche) and "mush-on" (marchons). There was also the language of the woods and plains such as "plateau", "butte", "coulée" and "saline". As far as French names are concerned, we find some in the United States where French explorers had travelled extensively: "Arkansas", "Illinois", "Chicago" and "Cheyenne". In the square dances throughout the West, expressions such as "à la main left", "doux-ci-doux" and "recherchez" have remained as signs of the French presence. Some animal and bird names were taken from the French "bec-scie" and "lucivée"; "loup-cervier" (wild cat of Maine); "aboiteau" (dike) and "arpent" (land measure). We can also mention tribal and group names such as "Sioux", "Iroquois", "Gros Ventres", "Montagnais", "Nez Percé", "Saulteaux" and others.

As we have seen earlier, Canadian French became cut off from its origins after the English conquest in 1763. Consequently, two attitudes emerged amongst French Canadians: either maintain vocabulary used by their forefathers or create new words and expressions. The first attitude has nothing startling in itself as all peoples like to keep traditions, including language traditions. But the creation of new words has always caught the attention of anyone. This phenomenon rests upon the fact that language is a living mirror of physical, social and moral conditions. Thus, it is obvious that Canadian French was to differ from the French language spoken in France because it responded to different needs. Special conditions of North American life, for example, the weather was an occasion to create words like "bordés" (heavy fall of snow), "banc de neige" (a snow bank), "s'embourber" (to sink into the snow), "bouette" (melting snow) and "poudrierie" (storm of fine drifting snow). Other colourful expressions associated with winter include "il neigeaille" or "il neigeasse" (it's snowing a little), "bor-

dages” or “bordillons” (ice collecting on a river’s bank) and “croûter” (to cover with ice). In other fields, local customs and experience produced “chantier de bucherons” (lumber camp), “achalant” (annoying), “jarnigoine” (judgment), “magasiner” (to go shopping), “chaud” (drunk) and “petit savage” (new-born).

It is said that the novel of Louis Hemon, *Maria Chapdeleine* (1914) is one of the best ones in Canada which reproduced French Canadian language patterns. However, since then, many new novelists in Quebec have appeared on the literary scene, such as Michel Tremblay, to offer readers new, vivid and colourful expressions.

When dealing with money, a good number of French Canadians still use “piastrey” instead of “dollars” and “cennes” in place of “sous”. “Pennies” are referred to as “cennes noires” while other small change is called “cennes blanches”.

However, the most condemned form of popular French in Quebec is “joual”. In his book “Speaking Canadian French”, here is how Mark M. Orkin describes this peculiar language:

“...French of a sort, but with a non-standard grammar and a strong infusion of English loan-words either taken over intact or in the most transparent of disguises, reinforced by a flood of English syntactical arrangements, with the whole expression in a phonology that almost defies transcription.”

And Orkin adds two examples to illustrate his definition: “chu pas apable” (je ne suis pas capable), and “l’coach m’enveille cri les mit du gôleur” (le moniteur m’envoie chercher les gants du gardien). And there is a Joual-French dictionary put together by Augustin Turenne; he published it with the idea of helping to better the French Canadian language.

Concerning French Canadian slang, it has not attracted too much attention possibly because of the existence of “joual” which is, in itself, a kind of slang. It is easy to prove this by recalling a few examples: “canayen” (the head), “avoir l’air anglais” (to look odd), “s’asseoir sur son stéque” (to fall), “faire pétaque” (to fail to score), “à la bisailon” (to go Dutch) and many others.

In Canada, if we recall what we have studied about French, there are close to 7,000,000 French Canadians, of whom a little over 6,000,000 reside in the province of Quebec; the others are dispersed in Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba. What is startling about these statistics is that the French Canadian population has almost exclusively increased through natural birth. For instance, by 1961, the French population had reached 31.6%, an increase since the time of Confederation. It is true to say that this percentage has decreased since 1961 because of the emergence of the smaller French Canadian family in recent years and also because of an increase in European immigration.²⁵

In areas such as New Brunswick and Ontario, not forgetting to mention Acadia, French has, at least, maintained a favourable position. Possibly, the latter region deserves more attention as its writers have been strongly encouraged by the success of Antonine Maillet, a French Canadian writer from Acadia, who, in 1979, was the recipient of the Prix Goncourt in Paris for her novel *Pélagie la Charette*. This novel crowned the literary endeavours of Antonine Maillet who had written other successful books. It is important to note here that some of the French used in Maillet's novels is typically of dialectic form and therefore quite different from the so-called pure or more correctly spoken and written French used by French authors writing in France. The fact that the novel of Maillet was taken seriously and its language accepted by the Parisian media as a legitimate expression of French culture in North America was a gigantic step made in encouraging the development of such a culture. Some years ago, literary critics in France and also in French Canada could hardly dream of such a development. At that time, there was in France a tendency to despise and overlook French Canadian literary productions. The reason for this was quite simple: the French used in Canada was considered as being simply not up to standards; it was qualified as outdated and a victim of linguistic deterioration. In 1916, Louis Hémon had momentarily raised the level of French Canadian literature with his famous novel, *Maria Chapdelaine*, but French critics retorted by pointing out that Hémon was a Frenchman of France and had no linguistic roots in Canada.

Of course, not only Antonine Maillet became known in contemporary France. Even before her success, French Canadian authors, such as

Michel Tremblay, Anne Hébert or Yves Thériault, were read by the French of France and singers, such as Gilles Vigneault and Felix Leclerc, especially the latter, became quite popular in Paris. At the same time, the cities of Quebec and Montreal were hosts to famous French artists of Paris and there resulted an exchange of celebrities between the two continents, something hitherto unknown. Therefore, although Montreal, in particular, is feeling the cultural influence of its close neighbour, the United States, the city has become a bastion of French culture. The "Place des Arts", conveniently located at the edge of the East Side of Montreal, which is almost entirely French, does symbolize the existence of a perennial French culture in Canada's second largest city.

No one will deny that Anglicization of the French segment of the Canadian population has increased along the years. But another development has occurred on the political front which has truthfully given impetus to the French language and awakened interest in it on the part of English Canadians. This new political development is the realization on the part of the province of Quebec of its position in Canada and, indeed, in the frame of the whole North American continent. Quebec has become conscious of its cultural personality, so to speak, of its destiny as a spearhead of French culture in the North American hemisphere and also, at the same time, of the dangers that are a menace to the survival of that culture. Since 1976,²⁶ there has been in Quebec a strong tendency to carry on public and private enterprises solely in the French language, something which, naturally, has annoyed the 2,000,000 English Canadians living in that province. It is true to say that English Canadian firms have been obliged to leave Quebec and seek refuge in other provinces; economically speaking, this has been a loss for Quebec. But if we consider the prestige of French, it has not suffered much harm; on the contrary, one would be inclined to admit that French has received more attention and, we may add, many English Canadians have come to the conclusion that a true bilingual Canada is a guarantee of its unity. Statistics are not easily available but the practice is widespread that many more English Canadians today are studying French with the conviction that they are working for a unified Canada.

The importance of French is also reflected in some of the sections of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In the new constitution, language rights are dealt with in sections sixteen to twenty-two, with emphasis on the equality of the use of English and French. This, of course, is not a new problem for Canadians. The British North America Act of 1867 stipulated the use of both French and English in the federal courts and Parliament and in the courts and legislature of Quebec. In 1870, Manitoba was admitted to Confederation; as this province had a large French speaking population, the above linguistic rights were put into force. But, in 1890, the Manitoba legislature passed a law which eliminated the necessity of using French in that province; in the following years, French became restricted in its use in other provinces, particularly in matters of education. Naturally, there was much opposition from French Canadians and in 1963 the Canadian Government instituted the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to investigate the status of Canada's two official languages, English and French. The Commission made recommendations to Parliament which then passed the Official Languages Act in 1969. This act stated clearly that French and English had to be used in all "institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada". Since 1969, in provincial matters, there has been a greater use of French. Concerning the restricted use of French in Manitoba, expressed in the law which was passed in 1890, Canada's Supreme Court simply concluded that the law was unconstitutional and that French should enjoy its full free status as in the case of English. All this was clearly stated in the new Constitution of 1982.

If we consider the renewed emphasis which has been put on French and in the manner which we have explained, it is not unreasonable to say that French Canadians should not worry too much about the survival of their language. It is true to say that there will always be critics who will hurriedly or alarmingly point to the fact that French in Canada is different from the French of France or, more precisely, from Parisian French. But we could answer these critics that Parisian French is different from the one used in other regions of France and that this does not decrease the value of one and the other. The French Canadians have used a French language which may differ in some cases with other

forms of French used in other parts of the world. This is not necessarily a deterioration but a language form born of a special environment or of a typical human experience; or again, this French responds to the nation's particular character. There is value and richness where one cares to find it. And it is no wonder that Quebec is solicitous of its national survival and will hopefully continue to be the pillar of French civilization in North America.

The Problems of Bilingualism

Our study of bilingualism now leads us to the investigation of the actual status of English and French in Canada. We are prompted to answer that the situation is fair but that the future looks brighter. The Official Languages Act which we have previously mentioned did not produce expected results but, at least, it did influence institutional behaviour by favouring certain changes and by sharpening public awareness. A new global language policy drawn up by the federal government in cooperation with provincial governments failed to materialize and, consequently could not help official languages programs in the Public Service and other cooperative projects in other areas. Therefore, is bilingualism simply a bad dream?

An annual Report is prepared and published by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages which permits interested parties to keep abreast of the progress of bilingualism in Canada. In 1986, for instance, the Report stressed the fact that "besides providing a clearer context for Canada's linguistic partnership a revised Official Languages Act should clearly embody the three guiding principles of language equality (service to the public, language of work and full participation, as defined by Parliamentary Resolution in 1973), ways of ensuring prompt enforcement when other means have proved inadequate, and firm assurances of support for Anglophone and Francophone minorities across Canada."²⁷ The Report also stated that a legal guideline should exist to ascertain service to the public.

Minority educational language provisions have not been implanted easily in the provinces according to section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Provincial leaders have sorely neglected their duties in

this regard. Although the public favours Canada's official language policy and although the Government agrees that such a policy should have high priority, the money spent for the language programs has not been adequate. Some experts on the matter contend that Canada is downgrading its personality by not giving education and minorities the needed help to pursue official language programs.

Since 1969, there has been some progress on language of service but there is still no equal evaluation of English and French in everyday life. In federal institutions and in other regions of Canada, services lacked the smoothness facilitated by bilingualism and gave rise to increasing complaints from citizens. It was obvious that top quality services were required on a continuing basis, especially among federal employees. At least, one employee in every federal office should have a command of both languages when dealing with the public.

The proportion of English and French speakers in Canada is generally reflected in the participation rates of the federal work force. But the situation differs in other sectors of Canadian society. In Quebec, for instance, Anglophones are not proportionately represented in the general work force while Francophones endure the same ordeal in New Brunswick and Northern Ontario. The federal employee is strikingly more bilingual than the employee in other categories of work. Oddly enough, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, which had as a goal 21% French participation, reduced it to 12% because of its provincial and municipal responsibilities and also because of its uneven geographical location. As can be imagined, the limitations put on Canada's official languages program have constituted a serious obstacle to the advance of bilingualism.

The principle underlying language of work, according to the Report of the Office of Official Languages, which we have already mentioned, is that "in bilingual regions, and subject to the overriding requirement to serve members of the public in their language, federal public servants should be able to work in the official language of their choice."²⁸ However, this aim seems to be out of reach. Obstacles to the attainment of free choice of language of work could be summarized by the fact that Francophones feel that they must speak in English at meetings with Anglophones and that they have become identified as English-speaking

by the Anglophones. But other criticism lashes out at work and documents which are handled only in English. Perhaps this area of language of work has suffered the most from lack of bilingualism.

Another concern related to the implementation of bilingualism in Canada is the fate of minority communities. For instance, some observers fear that Francophone minorities outside Quebec are now facing assimilation by the English-speaking element of the population. The future of Anglophones in Quebec remains questionable as French strengthens its position in that province; some of them have already fled the province to live in Ontario. Many citizens of these unsettled minorities have had to consult the courts to clarify their language rights. Practically speaking, social, health and other essential services are still not sufficiently offered at the minority level. However, although the situation remains unstable, more and more Canadians realize that language equality has become necessary for minority communities and they are quite open to government language programs.

In the field of education, the teaching and the learning of English or French as a second language has been based on the immersion system which has not escaped harsh criticism. Although immersion has brought about good results, some educators feel that it interferes with traditional forms of education. Also some problems connected with immersion must still receive a solution, such as at what age should a person begin language study or, again, what effects can such study have on a competent user of the mother tongue. Some observers equally ask themselves in what manner can a competent second language speaker make the best use of his acquired skills. But the basic difficulty to be confronted is how to integrate immersion with other language programs existing in schools. Of course, the problems we have touched upon concern mostly French which must struggle more than English to survive in a predominantly English-speaking country. In Quebec, the problem concerns more the timing of learning English rather than the immersion system which is practically non-existent. It is felt that, in that province, English should be earnestly taught from grade one and not from grade four as is commonly done, according to the Report of the Office of Official Languages.

At the university level, there is a growing conviction that the needs of

Francophone students outside Quebec and of Anglophone graduates of French immersion must be envisaged with better thinking and planning. Post-secondary opportunities must be at hand for Francophones in their own language. Anglophone students want to follow courses in French to have the adequate preparation for a job where bilingualism represents a means of advancement. The situation holds no easy exits but, briefly speaking, Francophone students must maintain French instruction and use their skills in a French environment. French immersion graduates also must preserve their skills as they approach the job market.

Bilingualism is viable in Canada, not only because it has received a legal status in governmental documents, but because it responds to the linguistic needs of the two founding nations.²⁹ Immigrants arriving in the country must abide by the statutes of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms which explicitly deals with bilingualism in a manner such clearer than in previous documents. A reasonable and accepted implementation of Canada's two official languages, English and French, will assure national unity and guarantee Canada's distinctiveness and originality.³⁰

However, official language programs must receive more prompt attention. Furthermore, the planning for such programs must have a more stringent character to escape vagueness and incomprehension.

If prudent measures, such as the ones we outlined, prevail in federal and provincial thinking bilingualism has a future in Canada.

Notes

- 1 *The French Fact in Canada*, reference series no. 65 (Ottawa : External Affairs Canada, 1985), p. 3.
- 2 *ibid.*, p. 3.
- 3 *ibid.*, p. 4.
- 4 *ibid.*, p. 5.
- 5 *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
- 6 *ibid.*, p. 7.

- 7 Dunton, A. Davidson, *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book 1 : the Official Languages* (Ottawa : Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1967), p. 41. France was intensively Catholic at the time and lay Catholics and missionaries constituted the core of the population of New France.
- 8 *ibid.* , p. 41.
- 9 *ibid.* , pp. 42-69. give a good account of language rights in Canada from the Treaty at Utrecht in 1713 to Confederation in 1867.
- 10 *Canada's Charter of Rights from A to Z* (Montreal : the Montreal Gazette, April 25, 1988), pp. 85-87.
- 11 Orkin, Mark M. , *Speaking Canadian English* (Toronto : General Publishing Co. , 1971), pp. 3-19.
- 12 *ibid.* , pp. 42-43.
- 13 *ibid.* , p. 44. Baugh's views are cited by the author.
- 14 *ibid.* , p. 45.
- 15 *ibid.* , p. 49.
- 16 *ibid.* , p. 59. The author describes well the Loyalist penetration of Canada and its effects on Canadian English.
- 17 *ibid.* , Chap. 4, pp. 63-109. The author offers a detailed analysis of the ingredients of Canadian English.
- 18 *ibid.* , p. 230. The author cites the opinions of Scargill and Priestley.
- 19 Fortin, Conrad, "Canada's Identity Crisis," *Canada Research Series* (Tokyo : Canadian Center, Sophia University, 1987) , vol. 18, no. 1. In this research paper, I have dealt in detail with Canada's identity crisis which is related closely to Canadian English.
- 20 Orkin, Mark M. , *Speaking Canadian French* (Toronto : General Publishing Co. , 1971), p. 4.
- 21 *ibid.* , p. 9. cited by the author.
- 22 *ibid.* , p. 11. cited by the author.
- 23 Pavie, Théodore, *l'Amérique anglaise en 1850* (Paris : Revue des Deux Mondes, 1850), p. 988.
- 24 Orkin, Mark M. , *Speaking Canadian French* (Toronto : General Publishing Co. , 1971), Chap. 3. The author makes a detailed analysis of the ingredients of Canadian French.
- 25 As the birth rate in Quebec has reached approximately 1.5 child per family and as emigration to that province has continued to increase, Canadian sociologists are beginning to seriously worry about the future survival of the French and their language.
- 26 At a time when René Lévesque was Prime Minister and spearhead of the Parti Québécois.

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- 27 *Annual Report 1986* (Ottawa : Commissioner of Official Languages, 1987), p. 1.
- 28 *ibid.*, p. 6.
- 29 In fact, French is now spoken by many more English Canadians than in past years. And French Canadians have made more effort to speak English well. Bilingualism has made great strides in its diffusion throughout Canada.
- 30 Bilingualism stands out as one of the striking characteristics of Canada which distinguishes it from its neighbour, the United States.

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