

LANGUAGE and SOCIETY

No. **11** Autumn 1983

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Two decades later, nine commissioners review key language issues in Canada

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Editor's Note

The creation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963 marked the beginning of Canada's language reform movement. In order to prepare our lead article, Charles Strong interviewed nine of the commissioners to elicit their views on the progress and pitfalls of the past two decades.

From another historical viewpoint, Robert Bourbeau examines recent trends in language transfers between Canada's Anglophones, Francophones and Allophones. Using the preliminary data of the 1981 census, he goes beyond purely statistical analysis to reveal the causes and implications of changes in Canada's language map.

Giving us pause from politics, sociology and statistics, Philip Stratford provides a light-hearted sketch of the history of translation in Canada followed by a critical examination of literary translation as a key bridge between our two major cultural communities. That bridge, he suggests, has been built, but now needs "some heavy two-way traffic".

As our last article shows, Canada's language problems are minor indeed when compared to those of certain other countries. Professor C.M.B. Brann describes the awesome linguistic complexity of Nigeria, whose 80 million inhabitants speak some 400 languages.

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Language and Society is prepared by the Information Branch, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Director: Christine Sirois; Production: Roslyn Tremblay.

Letters may be sent to the Editor, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa, Canada K1A 0T8 Tel.: (613) 995-7717.

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Twenty years ago, the B and B Commission began an inquiry that was to produce a detailed blueprint for language reform in Canada. To evaluate how effectively that design has been carried through, Language and Society interviewed nine of the commissioners.

Language in Canada: crisis resolved, or tensions in transition?

CHARLES STRONG



A former university teacher and public servant, Charles Strong now works as a free-lance writer, translator and consultant on language policy. He has been associated with the federal official languages programme for over 10 years and has begun research on a book on language reform in Canada.

This year marks the twentieth anniversary of perhaps the most important milestone in the history of the language issue in Canada – the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Beginning their work at a time when the Province of Quebec in particular was experiencing profound social and political change, the Commissioners “fully expected to find themselves confronted by tensions and conflicts.” They soon concluded, however, that the situation was more serious than most people believed, and that “Canada, without being fully conscious of the fact, [was] passing through the greatest crisis in its history.”

This key conclusion, spelled out in the preamble to the Preliminary Report published in 1965, served notice that the Commission would not deal with issues of language and culture in a narrow or limited context. In keeping with the objectives implicit in its broad yet carefully worded terms of reference, the Commission proceeded to cut through the artificially constructed but nonetheless rigid jurisdictional arrangements under which Canada’s political system operates. “Bilingualism and biculturalism” “equal partnership”, “founding races”, “other ethnic groups” and other key terms of the Commission’s mandate were not matters that could be dealt with from a

purely federal or provincial perspective, or from standpoints that ignored the social, psychological and economic dimensions of the problem. In the Commission’s words: “It is not only one aspect of Canadian life that is at issue; the vital centre is in danger: we mean the will to live together. . . .”

From this starting point, the Commission heard briefs, launched extensive research projects and held numerous public and private discussions with groups and individuals representing every walk of Canadian life affected by language and culture. The resulting volumes of its Report contain a forthright discussion of its findings, and recommendations on changes the appropriate authorities should implement in order to achieve the necessary reforms.

In the fall of 1983, nine of the B and B Commissioners agreed to discuss their views on the progress made to date in implementing their design for language reform in Canada. Given the impossibility of covering the contents of the Commission’s entire Report, our discussions dealt with six key issues: the crisis, the federal language regime, bilingual districts, the official language minorities, the ethnic minorities and public understanding of the issue. Following is a synthesis of the major points made by the Commissioners during the interviews.

The crisis

Has Canada weathered the crisis so perceptively identified in the Commission’s Preliminary Report and, if so, to what degree?

Each of the Commissioners responded to this question with a guarded and qualified yes, many of them emphasizing that the crisis of the sixties differed in severity and nature from the problems of national

THE COMMISSIONERS

A. Davidson Dunton,
Co-Chairman

André Laurendeau,
Co-Chairman, 1963-68¹

Jean-Louis Gagnon,
Co-Chairman, 1968-71

Clément Cormier, c.s.c.

Royce Frith

Gertrude M. Laing

Paul Lacoste*

Jean Marchand**

André Raynauld***

J.B. Rudnyckyj

F.R. Scott

Paul Wyczynski

¹ died in 1969

* appointed in 1965 to replace Jean Marchand

** resigned in 1965 to enter politics

*** appointed in 1968, following the death of André Laurendeau

unity faced by Canada today. Stressing that the Commission had said the crisis was taking place "without [Canada] being fully conscious of the fact", Davidson Dunton recalled Canadians' subsequent unpreparedness for the 1970 October Crisis, the 1976 bilingual air traffic control dispute and more recent events such as the issue of official bilingualism in Manitoba. However, he added, these events, serious in themselves, were and are of a different order from the smoldering – and occasionally erupting – violence of the early sixties.

Insofar as legitimate democratic nationalism has replaced acts of anarchy, Jean-Louis Gagnon and Royce Frith shared the view that the crisis had been weathered. Royce Frith also referred to the outbreaks of violence at that time, noting that Canada had had little experience finding political solutions to such problems.

Gertrude Laing preferred to say that Canada has "survived" the crisis. Subsequent reforms instituted by government have overcome some of the more blatant problems of the sixties; what we have today is not so much crisis as an "underlying discomfort", where the "gap between cultures is greater than that between languages." She, Paul Wyczynski and Paul Lacoste all mentioned that the Commission had indicated in the general introduction to the Report that recommendations concerning

political and constitutional questions – underlying causes of the crisis – would be included in the Commission's final statement. This was not to be the case, primarily as a consequence of André Laurendeau's sudden death in 1968. The enormous task of researching language and culture exhausted the Commissioners' time and energy, and it was left to a subsequent commission – the Task Force on Canadian Unity – to take up the constitutional issue.

The Official Languages Act has stood the test of time and has proven to be a sufficiently flexible instrument of reform.

Jean Marchand recalled the "feeling of alienation" that he and other Francophones had so often experienced in official Ottawa of the fifties and sixties. He and André Raynauld both expressed the view that the crisis today is "different, not over", that backlash is still a problem and that continued efforts will be required to reinforce the progress made to date. Jaroslav Rudnyckyj qualified the crisis as "semi-solved", noting that in Manitoba other ethnic groups were now throwing their support behind Francophones in the current dispute over language rights in that province.

The consensus among the Commissioners was that the B and B Commission "took some heat out of the debate" (to quote Davidson Dunton) and in some respects raised Canadians' consciousness of issues that many had ignored, misunderstood or chosen to resolve through politically unacceptable means. The crisis of the sixties has been weathered (or survived) to a substantial degree, but the lack of awareness two decades ago should not be replaced today by an equally dangerous attitude of complacency. "The patient," as one Commissioner put it, "is better but not cured."

The federal language regime

Turning to matters less political and more properly linguistic, we asked the Commissioners for their assessment of the Official Languages Act, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the federal official languages programme.

All rated the Act, the Charter and the programme somewhere between "fair" and "good". The Official Languages Act had stood the test of time and had proven to be a sufficiently flexible instrument of reform. Most stated that adoption of the Charter, a more recent event, will secure the rights of the official language minorities, even if, in Mrs. Laing's view, it is regrettable that Quebec finds itself unable to subscribe fully to its provisions.

Several, however, were less complimentary about certain measures taken to implement the Act in the federal public service. Mrs. Laing regretted "the way in which it was done", pointing out that the wholesale creation of bilingual positions and the massive second-language training programme were bureaucratic instruments that sometimes "failed to respect individuals' feelings and needs, fears and aspirations."

On this same point, Mr. Dunton added that while much of the criticism of the language

training programme was founded, the publicity given to this and other measures may have hindered the overall reform effort. What we have seen is institutional reform taking "two steps forward and one step back."

In recalling the situation that existed twenty years ago, Mr. Lacoste suggested that the most notable change is that, today, French is the principal language of work in Quebec. He regretted that the B and B Commission's recommendations on the creation of French-language work units had never been fully implemented; he qualified the effort to make French one of the languages of work in the federal public service as "a failure" outside Quebec and the National Capital Region.

Mr. Frith held a more positive view, ascribing the progress made to date as being largely due to the existence of the Official Languages Act and to the subsequent efforts of two "excellent Commissioners of Official Languages". In a similar vein, Mr. Gagnon noted that the federal public service has undergone a "revolution in the sociological sense of the term" not in twenty years, but in ten. Even if

the programme is not perfect, there is now wide acceptance within and without the Public Service that members of the public should be served in their language.

Mr. Marchand echoed others' criticism of the language training programme with the dry comment that it was "a spectacular, but not necessarily always practical gesture." He saw the greatest progress as having been made in the area of Francophone representation at the senior echelons of the public service where, two decades ago, Anglophones were "massively in the majority."

Mr. Rudnykyj qualified the programme as moderately successful, but regretted that the Official Languages Act and the Charter contained such weak provisions with respect to Canada's ethnic minorities.

In sum, the general view was that the efforts to introduce language reform in federal institutions should receive "a better than passing grade." However, the opinion of one Commissioner that "bilingualism is irreversible in the Public Service" was received with little enthusiasm, several others

insisting that a continued effort was essential, particularly in the area of language of work.

Bilingual districts

The creation of bilingual districts was a concept central to the B and B Commission's vision of a country in which both official language communities would live as equal partners. The Commission's recommendations in this regard find expression in sections 12-18 of the Official Languages Act. Since, to date, no such districts have been proclaimed and the concept appears to have an uncertain fate, we asked the Commissioners for their views.

With the exception of Mr. Frith, who stressed the apparently insurmountable political problem of creating such districts and expressed some personal reservations about their psychological effect on the provision of bilingual services elsewhere ("people in unilingual districts may think they are off the hook"), the Commissioners regretted that such districts had never been proclaimed. Several noted that bilingual districts were a key feature of the blueprint for equal partnership, a blueprint that some had hoped would be included in a new constitutional approach to the concept of Canada as a federal state.

Expanding on this theme, Mrs. Laing said that such districts, as conceived by the Commission, would ensure the delivery not only of federal services, but of provincial, municipal and even school board services in both official languages. They would thus cut across jurisdictional lines, an idea that one Commissioner characterized as "idealistic, necessary, yet perhaps fatal" in terms of their actual implementation.

Endorsing this view, Mr. Raynauld noted that while progress has been made in providing federal services to minority communities, other levels of government have not kept pace. Even if certain provincial services are available in French in, for example, parts of Ontario, they are not formally

THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE

The key terms of the mandate of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism were as follows:

"to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; . . ."

The Commission took eight years to complete its massive undertaking. Its seven-volume Report covered subjects as diverse and fundamental as Canada's official languages, education, the work world, the cultural contribution of other ethnic groups, the federal capital and voluntary associations. It delved into Canada's history; commissioned original research in dozens of fields; examined the jurisdictional powers of federal, provincial, municipal and school-board authorities; analysed demographic and economic statistics; and, in the end, delivered a detailed, reasoned and readable account of Canada's linguistic and cultural richness and diversity. Even today, its findings serve as a benchmark and guide to policy-makers grappling with these quintessentially Canadian issues.

enshrined in a permanent legislative framework. This point was taken up by Mr. Gagnon, a strong defender of the districts concept, who questioned the rationale by which some provincial governments *de facto* provide bilingual services yet resist any suggestion that rights to such services be proclaimed in law.

Political problems aside, Mr. Marchand felt that such districts would only prove useful if the grassroots minorities clearly indicated their wish to have services available in their language. He mentioned Essex County and Penetanguishene as locations where minority Francophone communities had fought for and won their rights. Politicians, he noted, respond to the will of the public and, in the case of minority rights, that will has to be expressed loud and clear.

An essential point made by most of the Commissioners was that bilingual districts, by embracing several levels of government, would guarantee the delivery of essential services. Many minority groups, they noted, were far more concerned with receiving "city hall" services and education for their children in their language than with the opportunity to buy a postage stamp or reserve an airline ticket in French or English.

The official language minorities

Going beyond the bilingual districts concept as an instrument of language reform, we asked the Commissioners for their opinions on the action taken in the past twenty years by provincial governments vis-à-vis their official language minorities.

The Commissioners praised New Brunswick for having expeditiously passed its Official Languages Act and for subsequently enshrining the principles of that Act in the new Constitution. The speed with which certain education provisions in the Act had been proclaimed was the subject of some critical comment, but in

general the actions of this province were lauded.

Several points were made with respect to the current language issue in Manitoba. Mr. Dunton, for example, stated that the Commission had never anticipated this particular constitutional debate which has arisen from a Supreme Court decision of 1979 and is also related to the pending Bilodeau case. While the Commission had, of course, studied the history of the French and English in Manitoba, it had not scrutinized in detail the legal and constitutional ramifications of Manitoba's entry into Confederation and the province's 1890 Official Language Act.

The massive second-language training programme was a bureaucratic instrument that sometimes "failed to respect individuals' feelings and needs, fears and aspirations."

Ontario's failure to provide a constitutional or legislative basis for French-language services came under attack from several Commissioners. Mr. Gagnon called Ontario's efforts "inadequate", Mr. Dunton qualified them as "slow and ponderous" and Mrs. Laing wondered aloud why the province would not go the last step, and confirm in law what it did in fact. Others were more sanguine, noting that while the term "gradualism" hardly conveys a sense of urgency, the province is moving on several fronts and now offers a fairly broad range of social services in both official languages.

With respect to Quebec's language legislation, most of the Commissioners expressed mixed feelings. While on the whole lauding

Quebec's moves over the years to make French – "the language of the majority of the province" – the principal language of the workplace, several were severe in their criticism of certain "excesses" of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101).

Mr. Raynauld made nuanced comments on Quebec's demographic and economic evolution. Over the past twenty years, he said, Quebec has experienced a lower birthrate, high emigration, a greater degree of francization, and a significant decline in income disparities between Francophones and Anglophones. Business ownership by Francophones has grown and Francophones now represent 80.5 per cent of the work force, as compared to 75.4 per cent in 1961.

Mr. Raynauld views these changes with a mixture of optimism and pessimism. On the one hand, Francophones now largely control their own destiny; on the other, they have lost some investment and considerable Anglophone business expertise as a result of out-migration.

In his view, the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) – and before it the Official Language Act (Bill 22) and the Act to Promote the French Language (Bill 63) – are at least partly responsible for these benefits and disadvantages. In strictly linguistic terms, however, he noted that Bill 101 is the only language law in Canada that actually restricts the rights of a minority to work, study and function freely in its own language.

While he, too, is critical of Ontario's failure to enact legislation to give French official status, he noted that there is nothing in law to prevent any Francophone from working in French in that province. Lastly, he recalled that Recommendation 42 of Volume III of the Commission's Report had contemplated French becoming the primary language of the workplace in Quebec, but that there had been

no suggestion that the use of English be hindered.

In sum, the Commissioners, while differing on detail, generally believe that most provinces have a long road to travel before they fully respect minority language rights.

Ethnic minorities

Part of the Commission's mandate was to take "into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution. . . ." We asked the Commissioners for their views on the current status of such minorities.

Mr. Rudnyckyj, the author of a dissenting opinion on this issue, has not changed his view that Canada should create regional bilingual districts in which official status would be accorded certain languages other than English and French. He recommends introduction of the Swiss model, according to which there are two official languages and, in certain areas, regional languages with official status. He regrets that Section 28 of the Official Languages Act and Sections 22 and 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms are no more than "anti-linguicidal" clauses — supportive of cultural expression, but stopping well short of providing dynamic, official status for languages other than French and English.

In general, the other Commissioners subscribed to the view that the federal authorities have, through their multiculturalism policy, implemented the recommendations of

It should be official policy to provide services in other languages in areas serving substantial concentrations of ethnic minorities.

the B & B Commission. In Mr. Wyczynski's words, Canada's multiculturalism policy is one of integration, not assimilation, and is radically different from the American "melting pot" philosophy.

Mr. Gagnon and Mr. Frith agreed that the federal government should stop short of granting official status to languages other than English and French. However, they each felt that it should be official *policy* to provide services in other languages in areas serving substantial concentrations of ethnic minorities.

Lastly, Mr. Lacoste suggested that governments had done far too little to recognize the existence of Indian and Inuit languages. These peoples, he remarked, were the original inhabitants of Canada, and have had to accept the imposition of English and French on a country that was historically theirs.

Public understanding

As a final question, we asked the Commissioners for their assessment of the Canadian public's understanding of "bilingualism" today, as compared to twenty years ago.

The consensus was that educated Canadians are now better informed about language issues than they were at the time of the Commission's inquiry. While ignorance and bigotry occasionally show their colours, their incidence is less frequent.

Several Commissioners mentioned the French immersion schooling phenomenon as indicative of a new, widespread acceptance of Canada as an officially bilingual country. Mr. Wyczynski, in particular, stressed the need for all provinces to offer second-language instruction at all levels of the education system, "but to that end, the provinces must demonstrate a spirit of brotherhood and open-mindedness towards the dignity of individuals."

Public debate has had the effect of converting more reasonable people to the essential fairness of the cause of linguistic equality.

The last word on this point should perhaps again go to André Raynauld, who believes that greater sensitivity to language issues among the public has, paradoxically, been brought about as a result of the tensions and crises of the past twenty years. Public debate on these events has had the effect of converting more reasonable people to the essential fairness of the cause of linguistic equality.

In conclusion, we should not fail to mention the Commissioners' repeated and obviously sincere tributes to the memory of André Laurendeau. He, in Mr. Gagnon's words, was the driving force of the Commission: "he wanted this Commission and he got it." It was his tolerance of others' views, his ability to forge agreement and his determination to create a better Canada that inspired members of the Commission to pursue their work so diligently after his sudden, unexpected death in 1968.

Belated recognition of the literary translator's craft opens up a truly national audience for Canadian authors. Nearly 500 literary titles have been published in both languages in the past ten years. Will these promising beginnings grow and help strengthen our appreciation of the "other culture"?

A bridge between two solitudes

PHILIP STRATFORD



Philip Stratford is a founding member of the Literary Translators' Association. He has translated books by Jean Le Moyne, Claire Martin, André Laurendeau, Félix Leclerc and Antonine Maillet and compiled two anthologies of translations, *Stories from Quebec* and *Voices from Quebec*, as well as a bibliography of Canadian books in translation. He teaches English at l'Université de Montréal.

Translation is a little observed, seldom discussed but omnipresent, subjacent part of Canadian life, like the underwater part of an iceberg. While our neighbours to the south have chosen the melting-pot way of life, we have chosen collective differentiation and difference, the "Great Canadian Ice-Cube Tray", you might say. Whenever we communicate from one group or cube to another, an act of translation becomes implicit; someone is always translating when Canadians of different ethnic allegiance meet. Our perennial Canadian search for identity is nourished by the fact that we are forever translating ourselves to ourselves. Nor is the act of translation itself above suspicion; as any translator is aware, translation is no innocent transfer from one language through an odourless, tasteless, inert medium to another, but a transformation inevitably charged politically and coloured culturally.

Translation and treachery: uneasy bedfellows

These phenomena, which crop up as continuing Canadian problems, can be illustrated by recalling some events in our history¹ where translation played a prime role. Jacques Cartier's experience, for instance, tends to prove the Italian adage, "*Traduttore, traditore*," the translator is a traitor. The first betrayal occurred in July 1534, off the Gaspé coast, when Cartier kidnapped the two sons of Donnacona,

self-styled "King of Canada", and took them back to Brittany to train them as interpreters. When they returned the following spring, the Iroquois princes took a small revenge, remaining faithful to their kin and translating only in their favour, thereby earning a reputation as intriguers. The Europeans, however, had the last word, for Cartier rekidnapped the Indians and took them back to France where they died in exile; thus earning the French the undying enmity of the Iroquois, a change in the course of history resulting from the inescapable play of self-interest in the translation process.

Champlain took a more enlightened approach, sending Etienne Brulé to live with the Indians and learn their language in the winter of 1610-11. This strategy was so successful that Brulé spent the next twenty years with the Hurons and shed most of his European ways. So difficult it is to "tread the giddy line midway" in the practice of translation that one constantly risks assimilating one's subject or being assimilated by it. Brulé's lugubrious end illustrates this in an ironic way, for after so many years assimilating Huron customs he was assassinated and eaten by his hosts.

After 1760, when English-French communications took precedence over French-Indian relations, the same problems recurred in a different register. At first no one in the conquered colony was able or willing to act as interpreter, so the British supplied their own, French Huguenots who had fled religious persecution in Catholic France a century earlier. With the arrival of Governor Carleton in 1767, a native-born interpreter was found, one François-Joseph Cugnet who served as "French Translator and Secretary to the Governor and Council" for the next twenty years. The post was important, yet suspicion of translators ran so deep that Cugnet was accused (though it was never

proved) of telling Wolfe about the path up the cliff from l'Anse-au-Foulon to the Plains of Abraham. The Nipissing Indians had called interpreter-explorer Jean Nicolet "he who is twice a man" or "double man"; behind the compliment lurks the ever-present suspicion of double-dealing.

The onus of translation fell mainly on the French. In 1804, for example, the North West Company employed 56 Francophone interpreters but only 12 Anglophones. During the 19th century many of Quebec's best known writers served some time as government translators: Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, author of *Les anciens canadiens*; the famed historian, François-Xavier Garneau; novelist Antoine Gérin-Lajoie (*Jean Rivard*); and poets Louis Fréchet and Pamphile Le May, the latter

the translator of William Kirby's *The Golden Dog* and Longfellow's *Evangeline*. Political and material necessity combined to make French-speaking Québécois "a people of translators." To this day, too, far more than other populations, Québécois are a people translated-to: the quantity of information beamed to them from English sources (40 to 1 in the North American context) makes them "targeted"² in more than just the scientific sense of the term. This has led certain linguists to write of the deleterious effect of translation on French in Quebec in terms of "acculturation."³

Bridging the solitudes

In matters of translation, however, one must always expect paradoxical reciprocities. In the field of literary translation, the major topic of the rest of this article, the flow

has been in the opposite direction. Although few celebrated English-Canadian men of letters tried translation in the early years (Charles G.D. Roberts' translations of Fréchet and de Gaspé are the exception), traditionally there has been twice as much translation from French to English as the reverse. This expresses a curiosity about Quebec which is only feebly returned. Many reasons could be suggested, not least of which is the vigour and originality of Quebec literature. Even so, historically speaking, interest in the



Berthio's highly-regarded editorial cartoons have been appearing in *Le Devoir* for the past 10 years. His work has also been published in *La Presse*, *Dimanche Matin* and *l'Actualité*. A native Montrealer,

Berthio is as loyal to his city as he is to his friends and neighbours, who know him as Roland Berthiaume.



other culture was slow to develop. Taking the novel, the most translated genre, as index, the record of translation into English runs as follows: prior to 1900 seven Quebec novels were translated; in the next sixty years 36 titles were added, a little more than one every two years; in the next decade, 1960-70, twenty new novels were translated, an average of two a year; from 1973 to 1982, 89 translations

of Quebec novels were undertaken, almost nine per year.

Before examining the causes of this rapid upswing, one must confess that Canada's performance in literary translation has been pitiful. Many of the novels just referred to were translated in the U.S. or Britain, and translations of poetry and drama lagged far behind fiction. For the same period, 75 per cent of

translations of English-Canadian works into French were done in Paris; the choice of authors was idiosyncratic and narrow, and the volume was even less than that of English translations. For the decade 1963-72, according to UNESCO's statistical yearbooks, Canada averaged 117 non-scientific translations per year, ranking us between Iceland and Albania in annual production. In the same

LE TOMBEAU DES ROIS

par ANNE HÉBERT

J'ai mon cœur au poing
Comme un faucon aveugle.

Le taciturne oiseau pris à mes doigts
Lampe gonflée de vin et de sang,
5 Je descends
Vers les tombeaux des rois
Étonnée
A peine née.

Quel fil d'Ariane me mène
10 Au long des dédales sourds ?
L'écho des pas s'y mange à mesure.

(En quel songe
Cette enfant fut-elle liée par la cheville
Pareille à une esclave fascinée ?)

15 L'auteur du songe
Presse le fil,
Et viennent les pas nus
Un à un
Comme les premières gouttes de pluie
20 Au fond du puits. ⁴

THE TOMB OF THE KINGS

par ANNE HÉBERT

*Traduction (troisième version)
par Frank Scott*

I carry my heart on my fist
Like a blind falcon.

The taciturn bird gripping my fingers
A swollen lamp of wine and blood
I go down
Toward the tombs of the kings
Astonished
Scarcely born.

What Ariadne-thread leads me
Along the muted labyrinths ?
The echo of my steps fades away as they fall.

(In what dream
Was this child tied by her ankle
Like a fascinated slave ?)

The maker of the dream
Presses on the cord
And my naked footsteps come
One by one
Like the first drops of rain
At the bottom of the well. ⁴

*In his foreword to Dialogue sur la traduction, on Anne Hébert's poem Le Tombeau des rois and Frank Scott's translation thereof, Northrop Frye says:
"Mr. Scott consolidates the result into English, and it is clear without the stimulus of the other language, Mlle Hébert would never have discovered so much about her own meaning. Translation here becomes a creative achievement in communication, not merely a necessary evil or a removal of barriers. One can hardly learn more in less compass about the kind of craftsmanship that goes into the making of poetry than is given in these few pages."⁵*

years the Swiss translated seven times as much, the Belgians eight, and the Dutch sixteen times as many literary works.

In the early seventies, however, things began to change. Informally from the mid-sixties the Canada Council had been encouraging translators by furnishing grants to publishers to defray the cost of translation. In 1972 an official translation grant programme was established guaranteeing Canadian translators of Canadian books a minimum fee that was quite generous by world standards. The immediate effect was to initiate many new writers to the experience of translation and to greatly increase the number of works translated. Since grant applications were adjudicated, quality was a requirement and in 1974, as an added stimulus, the Council inaugurated annual translation prizes to parallel the Governor General's Literary Awards. Later it provided travel funds so that the translator could meet the author and discuss the work in hand.

The side effects of this initiative were several. In 1975 l'Association des traducteurs littéraires/The Literary Translators' Association was founded. Its aim was to publicize the work of translators, to ensure high standards and to protect the members' professional rights. The Association now groups seventy active translators from across the country, half working from French to English, half the other way, a dozen of them also translating from other languages. Besides its annual meeting which is a forum for exchanging ideas and information on translation, the Association publishes a newsletter, *Transmission*, and sponsors the John Glassco Prize, awarded yearly to a first Canadian translation from any language into French or English.

Other spin-offs include the publication of a bibliography⁶ of Canadian books in translation, now going into its third edition; increasing recognition of translation

as an art form (for example, through the inclusion of a section on "Translation," since 1977, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly's* annual review of "Letters in Canada"), and a growing number of conferences on translation theory and practice. Several magazines, particularly *Ellipse* since 1969, but also special numbers of *Contemporary Literature in Translation*, *Canadian Literature*, *Canadian Fiction Magazine*, *Journal of Canadian Fiction*, and *Liberté* have sustained this interest. From the publishers' side, two notable series of works in translation have been launched, Cercle du Livre de France's "Collection des Deux Solitudes," and Harvest House's "French Writers of Canada" series. Other publishers — McClelland and Stewart, Oberon, Coach House and Éditions Héritage, Hurtubise HMH and Québec-Amérique in French — have been particularly open to publishing translations.

The profession and its future

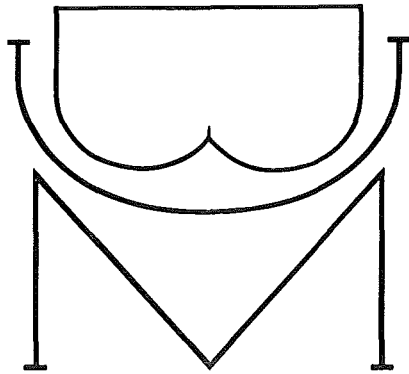
While these trends are promising, one must not succumb to the optimist's squint, for a cool look shows that the period of increased activity is short, that growth is entirely dependent on federal support, and that the trans-cultural impact is very hard to assess. In an attempt to calculate the latter, a survey of the first twenty years of the critical quarterly *Canadian Literature* gives the following results. In the period 1959-79, 102 translations were reviewed, an average of one per issue until 1975 when the number doubled. Of these, one-third were brief notices, one-third one-page reviews, one-third longer articles. This seems to be a creditable record and one that reflects the stimulus provided by the Canada Council, but closer examination reveals much room for improvement. For example, reviews lagged far behind the publication of the translations and, *il va sans dire*, farther still behind the appearance of the original works — four years on average.

Of the serious reviews (longer than one page), one-third neglected to mention that a translation was being reviewed, and another third failed to say anything about the quality of the translation.

Naturally, translations were not identified as such, nor were translators' names mentioned in the index. If such treatment seems cavalier, it is far better than that accorded translations in Quebec where reviewers have until recently practised a virtual boycott of translations of English-Canadian books.

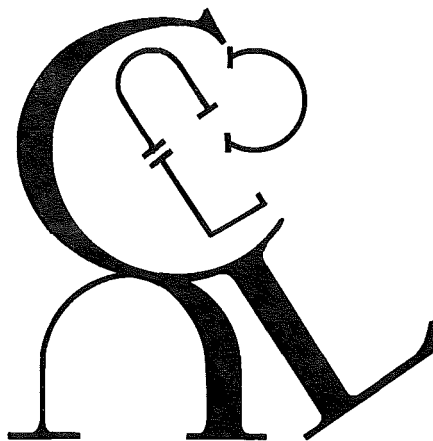
It will obviously take longer to capitalize on the initiatives taken. The Literary Translators' Association will have to work harder to publicize the work of its members and explain the intricacies of the craft. More Canadian publishers will have to develop well-informed, long-range policies for publishing translations, adding their bit to government incentives. Critics and reviewers will have to give special attention and special treatment to translators for, as James Page wrote in an earlier issue of this magazine, to know only one Canadian literature is like seeing with only one eye. Then, perhaps, the general reading public will feel as free reading both Canadian literatures as they now do reading one, and so double their cultural heritage.

All that will take time, yet looking back at the past decade one can see real progress. Since the Canada Council's programme began in 1972, almost five hundred new literary titles have been translated, more than all the years before. Forty-five French publishers have been involved, fifty English ones. The work was done by 110 Francophone translators and 100 Anglophones, a third of whom now have two or more translations to their credit. A significant change, whose results may be far-reaching, is that the old 2-to-1 ratio — two French books translated for every English title —



A chair ousters the human posterior.

The squat posture is "translated" into a new matter, namely wood or stone or steel. The temporary tension of squatting is translated and fixed in a new matter. The fixing of the human posture in solid matter is a great saver of toil and tension. This is true of all media and tools and technologies. But chair at once causes something else to happen that would never occur without chair.



La chaise prolonge le postérieur.

La position assise est «traduite» en un matériau: bois, pierre ou acier. La tension momentanée de l'accroupissement est transposée et figée dans la matière. La fixation en dur d'une posture humaine constitue une grande économie de tension et de sueur. Cela est vrai de tous les média, de tous les outils et de toutes les technologies. Mais une chaise, sitôt créée, provoque l'apparition de quelque chose qui n'aurait jamais existé sans elle.

Translation usually means rendering in another language more than just words. A perfect example is this excerpt from Marshall McLuhan's *Counterblast*⁷ and the translation by Jean Paré. The adaptation of Harley Parker's original illustration is by Gilles Robert.

no longer applies: in five of the past ten years more books were translated into French than into English, and the overall totals are equal. Several major projects are underway: translations of the collected poems of Earle Birney and E.J. Pratt, of Donald Creighton's biography of Sir John A. MacDonald; and of such classics as Stephen Leacock's *Sunshine Sketches* and Sinclair Ross' *As For Me and My House*. The Canada Council, as well as the

Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State, now gives a few grants for translations into languages other than English and French. In the margin of this practical activity some interesting works on the art of translation have appeared: an exchange of correspondence between poets Anne Hébert and Frank Scott, *Dialogue sur la traduction* (HMH, Montréal, 1970), prompted by the latter's translation of the former's *Le Tombeau des rois*; a scholarly history of translation theory and practice by L.G. Kelly of the University of Ottawa, *The True Interpreter* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1979); an analysis of translation in the Canadian context, *Bilinguisme et traduction au Canada: Rôle socio-linguistique du traducteur* (CIRB, Québec, 1982), by Denis Juhel of the Centre International de Recherche sur le Bilinguisme at Laval.

Other long-term projects include a history of translation in Canada being written by Jean Delisle of the University of Ottawa and a world dictionary of twentieth century English translators in preparation by Milly Armour of Carleton. All these are signs that perhaps Canada is finally coming into its own as a translator's country.

It has often been said that translation is a bridge between cultures; as far as literary translation in Canada is concerned, the planning and engineering have been done, the construction is complete, and all we now need is some heavy two-way traffic.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. I am indebted to a special issue of the translators' journal *Meta* (Vol. 22, No. 1, mars 1977) on "Histoire de la traduction au Canada," and particularly to Jean Delisle for the facts that follow.
2. Translators speak of "source" and "target" languages; in French, "langue de départ" and "langue d'arrivée."
3. J. Poisson, "La traduction, facteur d'acculturation?" in *Meta*, Vol. 22, No. 3, September 1977, pp. 232-33.
4. Reproduction of these verses of Anne Hébert's poem *Le Tombeau des rois* published in the volume *Poèmes*, is authorized by Éditions du Seuil. The translation, *The Tomb of the Kings*, by Frank Scott is authorized by McClelland and Stewart Ltd. (p. 10)
5. Anne Hébert and Frank Scott, *Dialogue sur la traduction*, Collection Sur Parole, Montréal, Éditions Hurtubise HMH Ltée, 1970. (p. 10)
6. P. Stratford, *Bibliography of Canadian Books in Translation: French to English and English to French*. HRCC, Ottawa, 1977.
7. The reproduction of page 39 of Marshall McLuhan's *Counterblast* is authorized by: McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, Canada (Canadian rights). Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., New York, N.Y. (United States and dependencies, and the Philippines). David Highan Associates, London, England (World rights). The reproduction of page 39 of Jean Paré's *Counterblast* is authorized by Les Éditions Hurtubise HMH, Ltée, Montréal, Canada. (p. 12)

Canada Council Translation Grants

The Canada Council's Translation Grants programme, founded in 1972, is intended primarily to encourage greater exchange between Canada's English- and French-language communities by providing assistance for the translation of books by Canadian authors from one official language into the other. In addition, the Council occasionally supports the translation of books by Canadian authors from a language other than English or French into one of these languages and, since 1981, has provided assistance to foreign publishers for the translation of Canadian authors' works into languages other than English or French for publication abroad.

Translation grants are awarded to professional, Canadian-owned publishing houses with a proven track record in the publication of Canadian titles of cultural significance. Translators have to meet the Council's citizenship criteria (Canadian citizen or landed immigrant of five-years' standing) and prove their competence in the field of literary translation by submitting, through the publisher, a 25-30 page manuscript of the proposed translation for assessment by the Council. Once the proposal has been accepted, the translator receives a fee of seven cents per word for his translation. Thus, he or she typically receives between \$5,000 and \$6,000 for an average length novel.

The Council's 1982-83 budget for this programme was approximately \$380,000. It supports translations of works of fiction, poetry, drama, children's literature and serious non-fiction. In the first year of the programme, 27 titles received such assistance, 14 from French into English and 13 from English to French. In recent year, the Council has awarded approximately sixty grants annually, these being divided almost equally between French and English.

This figure does not, of course, represent the total number of books translated in Canada, and does not include self-help or how-to books (which do not qualify for Council grants) or books by foreign authors. However, in an ongoing effort to facilitate and improve exchanges between Canada's linguistic and cultural communities, the Council does subsidize the translation of almost

all literary works or works of serious non-fiction by Canadian authors published in Canada. In recent year, these have included the English translations of such award-winning novels as Marie-Claire Blais' *Le Sourcil dans la ville* and Anne Hébert's *Les Fous de Bassan*, and the translations into French of Donald Creighton's two-volume biography of Sir John A. Macdonald and Pierre Berton's *The Invasion of Canada*.

Although roughly equal numbers of books are translated into each official language, the content varies greatly. English-Canadian readers have consistently shown themselves to be most interested in fiction by Quebec authors (such as Michel Tremblay, Roch Carrier, Anne Hébert and Gabrielle Roy) while French-language readers have demonstrated a marked preference for English-Canadian non-fiction works of biography, history, sociology and economics. In 1982, 10 novels were translated into English as opposed to three into French, whereas 12 works of non-fiction were translated into English as opposed to 24 into French.

To further encourage the translation of works by Canadian authors, the Council awards an annual prize of \$5,000 for the best published translation into each official language. The 1982 prizes were awarded to Ray Chamberlain for his English translation of Victor-Lévy Beaulieu's novel *Joe Connaisseur*, and to Claude Aubry for his rendering of Brian Doyle's novel for adolescents, *Meet Me at Peggy's Cove*. Earlier winners included English translators Alan Brown, Sheila Fischman, John Glassco and Frank Scott and, on the French side, Jean Paré, Jean Simard, Gilles Hénault and Yvan Steenhout, to name only a few.

In its recently established international translation programme, the Council has, since 1981, funded the translation of approximately 20 works, including *Selected Poems* by Irving Layton into Italian, Marian Engel's *Bear* into Swedish, and Yves Beauchemin's *Le Matou* into Norwegian. The programme promises to be extremely helpful in promoting the work of Canadian authors abroad, and publishers in a growing number of countries have expressed interest in our best writers.

Do the 1981 census statistics offer reassurance to Francophones alarmed by the dangers of assimilation? Do they feed the fears of Anglophone Quebecers? In the following article, a demographer analyses this issue and offers some preliminary conclusions.

Canada's language transfer phenomenon

ROBERT BOURBEAU



An actuary and demographer, Dr. Robert Bourbeau has been Research Associate in the Department of Demography, Université de Montréal, and a member of the Research Group on Quebec Demography since 1981. An area of research of particular interest to the St. Jérôme, Quebec, native is the evolution of ethnic and linguistic groups in Quebec and the rest of Canada.

In an earlier issue (Autumn 1982, #8), two authors presented their views on the future of the Francophone minorities outside Quebec¹ and the Anglophone minority in Quebec². In their discussion of the future of each group, the authors emphasized the importance of linguistic mobility, which is clearly advantageous for Anglophones in Quebec but much less so for Francophones outside Quebec. These findings were based on the results of the 1971 census which, for the first time, enabled a comparison to be made between the mother tongue of respondents and the language spoken in the home. It was thus possible to measure language transfers.

Now that the initial data of the 1981 census are available, our purpose here is to update the 1971 results and try to discern some recent trends in linguistic mobility, first in Quebec and subsequently in the rest of Canada. This examination becomes all the more interesting by reason of the fact that during the 1960s there was a great deal of debate about the future of the two principal language groups in Canada. That decade also witnessed the passage of various language laws, particularly in Quebec. These factors should be borne in mind in any interpretation of the changes revealed by the 1981 census data.

The Canadian census is the principal source of information on the linguistic characteristics of

individuals. These characteristics are revealed by responses to three types of questions: the first refers to present practice (language spoken in the home); the second concerns past practice, in other words the first language learned and still understood (mother tongue); and the third deals not with practice but rather with knowledge of the two official languages of Canada, English and French.

We shall deal here with the first two concepts, mother tongue and language spoken in the home. By comparing the two, we shall be able to assess the language transfer phenomenon (abandonment of the mother tongue in favour of another language).³ The question dealing with the language spoken in the home was asked for the first time during the 1971 census (one out of every three households), and again during the 1981 census (one out of every five households).

Measuring linguistic mobility

Using the 1971 and 1981 census data, we shall first determine the comparative degree of language transfers for each of the three major language groups: Francophones, Anglophones and Allophones.⁴

We shall then try to establish an index for the overall linguistic mobility rate⁵, which is the proportion of people with a given mother tongue who state that they use a language other than their mother tongue in the home. This rate is affected by two variables: the intensity of the transfer risk, and the period of exposure to such a risk.

In order to isolate the intensity of this phenomenon, the age and birthplace of individuals have to be known. Since we do not currently have a detailed breakdown of the 1981 data, we shall present an overall index that reflects the behaviour of several

generations in terms of linguistic mobility. Despite its limitations, this index reveals the major trends of linguistic mobility. We shall use it to provide an overview of such movements in a given time-span, as well as regional variations in linguistic mobility in Canada.

■ Quebec: *Changes in linguistic composition since 1971*

Since 1971, the linguistic composition of Quebec has changed quite significantly. The 1976 census had already provided some data on the new trends

of this composition, and these have been confirmed by the 1981 census (Table 1).

In Quebec, the proportion of persons whose mother tongue is French has increased since 1971 and was 82.4 per cent in 1981. This is about the same proportion as in 1951. Since 1971, the English mother tongue group has continued to decline in size: in 1981, it represented 11 per cent of the total population of Quebec, a drop of 2.1 per cent from 1971. This reduction in relative terms was accompanied by a reduction in absolute numbers: from 789,200 to 706,100. There are reasons to believe that the slight increase in the number of Anglophones reported in the 1976 census⁶ is invalid and linked to changes in the mother tongue reported during that census mainly by the third language group⁷. The relative size of this group grew from 6.2 per cent to 6.6 per cent between 1971 and 1981.

Analysis of the population composition by language spoken in the home reveals roughly the same trends: an increase in the proportion of Francophones (from 80.8 per cent to 82.5 per cent), a decline in the proportion of Anglophones (from 14.7 per cent to 12.7 per cent) and a slight increase in the proportion of Allophones (from 4.5 per cent to 4.8). Since the non-Francophones are concentrated largely in the Montreal area, it is possible to examine the recent evolution of the linguistic composition in this area (Table 2). Variations in the linguistic composition between 1971 and 1981 are even more pronounced in this area, even if the same trends are evident. The relative size of the Anglophone population dropped by 3.3 per cent, while the proportion of Allophones increased by 1.1 per cent. The population composition by language spoken in the home evolved in a similar manner.

TABLE 1
1 Population distribution (in %) by mother tongue and language spoken in the home
QUEBEC 1971-81

YEAR	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
1971	13.1	80.7	6.2	100.0
1976 ^a	12.8	81.1	6.1	100.0
1981	11.0	82.4	6.6	100.0

YEAR	LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
1971	14.7	80.8	4.5	100.0
1981	12.7	82.5	4.8	100.0

a. The 1976 data have been adjusted to make them comparable with those in 1981 (based on Linda Demers and John Kralt, upcoming publication).

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, 1976, 1981.

TABLE 2
2 Population distribution (in %) by mother tongue and by language spoken in the home
MONTREAL CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA 1971-81

YEAR	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
1971	21.7	66.3	12.0	100.0
1976 ^a	22.2	67.0	10.8	100.0
1981	18.4	68.5	13.1	100.0

YEAR	LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
1971	24.9	66.3	8.8	100.0
1981	22.0	68.6	9.4	100.0

a. Non-adjusted data, not comparable with those of 1981.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, 1976, 1981.

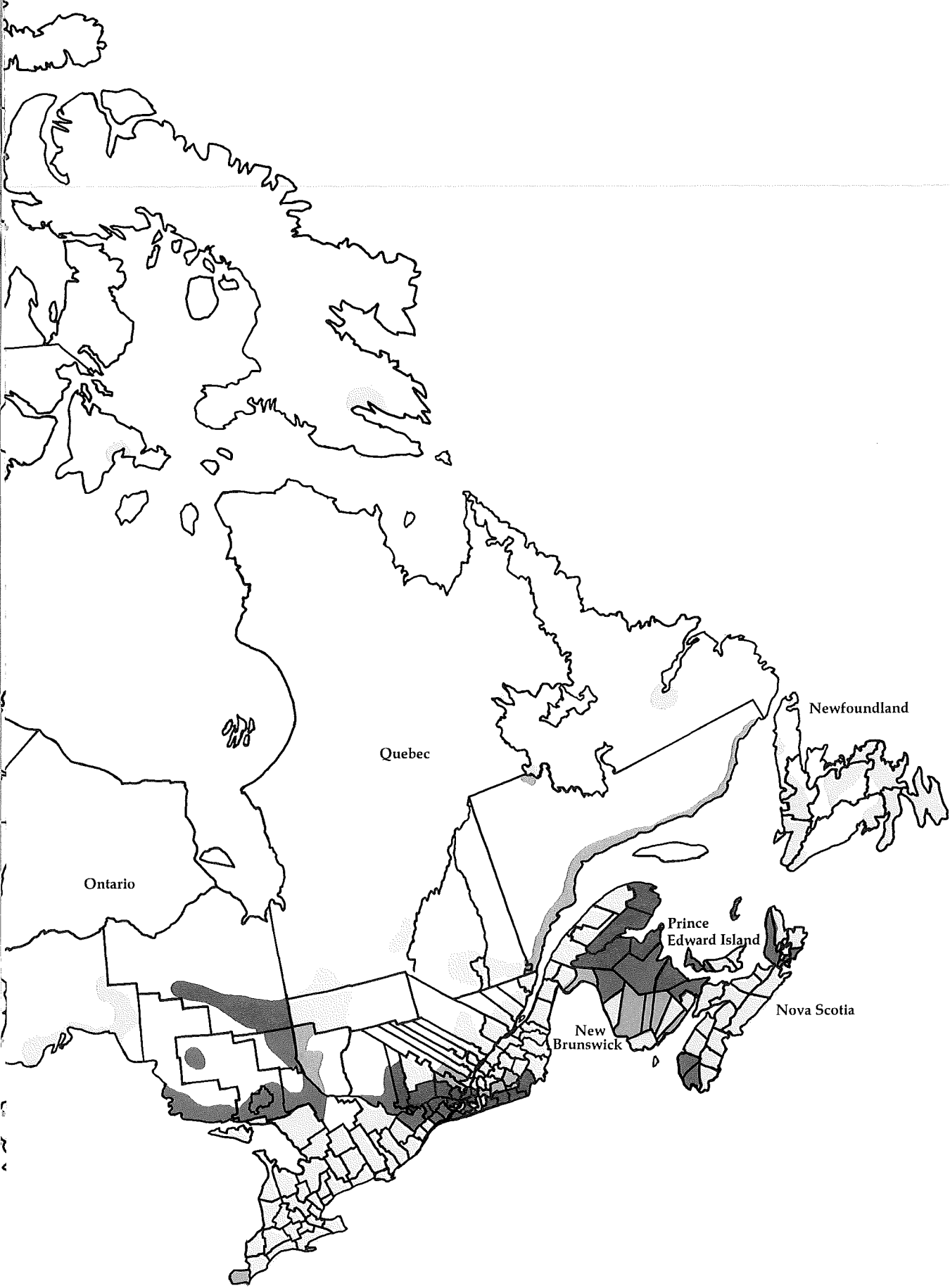
English and French in Canada



Proportion* of people in Canada whose mother tongue is English and who live in areas where most people speak French:

- 10% and over
- 5% to 10%
- less than 5%

*Percentage of the total population in each census division.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census



Are these variations in the linguistic composition of Quebec and the Montreal area significant? Compared with the variation found in previous censuses, the changes during the 1970s are certainly much more striking.

One should not forget, however, that any change in this composition is a reciprocal phenomenon and that at least one of the language groups experiences some change as a result. Between 1951 and 1971, the French group experienced a reduction in its relative size and this was a cause for considerable anxiety; today, however, that anxiety is focussed on the decline in the Anglophone population.

Revival of language groups

What is the reason for these recent changes? Changes in the linguistic composition of a region result from different mortality rates, birth rates, linguistic mobility and migration of each of the three major language groups.

With respect to mortality and birth rates, everyone agrees that, notwithstanding the continued gap that exists between the language groups (high mortality rate of Francophones and high birth rate of Allophones), these phenomena no longer play a determining role in changes in linguistic composition, particularly since 1971.

Nevertheless, different rates of migration and linguistic mobility are exerting a growing influence. For the 15-year period subsequent to 1966, immigration to Quebec outweighed emigration from the province.

This situation was less disadvantageous to Francophones than to Anglophones, who are greatly over-represented not only among new arrivals (40 per cent), but even more so among those leaving the province (65 per cent) (particularly inter-provincial migration). Migration is thus very largely responsible for the reduced number of Anglophones in Quebec, especially since 1971, both

in terms of mother tongue composition and the language spoken in the home. Linguistic mobility also had a major impact on the linguistic composition of Quebec, at least until 1971; the attraction of English was such that the Allophones rejected French. Francophones were also in a slightly negative situation vis-à-vis their linguistic exchanges with Anglophones. This, at least, was the picture of linguistic mobility revealed by the 1971 census, the principal results of which now follow.

Language transfers

Table 3 shows a comparison of language transfers based on 1971 census data.

These data indicated that the language transfers were largely advantageous to Anglophones; more than 96 per cent of the net transfers went to this group. Francophones were also in a slightly positive position, mainly because of their net gains from the Allophone group; however, the

TABLE 3 Comparative language transfers QUEBEC 1971

TRANSFERS	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL (gains)
Toward English	—	73,500	84,400	157,900
Toward French	49,100	—	34,600	83,700
Toward other languages	9,800	6,400	a	16,200
Total (losses)	58,900	79,900	119,000	257,800
Net transfers (gains — losses)	+99,000	+ 3,800	—102,800	

a. This comparison does not show the transfers that took place between groups whose mother tongue was neither English nor French.

Source: John Kralt, *Languages in Canada. Profile Studies*, Census of Canada, 1971, Cat. 99-707, 1976.

TABLE 4 Comparative language transfers QUEBEC 1981

TRANSFERS	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL (gains)
Toward English	—	106,365	101,625	207,990
Toward French	82,135	—	46,565	128,700
Toward other languages	11,625	13,940	a	25,565
Total (losses)	93,760	120,305	148,190	362,255
Net transfers (gains — losses)	+114,230	+ 8,395	—122,625	

a. See note, Table 3.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada, 1981*.

French group was in a net loss position in its exchanges with the English group (49,100 – 73,500 = –24,400). The vigorous linguistic mobility of Allophones was largely beneficial to the Anglophone group; 71 per cent of all transfers made by Allophones were toward English.

In the Montreal area, the situation was much the same except that it was even more favourable to Anglophones, who benefited from 98 per cent of the net transfers. Moreover, approximately three-quarters of all transfers from the Allophone group went to the English group.

These phenomena spawned a great deal of interest and anxiety in Quebec. With a view to slowing down the assimilative trend of English, the authorities instituted a number of political measures. This is understandable to the extent that linguistic mobility is the demolinguistic phenomenon which, in our society, is most subject to direct political intervention.

After much criticism was expressed about the Act to Promote the French Language in Quebec (Bill 63), which sought to provide everyone with free choice in language of education, the Government adopted the Official Language Act (Bill 22), which limited access to English schools to those who had "a sufficient knowledge" of English. Bill 22 was in turn replaced in 1977 by the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) which, in the chapter dealing with the language of education, reserved access to English schools solely for children of whom at least one parent had received his or her primary education in English in Quebec; this legislation also contained a number of transitional measures and exceptions. Given the widespread debate surrounding the adoption and implementation of these legislative measures, everyone eagerly awaited the 1981 census data on linguistic mobility. Did the context

of the 1970s modify the trends observed in 1971? Table 4 shows comparative language transfers based on 1981 census data.

This table shows that in 1981, language transfers once again worked largely to the advantage of Anglophones, who increased their net gain by more than 15,000 during the preceding 10-year period; by contrast, the French group, which is much larger, increased its net gain by only 4,600 during the same period. It would therefore appear that English maintained its strong attraction, but that the situation of French remained stable. In terms of language transfers with the English group, the Francophone situation is the same as in 1971 (82,135 – 106,365 = –24,230); thus, there has been no increase in the net loss since 1971⁸. Language transfers among Allophones still weighed heavily in favour of the Anglophone group, but a slight decline in the proportion of transfers toward English was recorded (69 per cent in 1981 instead of 71 per cent in 1971).

In the Montreal area, similar trends were revealed. Exchanges between the French and English groups were slightly less disadvantageous to the French group in 1981 than in 1971; Francophone net losses went from –20,200 to –18,505. On the other hand, among Allophones who made a language transfer, a slightly lower percentage adopted English (74 per cent in 1971 and 72 per cent in 1981).

In sum, these changes were minor when compared with what some people had expected. Are they in fact surprising? Not really. It is quite normal that, despite language legislation favouring French, particularly Bill 101 which has been on the statute books since 1977, very little change was recorded in 1981⁹.

Charter of the French Language

It should be understood that the Charter's provisions relating to

language of education cannot be very effective in the short term because they do not directly affect the phenomenon of language transfer. Instead, they affect one of the related mechanisms, the choice of children's language of education. Moreover, given the transitional measures provided for in Bill 101, this legislation had very little direct influence in the short term. It is only when children have passed through the entire education system that the law will show its full effect. In the coming years, we shall probably see a greater decline in the proportion of students in English schools. Bill 101 will thus have slowed the assimilative trend of these schools. The effect of this aspect of Bill 101 on the language spoken in the home is still very difficult to determine. Anglophones and Allophones may have a better knowledge of French, but they will continue to speak English in the home. In order for French to attract newly-arrived non-Francophones, other factors will have to encourage the use of the language, particularly in the workplace.

So far, it could be said that the Charter has had more effect on migration than on linguistic mobility; during the period 1976-81, more people with English as their mother tongue left Quebec for other provinces (131,500) than during the period 1971-76 (101,500); moreover, less people arrived from other Canadian provinces (25,200 as opposed to 41,300 in 1971-76). However, the same trends have been noted among both Francophones and Allophones and they may be as much related to economic conditions as to the language legislation. It is possible that the Charter may have had a temporary effect upon migration by hastening the departure of some Anglophones, particularly those who are unilingual; here we base ourselves on the results of a recent study¹⁰ which shows that the emigration of Quebec's Anglophones, which was higher than average between 1977 and 1979,

has returned to normal since 1980¹¹, even though Bill 101 is still with us and even though some provisions of this legislation, not in effect in 1977, have now come into force. As for the decline in immigration to Quebec, it is once again difficult to separate the effects of the Charter from those of other socio-economic factors.

■ *Canada outside Quebec: Changes in linguistic composition since 1971*

Outside Quebec, the 1981 data show that Francophones are still losing ground despite the fact that their numbers are increasing, (Table 5). The French mother tongue group now represents only 5.3 per cent of the population outside Quebec, and the group for which French is the language spoken in the home is even smaller (only 3.8 per cent of the population outside Quebec). The size of the English group has once again increased; 79.3 per cent of

the population outside Quebec has English as their mother tongue, and 88.1 per cent use English in the home. The size of the Allophone group has also declined but to a lesser extent than the French group. The progressive erosion of the French-speaking minority outside Quebec is explained in large part by linguistic mobility. It is interesting to follow changes in this phenomenon by comparing the results of the 1971 and 1981 censuses.

Language transfers

In 1971, the English group benefited from language transfers with other groups, and had net gains of 1,379,800 persons (Table 6); by contrast, the French group experienced net losses of -250,400 despite certain net gains in its exchanges with Allophones (+3,200).

In 1971, it was found that 93.4 per cent of all Canadians outside Quebec who did not use their mother tongue in the home had adopted English. This percentage dropped slightly in 1981 (Table 7): 92.1 per cent of all transfers were toward English. Moreover, in 1981, transfers from English to French were double those recorded in 1971 (40,385 as opposed to 20,200). Although this phenomenon is marginal, we

should understand the source of this new support for the French group. The increase in transfers from English to French is found in every province, but most particularly in Alberta, British Columbia, New Brunswick and Ontario, four provinces that accounted for 90 per cent of all "new transfers" since 1971. Since these provinces are the preferred destinations of people leaving Quebec, it is not impossible that a portion of these new transfers may be more apparent than real, and may be more directly linked to migration.

Despite this new support for the French group, the net losses of Francophones continued to increase during the period 1971-81, growing from -250,400 to -261,600. In 1981, Francophones lost slightly more vis-à-vis Anglophones (-253,600 to -264,250) and gained a little less vis-à-vis Allophones (+3,200 to +2,640).

By way of summary, we shall now examine the overall linguistic mobility rate in order to show the changes that have occurred since 1971 and to demonstrate the regional variations of this phenomenon (Table 8).

Progression of linguistic mobility

It should first be noted that the

TABLE 5 Population distribution (in %) by mother tongue and by language spoken in the home
CANADA OUTSIDE QUEBEC 1971-81

YEAR	MOTHER TONGUE				YEAR	LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL		ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
1971	78.3	6.0	15.7	100.0	1971	87.2	4.4	8.4	100.0
1976 ^a	79.9	5.5	14.6	100.0	1981	88.1	3.8	8.1	100.0
1981	79.3	5.3	15.4	100.0					

a. See note, Table 1.

TABLE 6 Comparative language transfers
CANADA OUTSIDE
QUEBEC 1971

TRANSFERS	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL (gains)
Toward English	—	273,800	1,201,700	1,475,500
Toward French	20,200	—	5,800	26,000
Toward other languages	75,500	2,600	a	78,100
Total (losses)	95,700	276,400	1,207,500	1,579,600
Nets Transfers (gains — losses)	1,379,800	—250,400	—1,129,400	

a. See note, Table 3.

Source: John Kralt, *Languages in Canada. Profile Studies*. Census of Canada, 1971 Cat. 99-707, 1976.

TABLE 7 Comparative language transfers
CANADA OUTSIDE
QUEBEC 1981

TRANSFERS	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL (gains)
Toward English	—	304,630	1,394,520	1,699,150
Toward French	40,385	—	5,435	45,820
Toward other languages	97,585	2,795	a	100,380
Total (losses)	137,970	307,425	1,399,955	1,845,350
Net transfers (gains — losses)	1,561,180	—261,605	—1,299,575	

a. See note, Table 3.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1981.

TABLE 8 Overall linguistic mobility rate (in %)^a by mother tongue
CANADA AND REGIONS 1971-81

YEAR Regions	MOTHER TONGUE					
	ENGLISH		FRENCH		OTHER	
	MOBILITY RATE TOWARD FRENCH	MOBILITY RATE TOWARD OTHER LANGUAGES	MOBILITY RATE TOWARD ENGLISH	MOBILITY RATE TOWARD OTHER LANGUAGES	MOBILITY RATE TOWARD ENGLISH	MOBILITY RATE TOWARD FRENCH
1981						
Canada	0.8	0.8	6.6	0.3	47.4	1.6
• Quebec	11.8	1.7	2.0	0.3	23.9	10.9
• Montreal area	8.6	2.1	3.3	0.6	25.2	10.0
• Canada less Quebec	0.3	0.7	32.8	0.3	51.1	0.2
1971						
Canada	0.5	0.7	6.0	0.2	45.8	1.4
• Quebec	6.2	1.3	1.5	0.1	22.7	9.3
• Montreal area	4.3	1.6	2.6	0.2	23.1	8.2
• Canada less Quebec	0.2	0.6	29.6	0.2	49.3	0.2

a. Proportion of persons of a given mother tongue who stated they use a different language in the home.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, 1981.

overall linguistic mobility rate has increased since 1971 in every region and for every language group (except for Allophones outside Quebec, of whom fewer have opted for French). This growth in the linguistic mobility of Francophones outside Quebec should not surprise us, given the many socio-economic changes that have taken place (education, urbanization and industrialization), all of which increase the risks of such mobility. By contrast, however, the significant increase in the linguistic mobility of the English group in Quebec is surprising. A number of phenomena other than a higher propensity to adopt French may explain these variations. The overall linguistic mobility rate does not in itself reveal the reasons for this complex situation.

For example, by comparing the 1971 and 1981 data, we see that there is a significant increase in the overall linguistic mobility rate of Anglophones in Quebec toward French. The rate appears to double in this period. In their study¹², Lachapelle and Henripin established that the definitive linguistic mobility of the English group (that of persons over 35 years of age) increases from generation to generation; from 7 per cent for the generations of 1911-16 to 11 per cent for the generations of 1936-41.

However, the overall rate for all generations, including those under 35 years of age in 1971, was only 6.2 per cent. It may appear that, with an overall rate of 11.8 per cent in 1981, the mobility of the English group has increased among the younger generations. This may be so, but we should not ignore the selective effects of migration which, particularly for the Anglophones of Quebec whose number declined by 10 per cent between 1971 and 1981, has a much smaller effect on persons of English mother tongue who have either adopted French or who are at least bilingual.

Two other factors may also explain this phenomenon in Quebec; the aging population and the increased number of marriages to Francophones, given the weaker presence of Anglophones over time.

Regional variations

Table 8 reveals the major differences in linguistic mobility between Quebec and the rest of Canada. The mobility of Anglophones is much greater (approximately 40 times) in Quebec than outside that province, and more particularly outside the Montreal area. The opposite is, of course, true for the French group, whose propensity for adopting English is

16 times greater outside Quebec, just as it is much greater in Montreal. In the case of Allophones, mobility toward English is twice as great outside Quebec than within the province, where one out of four Allophones adopts English while one out of ten adopts French.

Conclusion

We have provided a fairly summary description of linguistic mobility in Quebec and in the rest of Canada. We have omitted mention of a number of quite particular regional situations, both within and outside Quebec. Moreover, we have concentrated our attention on transfers between the French and English groups, even though transfers toward other groups, particularly outside Quebec, appear to be not insignificant (approximately 100,000 in 1981). This aspect of linguistic mobility in Canada, as well as a number of other results presented above, should therefore be clarified and explained with the help of other appropriate variables. Nevertheless, we have brought out some of the trends revealed by the preliminary results of the 1981 census as they relate to the linguistic characteristics of individuals.

(Adapted from the French.)

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- Caldwell, Gary. "Anglo-Quebec on the verge of its history" *Language and Society*, N° 8, Autumn 1982, pp. 3-6.
- More precisely, the census enables us to calculate the resulting transfers for those who have survived since birth.
- Neologism used in Canada to designate those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French.
- In his article, Hubert Gauthier used the expression "rate of anglicization", which corresponds to our use of "overall rate of linguistic mobility toward English."
- The 1976 census reported 801,125 persons of English mother tongue, an increase of almost 12,000 over 1971.
- See Bourbeau, Robert R. and Robitaille, Norbert. "Bilan démographique des Francophones au Québec et dans le reste du Canada", in *Critère*, n° 27, Spring 1980.
- We here presume that the 1971 and 1981 census data on mother tongue and language spoken in the home are comparable. Studies on this subject are currently underway.
- This corresponds to our expectations. See Bourbeau, Robert R. and Robitaille, Norbert, op. cit., p. 201.
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- These results were taken from data relating to children between 0 and 17 years of age.
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With 80 million citizens sharing 400 different languages, Nigeria faces an urgent need to articulate language policies for its legislatures, educational institutions, and other sectors of its public administration.

The ethnolinguistic giant of Africa

C.M.B. BRANN



Professor Conrad Brann has been living in Nigeria since 1966. Head of the Languages and Linguistics Department at the University of Maiduguri since 1977, he has, for the past decade, been specializing in the field of sociolinguistics and language planning in sub-Saharan Africa.

Nigeria, situated on the West African coast between the Bight of Benin in the south and the Sudanese Sahel in the north, extends over almost one million square km. Its population of over 80 million speaks some 400 languages, thereby making Nigeria the ethno-linguistic giant of Africa, comparable to the position of India in Asia. The present political boundaries are the result of the "Scramble for Africa" of the 1884-85 Congress of Berlin and a post-independence plebiscite regarding the U.N. Trust Territory of Cameroon. The civil war of 1967-70 was not able to undo these frontiers but has, on the contrary, helped to develop a feeling of nationalism that was lacking before. Nigeria is a republic with a bicameral legislature, a strong independent judicature and a presidential executive modelled — since the 1979 Constitution — on that of the U.S. It went before the electorate this year (1983).

Its motto "unity in diversity" derives from the multiplicity of cultures — some very ancient going back 1000 years without interruption — which is best seen in the wealth of languages. These belong to three of the four language phyla (the largest denomination) of Africa — Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo Saharan and Afro-Asiatic. To the first belong such language families as the Kwa languages which stretch along the West African coast and to which belong such major language groups as the *Igbo*, *Yoruba*, *Edo*, *Nupe*; the Benue

Congo languages which — as their name implies — stretch from the Benue to the Congo rivers and encompass such major groups as the *Ibibio/ Efik* and *Tiv*; the Adamawa family, related to languages in the Cameroon, and the West Atlantic family, represented singly in Nigeria by the *Fulfulde* language, spoken by most Fulbe people — who stretch from Senegal to Cameroon. The Nilo-Saharan phylum is singly represented by the Saharan *Kanuri* language of North-eastern Nigeria, with related languages in Chad, the cradle of the ancient kingdom of Kanem-Bornu. Finally, to the third phylum belong representatives of the Semitic family, with several forms of *Arabic*, and the cluster of Chadic languages, represented by the major language of west Africa, *Hausa*. The distribution of these languages is well described and documented in "An index of Nigerian languages", published in 1976 by the Summer Institute of Linguistics; but apart from that, there has been no official census or map of languages.¹

Administrative evolution of Nigeria

The development of language use in Nigeria may be seen against the evolution of the politico-administrative, social and economic orders of the Federation.

Since the beginning of the century, when the term *Nigeria* was first used, there have been successive administrative allocations into provinces, regions, and states. These have increasingly divided the territory into ethno-linguistic units, even though this was not always the expressed intent of policy makers. The trichotomy into *Hausa*, *Igbo* and *Yoruba* spheres of influence was achieved in 1954 by the three *regions*, each of which had a separate constitution. Seven years after complete political independence in 1960, the Gowon regime created 12 states and, in 1976,

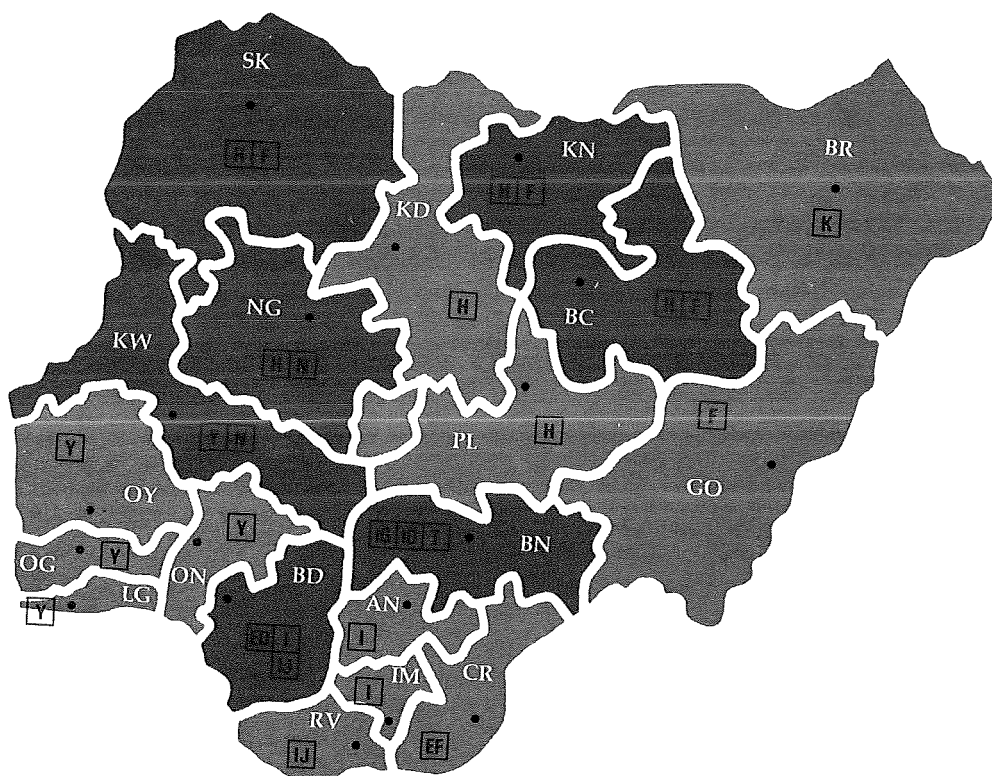
the Murtala Mohammed regime established 19 states. The intention of both was to create additional foci for development. The increased number of states liberated ethnic groups in the Cross Rivers and Rivers State from *Igbo* dominance; those in Bendel (formerly Mid-West) from *Yoruba*; and those in Bauchi, Borno and Gongola (formerly North-East) from *Hausa*. This is evidenced by the sudden appearance of a number of ethnic groups that were not even listed in the 1962-63 national census. The creation of new states has given rise to the selection of a number of "state" languages for official use in state broadcasting.

The reform of local government units since 1976 has resulted — at least in theory — in participatory democracy, complete with local elections to local councils for local government responsible for agriculture, primary education, construction, sanitation and so on. As a result of these new responsibilities, Local Government Areas (LGAs) in most states have doubled or tripled in number. Many ethnolinguistic groups, which had been subsumed under the larger units of the division or provinces, began to emerge as distinct entities. The states that had between eight (Lagos) and 24 divisions (Oyo) in the first Schedule of the 1979 Constitution have now doubled or tripled their LGAs, always in the expectation of further development. Whether this will occur is contingent on the Federation's ability to provide funds; the LGAs themselves generate little income.

The three major language groups

The present tripartite constitutional division of Nigeria into federal, state and local governments has thus crystallized three groups of languages. The first — the *federal*, or *national*, group — consists of English (the sole official link-language) and the three major (national) languages, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.² The

Twelve Nigerian languages for universal primary education and their distribution by state



STATES		LANGUAGES	
AN	Anambra	ED	Edo
BC	Bauchi	EF	Efik
BD	Bendel	F	Fulfulde
BN	Benue	H	HAUSA*
BR	Borno	ID	Idoma
CR	Cross River	IG	Igala
GO	Gongola	I	IGBO*
IM	Imo	JU	Ijo
KD	Kaduna	K	Kanuri
KN	Kano	N	Nupe
KW	Kwara	T	Tiv
LG	Lagos	Y	YORUBA*
NG	Niger		
OG	Ogun		
ON	Ondo		
OY	Oyo		
PL	Plateau		
SK	Sokoto		
RV	Rivers		

● States where more than one language is taught at the primary level.

*One of the three major (national) languages.

position of these three is incontestable: their demographic strength exceeds 10 million first-language speakers in each case. In the case of Hausa, however, the number of second-language speakers is at least as high, since Hausa has been the appointed second official language of the North since the 1920s. Hausa has thus enjoyed prestige as *koine*, or language-in-common, of the North. It is unequalled by either of the other two major languages, which until now have been mainly ethnic languages except on their immediate territorial periphery.

The second — the regional, or state, group — encompasses two categories. The first comprises the “network” languages now used for three decades on the federal broadcasting network: 14 languages spoken by one million or more first-language users (including the major languages), Edo, Epira, Ezon (alias Ijo), Ibibio-Efik, Hausa, Igbo, Idoma, Igala, Fulfulde, Kanuri, Nupe, Urhobo, Tiv and Yoruba³. The second category consists of additional state broadcasting languages selected within the past two years in each state. There are a number of “monolingual” states — Kano, Anambra, Imo, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Oyo — where Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba is dominant, and where indigenous or immigrant minorities have little influence. The remaining 12 states can be classified as “multilingual” in respect of their indigenous ethnolinguistic minorities in broadcasting, with a monolingual or bilingual majority policy (Hausa and Fulfulde).

In nine states, between three and eight “state” languages have been chosen for daily official broadcasting. In Borno State, for instance, the locale of the University of Maiduguri, six languages are so designated in addition to English and Arabic: Bura/Babir, Hausa, Fulfulde, Kanuri, Marghi and Shuwa. Some 50 languages come within the compass of this new category, and each is the first language of at least 100,000 people.

The third estate in this typology are the local languages, corresponding to the Local Government Areas. These may be *dialects* of the major languages, or formally (linguistically) quite *distinct languages*. What constitutes a dialect is, of course, a moot point — not merely a linguistic, but above all a social question of auto-determination.

Some of the dialects of Hausa — notably that of Sokoto or Sakkwatanci (which is actually written) maintain a separate cultural existence; nevertheless, they clearly form one language mass, with Kano as the accepted written standard. Similarly, the 14 major Yoruba dialects are subordinate to Yoruba proper, or Oyo, the recognized written standard. Yet, orally, they are very much alive in their respective areas.

The dialects of Igbo, however, have still not been subsumed under one recognized standard. Indeed, in the past 20 years, several of these “dialects” — such as Ika and Ukwuani in Bendel and Ikwerre and Echie in Rivers State — have decided to separate and establish autonomous socio-economic units.

This is largely as the result of the split of the former Eastern Region during the civil war, and the animosities engendered by the secession. However, the concept of self-determination seems to be lasting, thus demonstrating that the status and dynamics of the three major languages is by no means uniform. Moreover, the Igbo dialects contain a language cluster that is phonetically and lexically quite distinct. Unless they are educated, speakers of this Abakaliki group, known as Izi-Ezaa-Ikwo-Mgbo, find it difficult to understand Central Igbo, and certainly there is no reciprocal communication. Yet, situated within the boundaries of Anambra state, they will probably not be given any separate recognition, but be led to learn the central form and to communicate outside their own communities.

Autonomous ethnolinguistic groups

More difficult to determine is the large number of autonomous ethnolinguistic groups. Some living within the ambit of the Hausa area are being assimilated: though they maintain identification with their old ethnic centres, they have either become bilingual — speaking their own language, plus Hausa — or have come to adopt Hausa as their first language. Donald Morrison, in his excellent compendium, *Black Africa* (New York, Free Press, 1974), cites some 20 such groups in the process of assimilation. But there are many ethnolinguistic groups living on the plateau or mountains of Bauchi, Adamawa and Mandara which have been used to separate identities for many centuries. It is their languages which, above all, are now recognized by local government. To these may be added the 28 ethnolinguistic groups of the Delta, and the same number in the hills of the upper Cross. There are altogether some 300 such groups within the country. Whether it is economically viable to give these ethnolinguistic groups separate cultural recognition is questionable. The recent proliferation of local government authorities certainly favours such recognition, since many carry the names of these ethnolinguistic units — Abua, Bonny, Echie, Ekpeye, Eleme, Ikwerre, Kalabari, Kana, Nembe, Oduval, Okrika, Okodia, Tai, in Rivers State; Chibok, Gwoza, in Borno State; and Verre, Nzangi, Kona, Ga’anda, Hildi, Wukari, Jibu, Jen, Karim, Kunini Kiri, districts in the Local Government Areas of Gonola State, are all eponymous with resident groups.

Communications dynamics

In terms of communication, of course, it is clear that the fewer the languages recognized for development, the better. But given the tripartite Constitution of the Federal Republic, it is difficult to see how government is not to encourage the development of

additional state and local languages. The current re-definition of the state structure before the National Assembly (more than 30 new states have been proposed and 21 additional states were accepted by the Assembly in November 1982 but have not yet been ratified), and the recent explosion of Local Government Areas within the existing states are evidence of this movement. The former military government initiated and stabilized the movement for at least a decade. The new civilian regime is trying to control the dynamics and dangers inherent in such multiple divisions. Two dangers — possibly the greatest — are internal economic haemorrhage, and the setting up of innumerable obstacles to countrywide communication. Already, the proliferation of languages on the state broadcasting networks has dangerously reduced the amount of time available for each. With reason, Sydney Head, in his *Broadcasting in Africa* (Temple University Press, 1974), warned of the fragmentation of programmes due to the use of local languages. This has become true of the Nigerian multilingual state broadcasting services with their "grassroots" language policies. The only counter-balance is the present network of federal state broadcasting stations⁴.

The urgent need for language policies

For the descriptive linguist, all languages are equal; for the socio-linguist, some are more equal than others. In recognizing the cultural value of the many languages, and affirming the wealth of its ethnolinguistic heritage, Nigerian authorities have a duty to articulate a policy, or a tripartite series of interlocking policies (federation, state and local). They have to enable the country to develop socio-linguistically instead of being stifled in a plethora of self-determining, and increasingly stimulated, ethnic groups. Such policies are needed not only for the legislatures, where they have been clearly set out in the Constitution, or for education, where

they are merely outlined in the National Policy on Education (1977 and 1981). They are also needed for other sectors of public life, especially the administrations and the courts (federal, state and local). A first step in this direction has been the decision of the National Language Centre of the federal Ministry of Education in Lagos to set up regional language centres and to embark on a nationwide socio-linguistic survey. Planning without facts is possible, but remains in the realm of philosophical speculation, rather than that of engineering and management.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The last recognized census, that of 1963, is based on ethnic self-identification, not on actual language use.
2. The term "national" is not officially used for any language in Nigeria. In Francophone countries the term is applied to virtually all indigenous languages (as distinct from the exogenous French), or to a generous selection of majority indigenous languages. In Nigeria, the term "major" has been officially employed for the three dominant languages. This term has not been contested, whereas the term "national" might be viewed as controversial.
3. Some of these "languages" are actually language groups. Thus, Edo is both the term for the standard form of the language Bini (the language of Benin), as well as for the Edo group of languages. Many groups are now opting for a separate existence — e.g. Urhobo and Isoko, as followed by Esan, Yekhee (Etsako), Ososo, Ora, Okpamheri. Similarly, the term IJO is no longer a linguistic term. The language has split into Ezon (Bendel), Kolokuma, Kalabari, Nembe (Rivers) and other components. Efik for some years overshadowed its parent Ibibio, because it was the standard written form. However, the Ibibio are now insisting on their language being recognized in education and mass communications.
4. *Language Choice and Language Allocation in the Nigerian Broadcasting Services*. C.M.B. Brann. Afrika-Spektrum (Hamburg.) Forthcoming.

Letters to the Editor

A note from Africa

Congratulations on the survey you included in issue no. 9 of *Language and Society*.

I always look forward to receiving your magazine. I find it stimulates my interest and encourages me to read more widely.

My very best wishes.

Vangu-Pemba
Zaire

About the survey

I have completed the survey inserted in *Language and Society* no. 9, Spring 1983 on the validity and usefulness of your magazine. However, I believe that some additional remarks are in order which may assist in making the magazine more relevant.

The usefulness of articles of professional stature may be questioned. It is, in my view, not the academic community that one would wish to inform and influence to the fact of a bilingual Canada, but rather average Canadians, be they French or English. It would appear to me that most Canadians would see little relevance in the Finnish or Belgian experiences since the education process in both countries differs from Canada's. It would, I suggest, be more applicable to concentrate on articles which relate directly to Canadian society, and presented in a form which is more reachable and comprehensible.

I also find that the thrust of a number of articles avoids the fact of the value of a dual linguistic country, and concentrates instead on the justification of the French fact as it exists rather than the value of extension of that fact.

Finally, if the objective of the magazine is to promote bilingualism, and I can only assume that since it is circulated by your office that would be its central objective, those articles which reflect that minority linguistic groups must fight for survival do not in my view enhance the objective. It would be better to solicit those articles which give a more positive view of the survival of minority languages rather than their demise.

I hope that these comments are of some use to you. I congratulate you on the general excellence of the publication and offer my comments in a positive light.

R.W. Buskard
Gloucester, Ontario