LANGUAGE and society

No. 13 Spring 1984

The history of French in Manitoba: local initiative or external imposition

Cornelius J. Jaenen 3

Retention of French among young Franco-Ontarians

Raymond Mougeon 17

Learning the language a critical hurdle for the immigrant worker

Alison d'Anglejan 21

Distance education and language learning

John S. Daniel 25

Television — tool of the trade

Liam Ó Murchú 29

E.T. come home: communicating with the extraterrestrial

John S. Davidson 32

Letters to the Editor 36

Editor's Note

Much has been recently written and said on the linguistic situation in Manitoba and the expansion of French-language services. The situation which exploded into national prominence last September is being heatedly discussed by the media, politicians, and the general public.

To provide an impartial historical perspective, the historian Cornelius Jaenen has been invited to write the lead article. Jaenen's thorough account of the beginning and development of bilingualism in Manitoba makes interesting reading and the Select Bibliography provides useful background sources on the much debated question.

Raymond Mougeon's article focuses on the maintenance of French among the Franco-Ontarian community. The Government of Ontario authorized the use of French as a language of instruction in public schools in 1968, thus making it possible for students to receive their education in French up to the end of their secondary school level, and yet, Mougeon deplores, anglicization is on the increase.

In the next article, Alison d'Anglejan discusses the needs of immigrants in the acquisition of either official language and stresses that we have all much to gain by helping them take the difficult steps along the road of social integration and language learning. The responsibility, suggests d'Anglejan, should not be placed on the shoulders of the language teachers alone.

Two other articles focus on the use of TV: John Daniel discusses the role television plays in distance education and how distance education has greatly increased the quality and quantity of learning materials available in many local languages; Liam Ó Murchú shares with us his experience in developing language programmes for Irish TV.

In the closing article, John Davidson delights in suggesting ways and means in our attempt to communicate with extra-terrestrials.

As I begin my new task as Editor, I would hope that readers of *Language and Society* will find this issue as interesting and informative as past ones.

Anthony Mollica

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

LANGUAGE and Society

No. 13 Spring 1984

LANGUAGE and Society is a magazine of information and opinion published by the Commissioner of Official Languages, Max Yalden. The quarterly magazine encourages a reflective approach to language matters, both Canadian and international, while providing a forum for informed debate on the issues.

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

The opinions expressed by contributors are their own, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Commissioner.

Editor
Anthony Mollica

Managing Editor
Charles S. Hollands

Production
Roslyn J. Tremblay

Advisory Council
Nick Ardanaz
Principal, Richardson Elementary School, Delta, British Columbia

Henry Best
President of Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario

Jean-Denis Gendron
Director of the Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, Laval University, Quebec

John Godfrey
Chancellor of the University of King's College, Halifax, Nova Scotia

John Gray
Ottawa bureau chief of The Globe and Mail, Ottawa, Ontario

Manon Vennat
Vice-President, administration, and general counsel, AES Data Ltd., Montreal, Quebec

Bernard Wilhelm
Professor, University of Regina, Regina, Saskatchewan

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

Copies of *Language and Society* may be obtained free of charge from the above address.

Requests for permission to reprint articles appearing in *Language and Society* should be addressed to the Editor.

© Minister of Supply and Services Canada 1984

Printed in Canada ISSN 0709-7751

Recent events surrounding the language debate in Manitoba have led Canadians to wonder about the underlying causes. This article traces the linguistic and cultural development of the Province and shows clearly that the dualism and bilingualism which characterized Manitoba in 1870 were home-grown phenomena.

The history of French in Manitoba: local initiative or external imposition?

CORNELIUS J. JAENEN

Cornelius J. Jaenen is a professor of history at the University of Ottawa whose professional interests range from the French colonial period to native peoples, ethnic groups and minorities. He was a member of the Manitoba Advisory Committee on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and holds an honorary LL.D from the University of Winnipeg.

The status of the French language in Manitoba has followed a pattern parallel to the historical eras that have marked that region's evolution. French was the first European language to be introduced into a basically Algonquian-speaking region. Along with the various Amerindian tongues, French was the language of the fur trade penetrating into the West from Lake Superior, where a French administration for the "Mer de l'Ouest" region was established in the 1730s. Not surprisingly, Francophones were in the majority at Red River when the area became a part of the newly "confederated" Canada in 1870.

A second European language had been introduced through the fur trade on the Hudson Bay shores. Although many of the Europeans in the employ of the London-based company (whose original penetration into the northern bay owed much to two French Canadians — Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart des Groseilliers) spoke Gaelic, the official language of its trading operations was English. The Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company stipulated that justice would be rendered according to the laws of England, which meant in English only according to the Imperial Act of 1731. With a settlement at Red River under the Earl of Selkirk's direction in 1814, both Gaelic and English were implanted at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. The English language and English law were used initially by the Council of Assiniboia which constituted the first government in the region recognized by the British. Before long, this body began to use French as well and adopted some local customary law.

Origins of dualism

In other words, shortly after European penetration into the North-West there was a consciousness of the duality of the nascent community. This dualism may be traced first of all to the mixed-blood communities that arose out of the fur trade contacts. Since the early 1600s there had been some *métissage*, or inter-marriage, between the French and Native peoples among whom they travelled and lived. By the eighteenth century sizeable communities of mixed-bloods — later called Métis — were to be found along the shores of Lake Superior. As the French fur trade and military expeditions moved into the Prairie West in the 1730s, some Métis settled in the valleys of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. Although the French withdrew their military garrisons from this region in 1755, the fur trade continued after the cession of Canada to Britain. Montreal continued to direct a remunerative fur trade which spread ever farther north-westwards into the Athabasca region, and more and more Métis settled at Red River. Not surprisingly, Catholic missionaries established permanent missions there in 1818.

The Hudson's Bay Company claimed all of the region under the terms of its monopoly charter since 1670, but it was not until the Selkirk settlers arrived in the early nineteenth century that its presence became important here. Around a number of its tidewater posts on Hudson Bay a mixed-blood population had grown up. This Home Guard population and other "half-breed", a term from the Carolinas which was introduced by the North-West Company people into the Canadian West, formed an English-speaking counterpart to the Francophone Métis population. The Church Missionary Society of the Anglican Church came to Red River in 1820.

Thus, four elements had converged to create a dualistic community at Red River. There were Europeans of British and French origin, and there were mixed-blood peoples who were also perceived as being Anglophone and Protestant or Francophone and Catholic.

The community grew up essentially around a number of missions, called "parishes" (although they did not enjoy legal existence until after the creation of the province). The first French and Catholic parish was on the east bank of the Red River opposite the Forks, called St. Boniface in honour of the patron saint of the Germanic people of the De Meurons regiment who settled there. Its school in time became St. Boniface College. Four years later, in 1824, the Anglicans founded a parish on the west bank of the Red River below the Forks, which they called St. John's. Its school, known as Red River Academy, developed into St. John's College. St. Boniface in 1848 became the seat of the Catholic bishopric, and the following year St. John's became the seat of the Anglican bishopric.

The second French parish was founded in what became American territory in 1818, so it was relocated at White Horse Plains on the Assiniboine River. St. François-Xavier, as it was styled, was largely a Métis community. Among its better known citizens were Cuthbert Grant, the Warden of the Plains, and the warrior and celebrated bard Pierre Falcon. At the delta of the Red River, the Anglicans had a purely Indian parish, St. Peter's, for the band of the famous chief Peguis. The Catholic Indian parish was Baie St. Paul, above St. François-Xavier on the Assiniboine River. It is significant that both the English and French parishes were along the river route of communication, like the seigneuries of New France, and that both were laid out in long river lots reminiscent of French Canadian settlements.

RECENT EVENTS IN MANITOBA

JULY After the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favour of Georges Forest, the government of Premier Sterling Lyon passed Bill 2 which designated English and French as "official languages" of Manitoba and promised to undertake the translation of all relevant legislation into French.

MARCH As a protest against the very slow progress being made in translating provincial statutes, Roger Bilodeau appealed to the Supreme Court to rule on the validity of two pieces of Manitoba legislation. Subsequently, the Attorney General of Canada was granted leave to intervene in this case in support of Mr. Bilodeau's position.

MARCH The Manitoba government, under Premier Howard Pawley, indicated it would take measures to restore the status of French in Manitoba and to extend French-language services beyond those prescribed in the Manitoba Act, 1870.

MAY Premier Pawley announced that an agreement delimiting French-language services and on the text of a proposed constitutional resolution had been worked out with the Société Franco-Manitobaine and representatives of the federal government. Legislation would be introduced in the provincial legislature. The opposition Conservative party and an organization called Grassroots Manitoba declared their intention to block any entrenchment of French rights in the province.

SEPTEMBER
Franco-Manitobans demonstrated their support for the language rights package at a mass rally at Ste. Anne des Chênes.

OCTOBER
The forces opposing the entrenchment of French-language rights were victorious in a plebiscite during the Manitoba municipal elections.

JANUARY
The Pawley government introduced two separate actions: Bill 115, which would define and circumscribe French-language rights in Manitoba, and a constitutional resolution reaffirming the status of French and adding nine articles to Section 23 of the Manitoba Act, 1870, which would give the provincial government ten years to translate existing statutes and would require all laws enacted after 31 December 1985 to be printed and published in both official languages.

JANUARY
The Conservative opposition used procedural devices in an attempt to stall passage of Bill 115 and the adoption of the constitutional resolution to be sent to Ottawa for enactment by the federal parliament as an amendment to the Manitoba Act.

Pre-Confederation bilingualism

Bilingualism in the West was based on the demographic reality of biculturalism. The English had been first on Hudson Bay, the French first at Red River. Both came together at the beginning of the nineteenth century at the Forks and soon the Anglophone and Francophone communities became almost equal in numbers, with the French-speaking population being slightly more numerous.

Each community had its own schools, even with provision for advanced studies. Each community also was the centre of episcopal jurisdiction. It seemed only natural that there would be demands for equal recognition in the political and judicial spheres.

The French right to full participation in the government established by the Hudson's Bay Company was asserted in 1848 when a petition came from the French parishes to name delegates from the Francophone communities to the Council of Assiniboia, which administered the district within a radius of fifty miles of Fort Garry since 1835. The request for dual representation was agreed to and sent on to the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for action. It requested: "The infusion into the Council of Assiniboia of a certain proportion of Canadian and half-breed members." French-speaking magistrates were thereafter appointed for Catholic parishes. On 31 May 1849, the Council of Assiniboia recognized French as a language of judicial proceedings by the following order:

> The conducting of all judicial business through the medium of a judge who would address the Court in French as well as the English language.

Thereafter, the Council minutes indicate that petitions were received in French as well as in English.

For practical reasons, the Council of Assiniboia had to use French to communicate with the Métis and Canadian origin population. The decisions seem to have been promulgated and published in both languages. The consolidation of the General Enactments of the Governor and Council in 1852 was published in both languages, and so was the consolidation of 1862. Sometimes dual appointments had to be made to public office in order to serve both linguistic groups. Thus, in May 1856, for example, there was a demand for a Francophone surveyor because "the Canadian population were dissatisfied with the present surveyor, that they could not understand him."

Pre-Confederation equality

It was the demographic nature of the small colony that accounted for the division into an equal number of Anglican (Protestant) and Catholic parishes. This became the basis for representation and for distribution of public funds. The schools established by the Catholics and Anglicans were missionary in origin, but soon became parochial and so identified with the local administrative and electoral unit. When the Presbyterian settlers at Kildonan eventually obtained a minister of their own denomination, to replace the Anglican missionary, they petitioned for funding from the Council of Assiniboia for their school. In 1851 the Council accorded them a modest sum, without any stipulation that it would become a permanent grant,

---

FEBRUARY A mass rally sponsored by Grassroots Manitoba was held at the Winnipeg Convention Centre to induce the Pawley government to withdraw its proposed legislation.

FEBRUARY The Pawley government decided to allow its proposed legislation to die on the order paper. Although the provincial government had obtained an all-party vote of support in Ottawa in the autumn, public opinion in Manitoba was opposed to constitutional entrenchment. The local opposition argued that it was not opposed to essential services in French for Franco-Manitobans, but it objected to the "eastern Canadian" and "federal" concept of a bilingual country being "forced" on Manitoba through constitutional entrenchment of bilingualism.

APRIL Roger Bilodeau decided to proceed with his case before the Supreme Court of Canada. In the meantime, several traffic violations had been successfully contested because the summonses had been printed in English only.

APRIL The Bilodeau court challenge directly questioned the constitutional validity of only two Manitoba statutes. However, it questioned indirectly the validity of all other Manitoba statutes. Since a decision in favour of Mr. Bilodeau would not resolve Manitoba's legal dilemma, the federal Minister of Justice, Marc MacGuigan, asked the Supreme Court of Canada for its opinion on the constitutional validity of all laws enacted by the Manitoba legislature since 1870, and this became known as the *Reference* case.

JUNE The Supreme Court of Canada heard the submission of the parties in the *Reference* case and in the *Bilodeau* case and will render its decision in the fall.

and "without prejudice, however, to the recognized equality in the premises between the Protestants as a whole and the Roman Catholics."

The Roman Catholic grant, accordingly, was increased to equal the amount allocated for the Anglicans and Presbyterians. Education was in the control of the respective denominations but it did receive "public" funding on a basis of bi-confessionality and equality.

The principle of equality between the two sectors of the community came to mean that on major issues there was an attempt to obtain the majority support of each sector. Even petitions were circulated in both English and French versions in the respective parishes. French and English petitions came before the Council on such matters as cutting timber, the sale of liquor to the Indians, the levying of duty on imported liquor, and the raising of a defence force.

Red River Resistance movement

The Francophone community at Red River, especially the Métis, had many fears and doubts when the North-West Region was transferred to Canada without any consultation with the local inhabitants. The Resistance of 1869-70 rested on the premise that Canada had no legal rights or powers in the region because there had been no consultation and the transfer had not been legally completed. Therefore, since Hudson's Bay Company rule had been terminated and no legal government had been established, the people at Red River, under the law of nations, had the right to set up a provisional government. The Resistance was a move to negotiate with Canada on the terms of the region's entry into Confederation. The dualism of the community came into play once again as on 24 November 1869 John Bruce as President and Louis Riel as Secretary tried to unite all segments of the population to draw up a "Bill of Rights". In January 1870 a Convention of delegates from both the English and French parishes was elected to prepare terms of union to be negotiated with Ottawa.

A resolution of the Council of the Provisional Government on 15 March 1870, now under the leadership of Louis Riel, repeated that "the loyalty of the people of the North-West toward the Crown of England remains the same", but added the following pregnant phrase: "provided the rights, properties, usages and customs of the people be respected." What did the inhabitants of Red River believe these rights and customs to be?

The Convention, made up of an equal number of members from each language group, elected three delegates who would go to Ottawa to negotiate with the federal Cabinet the terms of entry into Confederation. With Louis Riel, the elected President of the Convention of representatives of all the Red River parishes, the delegates drew up a third version of the "Bill of Rights" which set out the region's demands. It included the following clauses relative to language:

> **16.** That the English and French languages be common in the Legistature, and in the courts, and that all public documents, as well as all Acts of the Legislature, be published in both languages.
>
> **17.** And whereas the French- and English-speaking people of Assiniboia are so equally divided in numbers, yet so united in their interests, and so connected by commerce, family connections, and other political and social relations, that it has happily been found impossible to bring them into hostile collision, although repeated attempts have been made by designing strangers, for reasons known to themselves, to bring about so ruinous and disastrous an event.
>
> And whereas, after all the trouble and apparent dissensions of the past, the result of misunderstanding among themselves, they have, as soon as the evil agencies referred to above were removed, became as united and friendly feeling among all classes, we deem it expedient and advisable;
>
> That the Lieutenant-Governor, who may be appointed for the Province of Assiniboia, should be familiar with both the English and French languages.
>
> **18.** That the Judge of the Superior Court speak the English and French languages.

In a fourth version of the Bill of Rights used by the negotiators in Ottawa, the two introductory paragraphs of clause 17 justifying the need for a bilingual Lieutenant-Governor were omitted. The approximately 12,500 inhabitants of the region, about 6,500 of whom were Francophones, had expressed themselves unequivocally on the language issue.

Federal action on Union

In Ottawa the Crown lawyers began to put the terms of the Bill of Rights and of the agreements reached through negotiation with the three delegates into the legal terminology of a bill to be introduced in Parliament. When the bill was introduced into Parliament not a single member on either side of the House opposed the provisions for the use of the French language. Indeed, Adams G. Archibald of Nova Scotia called the bill a "deed of partnership between French and English Canadians in the development of the North-West." Historians and politicians would later debate the proposition that Confederation was "a compact between two founding peoples." By a federal act, Manitoba entered Confederation as a Province which was bicultural, bilingual and had a bicameral legislature. It was unique in that it was also to a large degree a Métis province composed of two linguistic sectors. The Manitoba Act was proclaimed on 15 July, 1870. The clause relevant to the language issue read as follows:

> **23.** Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Legislature, and both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses: and either of those languages may be

used by any person or in any pleading of Process, in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under the British North America Act, 1867, or in and from all or any of the Courts of the Province. The Acts of the Legislature shall be printed and published in both those languages.

The French version has equal validity with the English.

Manitoba most closely resembled the province of Quebec demographically and so it was given a constitution which was modelled on that of Quebec. In addition to a provision for bilingualism, there was a clause creating a Legislative Council (#10), a protection for "Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by Law or practice in the Province at the Union" (#22), and a retention of the parish system for municipal and electoral purposes (#14).

The language provisions were quite specific. But it should be noted that although both English and French were mandatory in the records, journals and published acts of the Legislature, the requirement did not go beyond that. As for the debates in the legislature, English or French was permissible. Similarily the constitutional provision was that "either", not both, French or English, "may be used", not "shall be used", in "any pleading or Process" from a federal or provincial court. Whether this required a fully bilingual court, or merely a capability of dealing with cases in either language, was not clearly stipulated.

There were some doubts as to the constitutional validity of the Manitoba Act, i.e. a federal statute creating a new province in Confederation and so amending the B.N.A. Act of 1867 which was an imperial statute. Therefore, Westminster passed the British North America Act, 1871. The Parliament of Canada was declared incompetent to alter the constitutional provisions and the Manitoba Legislature was given the right "to alter from time to time the provisions of any law respecting the qualification of electors and members of the Legislative Assembly, and to make laws respecting elections in the said Province," but no more.

Post-Confederation dualism

The federal government had the wisdom to appoint a conciliatory and bilingual Nova Scotian, Adams G. Archibald, as first Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. It was he who proclaimed a new legitimate government at Red River on 6 September 1870, who constituted his Council eleven days later, and in December held elections for the first provincial assembly. In all his public actions he displayed a sensitivity to Western views and to the racial, linguistic and religious differences in the community.

The dualism that had characterized Red River society was carried over into Manitoba after 1870 by two groups in particular, the Francophone and Anglophone Métis. These two groups, along with the "old settlers", strongly supported Lieutenant-Governors Archiblad and Morris who seemed committed to maintaining a cultural dualism, a balance between the two original linguistic communities. The success of the R.A. Davis cabinet in 1875 may be attributed to the fact that he included representatives of both the Francophone and Anglophone Métis population.

The co-operation between Francophone and Anglophone Métis, which had been the basis of the challenge to the Hudson's Bay Company's commercial monopoly and of the support of Riel's Provisional government, continued beyond 1870 too. They joined forces to retain their land rights, to oppose division of their river lots, to continue their traditional herding practices, and to defeat the principle of representation by population. A political crisis in 1879 would destroy this old alliance, as well as drive a deeper wedge between the Métis and Canadiens components of the Francophone sector.

The parish system which had characterized the colony was carried over into Confederation too. The parishes had been the basis of social, religious, educational and political activities and it seemed natural to use these local ethnic/religious divisions, twenty in number by 1879, as the basis for drawing the boundaries of the 24 electoral districts called for in the Manitoba Act with "due regard being had to existing local divisions and population." Lieutenant-Governor Archibald consulted both French and English advisers before issuing his Proclamation of 16 December 1870 dividing Manitoba into 24 electoral districts. These consisted of 20 parishes that had sent representatives to the Council of the Provisional Government, with the four largest parishes being divided in two. The judicial districts, the school districts, and even the early municipalities followed the old parish lines, either individually or grouped together. This symmetrical representation of the English and French parishes was the natural unit not only for the provincial legislature but also for the four Dominion constituencies which were organized so as to have one English constituency, one French constituency, and two constituencies of about equal mixtures of Francophones and Anglophones.

English and French mother tongue in Manitoba, from 1931 to 1981.

	English mother tongue	French mother tongue
1931	399,009	42,499
1941	408,544	51,546
1951	467,892	54,199
1961	584,526	60,899
1971	662,720	60,545
1976	727,240	54,745
1981	735,920	52,560

Source: Statistics Canada

This dualism, like the bilingualism which we shall consider next, was retained or created by Manitobans and was not part of a federally or imperially imposed structure.

Post-Confederation bilingualism

The French language seemed firmly entrenched in Manitoba society in the years immediately after Confederation because of the social continuity and demographic strength on which it reposed. Several legislative measures lent support to the idea that the West would develop along bicultural lines and would be a reflection or extension of the dualism of Eastern Canada. The Manitoba Act concerning Municipalities in 1873, which represented a move away from the traditional parish system, did provide that petitions for incorporation of municipalities would have to be published in both official languages in the *Manitoba Gazette*. Two years later, the Manitoba Election Act stipulated that the proclamation of elections and the preparation of voters' lists would have to be carried out in both languages. And the Manitoba Act respecting County Municipalities required that by-laws and official notices be published in French as well as English in municipalities where there was a concentration of Francophones. In 1876, an Act respecting Jurors and Juries provided that when a trial in French was requested, as provided for in the provincial constitution, the court could require that the jury be composed of equal numbers of French- and English-speaking persons.

Perhaps the best known piece of legislation of this period, if only because its amendment in later decades would stir up a national crisis, was the Public Schools Act of 1871. It gave statutory validity to the traditional system of education which had evolved in the region prior to 1870. It was an Act which reflected the will of the people of Manitoba at the time and which was in line with the demands made in the Bill of Rights, which demands were written into the constitutional legislation. All the Protestants were grouped into one system and the Catholics in the other in a dual confessional system similar to Quebec's. There was a single Board of Education, but in fact it sat in separate Catholic and Protestant sections and each had complete control of its own affairs. This bifurcated Board would "select books, maps and globes to be used in the Common Schools, due regard being had in such selection to the choice of English books, maps and globes for the English Schools and French for the French schools." There was no clause defining English or French schools but the regulations of both sections indicated clearly that some schools operated in English and others in French. Although the two sections received government grants, they were independent of direct political control, and after 1875 were quite independent of each other. The Catholic system was often identified in the public mind as the "French" system because all the French instruction came under its control. When collegiate departments were established in 1885, the legislative amendment stated that the objective was "laying the foundations of a thorough education in the English or French language and literature."

There were also Anglophone teachers and students in the Catholic jurisdiction, therefore there was teaching in English as well. The Catholic sector moved towards bilingualism as the demographic balance changed in favour of the Anglophones. As early as 1877, there was a fear that the bicultural character of the West would be undermined. Father Lacombe deplored the difficulty in obtaining suitable bilingual teachers for Manitoba's Catholic public schools. He thought Quebec to be an unfruitful source of bilingual teachers, so recruiting was directed to Europe. In 1883, for example, a Breton order of teaching sisters which operated schools in England sent five bilingual teachers to Brandon, five to Prince Albert, and four to the Métis settlement of St. Laurent.

The Protestant section came to be seen more and more as a non-sectarian public system for a number of reasons. It served a number of denominations so that the early Anglican ascendancy disappeared.

The arrival of Mennonites and Icelanders in the 1870s gave rise to the assumption that these ethnic bloc settlements eventually would have their schools incorporated into the Protestant/English system. Many of

Speakers of official languages in Manitoba, from 1921 to 1981.

	English only	French only	English and French
1921*	382,345	4,295	38,203
1931	600,139	9,280	43,397
1941	647,010	6,069	54,636
1951	685,914	7,869	58,441
1961	825,955	7,954	68,368
1971	881,715	5,020	80,935
1981	915,755	2,615	79,995

***Population of 10 years of age and older only**
Source: Statistics Canada

the Ontario migrants to Manitoba were of Clear Grit persuasion, adherents in many cases of the Methodist or Presbyterian churches, who brought with them a deep distrust of all things French and Catholic. They tended to think (erroneously) of their schools as public common schools and of the Catholic schools as "separate schools", following the Ontario model. In any case, the Protestant system moved away from Anglican establishmentarianism towards non-sectarianism, which was (as in Ontario) a kind of common denominator of Protestant Christianity.

The press also reflected the bilingual nature of early Manitoba society. An English-language newspaper, the *Nor'Wester,* started publication in 1859 but was never given permission by the Hudson's Bay Company to publish the deliberations of the Council of Assiniboia as persistently requested. It was suppressed by Riel's Provisional Government but its founder acquired the *New Nation,* which had replaced it, and published it under the name *Manitoban.* This press had the distinction of becoming the first Queen's Printer in Manitoba and its imprint appeared on the early issues of the *Manitoba Gazette,* on the first volume of the *Statutes of Manitoba* (1871) and the first *Journals* of the provincial legislature. In 1871, the *Manitoba Liberal* was founded, paving the way for the *Manitoba Free Press* the following year.

The first French newspaper in the West was *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie* (1856-58) coming out of Victoria, V.I. In 1871, at St. Boniface, *Le Métis* began publication with the objective of working for "the re-establishment of order and authority in this young and vigorous Province of Manitoba because we are convinced that this is the only means of profiting from the excellent principles set down in the constitution which rules us." It promised to keep the Francophone community, especially the business and professional sector, informed of public affairs:

> Le Métis, being the only French newspaper in this part of America, necessarily finds itself appealing almost exclusively to the French population, which, as everyone knows, constitutes a notable portion of the inhabitants of this vast country. We shall publish the announcements of the courts of justice, those of the governments of Manitoba and of Ottawa, and in general all announcements which, emanating from authority, are of a general interest.

After ten years of publication, it was succeeded by *Le Manitoba* in 1881, which appeared regularly until 1926. At least eleven other French newspapers and journals were published in Manitoba in the ensuing decades. The best known was *La Liberté,* founded in 1913, which joined forces in 1941 with *Le Patriote de l'Ouest,* published out of Prince Albert since 1910, to form *La Liberté et le Patriote.*

Demographic changes

Manitoba received an influx of new settlers soon after entry into Confederation. This changed the demographic character of the small province and upset the balance of the old established French/English community. Manitoba was no longer a community of two founding groups, which could conveniently be classified as Catholic and Protestant, or Francophone and Anglophone. The fairly even divisions which had existed in 1870 had been overturned decidedly by the provincial census of 1885-86 which revealed that there were about 73,000 British origin people and 11,000 French and Métis.

The census of 1871 indicated there were 25,228 inhabitants and ten years later the population had almost tripled to 62,260. The proportion of increase was the same in the next decade so that by 1891 there were 152,506 inhabitants. The Métis reserves were far from successful and the efforts to attract Québécois and to repatriate Franco-Americans were no less discouraging. The startling growth was provided by Mennonites — some 7,000 arriving within five years beginning in 1875 — and Icelanders, as well as an augmenting stream of migrants from Ontario and Nova Scotia and immigrants from the British Isles. It was this demographic revolution which lay at the bottom of the attitudinal changes which soon manifested themselves in Manitoba. These in turn led to the institutional adjustments and eventually to the adoption of legislative measures that amounted to constitutional revisions.

The tables in this article illustrate the dimensions of this demographic revolution. It will be noted that after the dramatic reduction of the Francophone community to about one-fifth it's original proportion of the provincial population there was a levelling off and even a slight increase after World War II. More significant, however, is the decline in those having French as their mother tongue. The growing disparity between the French ethnic origin statistics and the French mother tongue statistics speak volumes about the rate of anglicisation.

Attitudinal changes

Demographic changes resulted in marked attitudinal changes. These attitudes were quickly translated into demands for abolition of the use of the French language in education and in government, the redistribution of legislative seats on the basis of population rather than by communities or parishes, and the secularization of the school system. The concept of the entry into Confederation having been a compact between two founding races was challenged. Even the vocabulary changed just as it had in the United Canadas in the 1840s. Father Lewis Drummond, a French-Irish priest, told the Manitoba Historical Society in 1886:

> Thirty years ago, we who speak French were called by every one purely and simply "Canadians"; others were known as English, Scotch or Irish. Lately the fashion has grown up of calling others Canadians and distinguishing us as French.

A pamphlet calling for the exclusion of French "from our legislature, from our courts, from our statutes, and from our public schools" was widely circulated and provoked much discussion.

In 1888, the Franco-Manitobans were somewhat reassured by the pledge which allegedly had been given by the premier and prominent members of the provincial Liberal administration that they would maintain the official status of French and the dual confessional school system. On the other hand, demands for a fundamental shift away from the principles of duality and equality which had characterized the early community became more frequent and better documented. It was the Anglo-Canadian newcomers from the eastern provinces, not the European immigrants, who spearheaded the movement for institutional changes.

Institutional changes

In 1874, it was necessary to amend the original balance of Anglophone and Francophone parishes and electoral districts. The old parishes had to give up two seats to new settlements inhabited largely by newcomers. Then, the following year, the Davis government divided the province into three categories for representation, giving each eight seats: first, the "French", who were largely Métis but whose numbers were being augmented by an influx of some Québécois and Franco-Americans; second, the old English community made up of Anglophone "half-breeds" and Selkirk settlers; third, the new settlers, mostly Ontario migrants. Premier R.A. Davis also appointed two Métis to his cabinet, the Anglophone John Norquay and the Francophone Charles Nolin. In January 1876, the Legislative Council was abolished.

Such change did not go unchallenged. The attempt of Joseph Royal in 1879 to obtain some recognition of "French power" was based in good measure on a consciousness of the erosion of the role of the Francophones in provincial affairs, and on a desire to assert the Franco-Manitoban conviction that they had some inherent and historical right to the same proportion of seats in the Legislative Assembly and portfolios in the government as they had previously had. Was it an assertion of the principle of "double majority", or the need for both founding communities to give their consent on major legislation? Or was it an attempt to introduce the national party system into provincial politics? It seems that behind Royal's attempt to overturn the Norquay government, which succeeded the Davis administration, there was a growing disagreement between Francophone Métis and French Canadians about appointments to public office, land policy, and political representation. Norquay was not overthrown. Rather, the two "French" ministers — Royal and Delorme — had to resign. But Norquay did not wish to eliminate all traces of the French language, culture and representation in Manitoba. The redistribution of seats retained six or seven seats for areas of predominantly French settlement and a Francophone was given a cabinet post. The crisis of 1879 marked a serious deterioration in the internal

Origins of the population of Manitoba, from 1881 to 1981

	Total population	French		English		Indian & Eskimo		Métis		German	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1881	**62,260**	9,688	*15.6*	37,155	*59.7*	4,590	*7.0*	*		8,427	*13.6*
1891	**152,506**	*		*		*		*		*	
1901	**255,211**	16,021	*6.3*	164,239	*64.4*	15,419	*6.0*	*		23,047	*9.0*
1911	**461,394**	31,293	*6.8*	276,259	*59.9*	12,603	*2.7*	*		22,602	*4.9*
1921	**610,118**	40,908	*6.7*	350,992	*57.2*	13,605	*2.2*	*		13,001	*2.1*
1931	**700,139**	47,039	*6.7*	368,010	*52.6*	15,231	*2.9*	*		21,698	*3.1*
1941	**729,744**	52,996	*7.3*	360,560	*49.4*	15,474	*2.1*	8,692	*1.2*	41,479	*5.7*
1951	**776,541**	66,020	*8.5*	362,550	*46.7*	21,050	*2.7*	*		54,251	*7.0*
1961	**921,686**	83,936	*9.1*	396,445	*43.0*	48,074	*5.2*	*		91,846	*10.0*
1971	**988,247**	86,515	*8.8*	414,125	*41.9*	43,035	*4.4*	17,025	*1.7*	123,070	*12.5*
1981	**1,013,705**	74,045	*7.3*	373,995	*36.9*	59,920	*5.9*	*		108,140	*10.7*

***No figures available.**
Source: Statistics Canada

unity of the Franco-Manitoban community, a growing rift between the Métis and French Canadian sectors, but this was not the doing of Premier Norquay.

In 1879 there was also an attempt to eliminate the printing of public documents such as orders of the day, sessional papers and other reports in French. This measure, known as Bill 25 or an "Act respecting Public Printing", was reserved by Lieutenant-Governor Joseph Cauchon on the grounds that it was possibly *ultra vires.* He informed the Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, of the circumstances:

> Inadvertently the Bill had been carried through the Assembly before it was shown to me or I had ever seen it at all, otherwise the difficulty might probably have been averted; but as the case then stood there was no other alternative . . . left to me, but to veto it, and run the risk of producing a possible graver result, or to reserve it for the signification of your Excellency's pleasure, believing it wiser under all the circumstances, to submit it to the better judgement and greater knowledge of your Excellency's government, and thus to obtain, for all time a guiding precedent and permanent rule for all the Legislatures of the Dominion, similarly situated in relation to the same question.

No action appears to have been taken and the measure was dropped for the moment. A number of observers believe that the virtually bankrupt Province of Manitoba had introduced Bill 25 as a measure of economic restraint, and therefore, the federal government's increased subsidy may have undermined the measure. The larger question of the implications of official bilingualism was avoided and no "guiding precedent and permanent rule" which would serve for all region and "for all times" was forthcoming from Ottawa.

Dutch		Polish		Scandinavian		Ukrainian		Icelandic	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
499	*0.8*	*		539	*0.9*	*		*	
*		*		*		*		*	
699	*0.3*	1,455	*0.6*	7,428	*2.9*	3,893	*1.5*	*	
2,124	*0.5*	6,939	*1.5*	10,779	*2.3*	25,740	*5.6*	*	
17,473	*2.9*	9,559	*1.6*	17,712	*2.9*	35,587	*5.8*	7,001	*1.1*
21,047	*3.0*	22,621	*3.2*	18,792	*2.9*	50,658	*7.2*	7,712	*1.1*
39,204	*5.4*	36,550	*5.0*	*		89,762	*12.3*	13,954	*1.9*
42,341	*5.5*	37,933	*4.9*	32,921	*4.2*	98,753	*12.7*	13,649	*1.8*
47,780	*5.2*	44,371	*4.8*	37,746	*4.0*	105,372	*11.4*	14,547	*1.6*
35,300	*3.6*	42,700	*4.3*	35,110	*3.6*	114,415	*11.6*	*	
33,875	*3.3*	28,445	*2.8*	25,175	*2.5*	99,795	*9.8*	10,170	*1.0*

The pressures for change increased in the 1880s. The extension of the provincial boundaries northwards and westwards in 1881 increased the population by approximately 16,000 at one stroke. There were demands that Manitoba become official unilingual and that its institutions be modelled more on those of Ontario, a province which it now resembled demographically. The *Manitoba Gazette* went to an English only format by order-in-council in September 1889. Early the following year, a statute removed Catholic holy days from the calendar of public holidays. The right of a Francophone defendant to a jury which was at least one-half French-speaking was also removed. These changes indicated that an attempt to alter the provincial constitution was virtually inevitable.

Constitutional changes

Two aspects of the constitution were altered in 1890 in such a manner as to prejudicially affect the rights and privileges of the Francophone minority. Firstly, there was a unilateral repudiation of official bilingualism insofar as provided for in Section 23 of the Manitoba Act. Manitoba did not attempt to have that constitutional act amended, but proceeded instead to legislate its own "Act to provide that the English Language shall be the Official Language of the Province of Manitoba." There was obviously some hesitation about the competence of the Legislature to abrogate a fundamental constitutional provision in a federal statute which was the result of negotiated terms of union and which had been validated by an imperial act. The Official Language Act, which was assented to 31 March 1890, read as follows:

> 1. Any statute or law to the contrary notwithstanding, the English language only shall be used in the records and journals of the House of Assembly for the Province of Manitoba, and in any pleadings or process in or issuing from any courts in the Province of Manitoba. The Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba need only to be printed and published in the English language.

> **2.** This Act shall only apply so far as this Legislature has jurisdiction so to enact, and shall come into force on the day it is assented to.

Although English was to be the sole language of the legislature and courts, the law curiously still did not restrict the statutes to English only.

The Francophone minority could challenge the Official Language Act in the political arena or in the courts. It did neither with much vigour. Six Francophone members of the Legislature petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor not to give assent to the act. They together with a "Convention" of community leaders petitioned the Governor-General for disallowance. Neither of these moves were followed up by the petitioners with any persistence, probably because both they and the politicians at Winnipeg and Ottawa became embroiled in the second aspect of the provincial assault on the constitutional arrangements of 1870. The school question dominated discussions and even the motion for papers in both the House of Commons and the Senate resulted in no discussion of the official language legislation.

The Francophone minority, which by 1890 had been reduced from a majority at the time of union to a mere 7 per cent of the provincial population, did not challenge the Official Language Act directly in the courts. In 1892 there was a case in a county court concerning a municipal election petititon during which the validity of the Act was queried. In 1909, Judge L.A. Prud'homme in the case *Bertrand v. Dussault* said that the Official Language Act of 1890 was unconstitutional. The provincial government ignored the decision and no one in the Franco-Manitoban community seems to have been disposed to carry through at that time to force a restoration of French language rights.

This may have been because at that time French language rights in education — the field which primarily interested the clerical leaders in the community — were improving markedly. In 1916, in the case of *Dumas v. Baribault*, there was an application to compel a court to accept a written plea in French. The case went up to the Court of Appeal where it was not proceeded with. The only other form of challenge offered by the Francophone community was when from time to time their MLAs would speak in French in the Legislature.

In March 1890 two major changes were made to the provincial school system. An Act respecting the Department of Education provided for the abolition of the Board of Education and Superintendants of Education and its replacement by a Department of Education consisting initially of the Executive Council or a committee appointed by the cabinet. This effectively dismantled the dual confessional system. The second act, an Act respecting Public Schools, made "all Protestant and Catholic school districts" subject to its provisions and set up free public common schools:

> **5.** All Public Schools shall be free schools, and every person in rural municipalities between the age of five and sixteen years, and in cities, towns and villages between the age of six and sixteen, shall have the right to attend some school.

Compulsory attendance at these public schools was not imposed, probably because it was felt this might be an infringement on the confessional rights guaranteed in the Manitoba Act. In fact, provision was made for compulsory religious exercises in the public schools, with a conscience clause allowing parents or guardians to have pupils exempted from attending.

The crucial provision, as far as the Franco-Manitobans were concerned, was the abolition of the Catholic school districts which had been largely under their control in their areas of settlement. The Act said:

> **179.** In cases where, before the coming into force of this Act, Catholic school districts have been established . . . such Catholic school districts shall, upon the coming into force of this Act, cease to exist, and all the assets of such Catholic school districts shall belong to, and all the liabilities thereof be paid by the public school district . . .

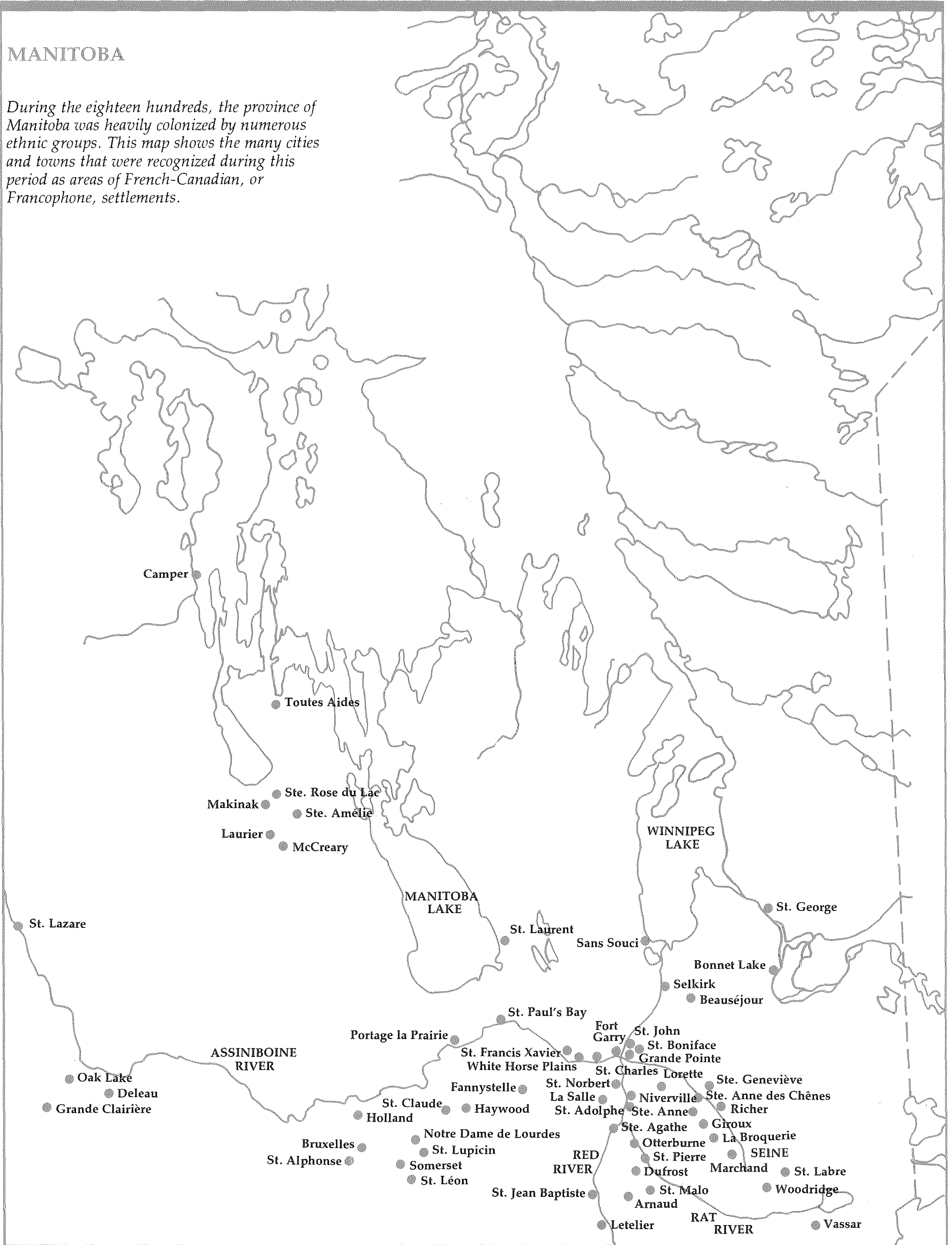
There was no mention of the abolition of the Protestant school districts since it was assumed they had become the public schools. There was no mention of language(s) of instruction in this legislation. Legally, therefore, French could continue as a language of instruction, as a subject of study, and textbooks in this language could still be used unless otherwise directed. It would appear that rather than bring pressure to bear to wipe out French instruction, efforts were made to bring all the Francophone Catholic schools into the common public system.

In 1892 the provincial government asked Inspector A.L. Young to visit all Catholic schools which had not joined the public school system, or "national schools" as some called them. His report on language instruction in these schools bears repeating:

> English is taught in all schools. The parents and trustees recognize the desirability of having their children study English, consequently those teachers who have a sufficient knowledge of the English language to teach it successfully are in much greater demand than those who understand the French language only.

These schools were continuing to maintain the bilingual quality of the now dissolved Catholic public schools. In 1894, further pressure was brought to bear through the passage of another public schools Act which cut off legislative grants from schools which did not conform to all provincial legislation and Departmental regulations and which forbade municipal councils to grant money, levy or collect taxes for the support of such schools.

Unlike in the case of the Official Language Act, the school legislation was hotly contested and gave rise to



MANITOBA

During the eighteen hundreds, the province of Manitoba was heavily colonized by numerous ethnic groups. This map shows the many cities and towns that were recognized during this period as areas of French-Canadian, or Francophone, settlements.

an interminable series of political manoeuvres. Satisfaction was sought through demands for disallowance, appeals to the courts, a remedial order-in-council, political mediation and proposed remedial legislation. It is noteworthy that two legal cases which proceeded through to the highest courts, *Barrett v. City of Winnipeg* (1892) and *Brophy v. Attorney-General of Manitoba* (1895), were brought by the Anglophone Catholics and not the Franco-Manitobans. The details of the celebrated Manitoba School Question, as the controversy was called, need not detain us here except to remark that for the Francophone Manitobans it represented an assault on their traditional education system and an undermining of the constitutional guarantees they had had under Section 22 of the Manitoba Act.

Bilingual system of education

In November 1896 the federal and Manitoba governments arrived at a "solution" to the Manitoba School Question, described by Catholic authorities as "defective, imperfect, insufficient", which was incorporated into a new School Act in 1897. This so-called Laurier-Greenway Compromise shifted the emphasis away from confessionalism to language and ethnicity. The new clause 10 in the revised legislation said:

> When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any language other than English, as their native tongue, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bi-lingual system.

This enabled the Francophones to rebuild a network of French schools within the public system. Shortly thereafter they had their own textbooks, centralized examinations, school inspectors, trustees and teachers' associations, and a Normal School for training local teachers in St. Boniface. The *Manitoba Free Press* later explained what many Manitobans had believed was the purpose of opening the door to multilingualism in 1897:

> In order to avoid exciting anti-French prejudices in Ontario and elsewhere, the concession as to bilingual teaching was not limited to the French, but was made general to all non-English residents in the Province of Manitoba in the expectation that it would be taken advantage of only by the French and by them in a limited degree and by a few and diminishing number of Mennonite communities.

In fact German, "Ruthenian" and Polish bilingual schools and programmes also multiplied, and standards improved with the passage of time.

The English public schools seemed to be threatened by the growth of the bilingual schools. There was a fear that the province was becoming balkanized, so that in the wartime context of anti-German, anti-pacifist and anti-alien feelings, there were demands that the bilingual clause, which had become Section 258 in the Public Schools Act as revised in 1913, should be repealed. An Act to Further Amend the Public Schools Act, assented to 10 March 1916, provided as follows:

> **1.** Section 258 of "The Public Schools Act", being Chapter 165 of the Revised Statutes of Manitoba, is hereby repealed.

This meant that the situation which had existed prior to 1897 was restored. In terms of language of instruction, therefore, Manitoba returned to a position best described as a legal vacuum because no language of instruction was set forth in the legislation. It was not contrary to the law to teach in French.

Yet, the general interpretation seems to have been that English was the sole language of instruction in the public schools of the province. The Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba was formed to preserve French instruction in the Francophone areas. Protest rallies were called, funds were subscribed in Quebec to finance private and parochial schools, and a long battle by correspondence ensued with various school inspectors and the Deputy Minister of Education. Dr. Robert Fletcher in the educational bureaucracy was very favourable to French instruction being maintained and attempted to hold back over-zealous inspectors who would have wiped out any trace of any language other than English. There was also a recognition among the bureaucrats, who were almost all of Anglo-Celtic origins, that the "French" were Canadians of long-standing and not immigrants. Thus French instruction continued, sometimes somewhat clandestinely, in the rural parishes and St. Boniface throughout the inter-war years. St. Boniface College continued to meet the needs for some post-secondary training in French and never lacked students competent in the language. The dismantling of the bilingual school system in 1916 did not have the same repercussions among the Franco-Manitobans as among other ethnic communities which had availed themselves of the opportunities presented by the 1897 legislation. There appears to have been a certain sympathy in Manitoba for the Francophone community, an understanding that they enjoyed a special status, and a hesitation to classify them as just another ethnic group.

Recent developments

Since the 1960s, in the context of nation-wide discussions about the nature of Confederation, bilingualism, multiculturalism, human rights and the constitution, the question of Francophone rights in Manitoba has re-emerged. It must be said also that some of that interest was generated within Manitoba itself and was not externally introduced.

The changes began in the field of public schooling, where so much controversy had existed since 1890. The administrative leeway which had always operated in the province after 1916 was given some legislative status in 1947 with the official sanctioning of one hour per day of French as a language of instruction and the legal vacuum with respect to languages of instruction in public

schools was drawn to the attention of the government of Manitoba in 1952. In a late evening session, prior to prorogation, when the accumulated amendments of the frequently altered Public Schools Act were re-enacted, a new Section 240 was inserted and passed without comment at the time. This clause in the Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1954, provided:

> **240. (1)** Subject to subsection **(2)**, English shall be used as the language of instruction in all public schools.
>
> **(2)** When authorized by the board of trustees of a district, a language other than English may be used in any school in the district
>
> > **(a)** during a period authorized herein for religious teaching;
> >
> > **(b)** during a period authorized in the program of studies for teaching of a language other than English; and
> >
> > **(c)** before and after the school hours prescribed in the regulations and applicable to that school.

In 1963-64, Premier Duff Roblin appointed and consulted an Advisory Committee on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which was chaired by Professor W.L. Morton. The federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism did not, strange to say, recommend that Manitoba become a bilingual province. The provincial authorities increasingly came to the view that although provincial society constituted an ethnic mosaic, the Franco-Manitoban community occupied an historically distinctive role along with the Anglo-Celtic founders. Not surprisingly, in 1967 another major amendment to the Public Schools Act, popularly known as "Bill 59", made French an official language of instruction.

The 1967 legislation repeated in substance Section 240 of the 1952 legislation, adding nine more subsections. The most relevant for our purposes were:

> **(3)** Subject as herein provided, the French language, being one of the two languages to which reference is made in the British North America Act, 1867, may be used in the public schools as a language of instruction.
>
> **(4)** A board of a district, area or division may request the minister to approve a proposal to use, subject as herein provided, the French language in the instruction of social studies and such other subjects as the minister may, by regulation, stipulate, in a school in the district, area or division, as the case may be . . .

This legislation did not limit French as a language of instruction to Franco-Manitoban communities, but it did grant the Minister of Education very wide discretionary powers in limiting the use of French, in controlling programmes and in prescribing the qualifications of teachers who taught in French. The legislation, in referring to the bilingual clause in the British North America Act, 1867, had been careful not to refer to Section 23, the bilingual clause in the Manitoba Act, validated by the British North America Act, 1871, which had elevated the Manitoba Act to an imperial statute among other things.

It was not long, however, before attention was drawn to the bilingual provisions in the Manitoba Act, and the question of the competence of the provincial Legislature to unilaterally declare English to be the sole language of provincial legislation and courts was challenged. In 1976, a Winnipeg resident, Georges Forest, questioned the legality of a parking ticket issued in English only and asked the Attorney-General Howard Pawley to refer the question of the constitutionality of the Official Language Act of 1890 to the courts. Premier Edward Schreyer's government declined to pursue that course. When Forest was convicted in magistrate's court, he appealed to the County Court of St. Boniface. Judge Armand Dureault rendered a historic judgement which set in motion legal proceedings which ended in the highest court of the country. Judge Dureault's conclusions were as follows:

> I wish to make one final observation before concluding these reasons: one would have to search far and wide before finding a better example of colourable legislation than the evasive language of Section 2 of the Official Language Act of Manitoba, framed as it is to avoid challenge on jurisdictional grounds.
>
> It follows that for all these reasons, I find it beyond the power of the Legislature of Manitoba to abrogate Section 23 of the Manitoba Act and the provisions for the Official Language Act for Manitoba particularly sub-sections (1) and (2) of Section 1 are *ultra vires* its jurisdiction.

The provincial government decided not to appeal the Forest case "at this time" because it wished to avoid the political repercussions which might follow. Forest did get a hearing before the Court of Queen's Bench which ruled the 1890 legislation "inoperative insofar as it abrogates the right to use French in the courts of Manitoba." The Attorney-General of Manitoba now felt obliged to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. This court of last resort handed down its judgement on 13 December 1979. All seven justices agreed that the abrogation of the rights of the French language in 1890 had been unconstitutional and dismissed the appeal of the Manitoba government. The use of the English and French languages had been constitutionally entrenched in the Manitoba Act, and the British North America Act, 1871, had gone beyond validating it by imposing substantial constraints on the amending powers of both the Canadian Parliament and the Manitoba Legislature.

In 1983, the question of restoring full French rights in Manitoba became a controversial political issue as the incumbent administration attempted to couple an affirmation of official bilingualism with a negotiated schedule of restricted but expanding public services in French. Legally, the

question remains about the status of legislation passed since 1890 in the English language only because the constitution of 1870 had made English and French mandatory, not permissive, in a number of domains. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the most recent developments and the various positions being defended. Rather, we have attempted to give a comprehensive overview of the genesis of bilingualism in Manitoba and the genesis of the controversies, constitutional and other, that have marked the province's history.

The status of French has been at issue in two domains: first, in the legislature and courts; secondly, in the public schools. In the early debates, it was the question of French schooling, confused with Catholic schooling in many cases, that held attention. More recently, it has been the constitutional issue of the official status of the French language and its implications not only for the legislature and courts, but also for all public services, that has come to the fore. Whatever the historical arguments that favour full recognition of equality between the two official languages, the demographic realities intrude and bring practical as well as political considerations to bear. Francophones are an official language minority among minorities in Manitoba, and the future of their community may depend, to some extent, on the support and interest of a growing community of Manitobans who are not of French ethnic origin.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books:

Clark, Lovell, ed. *The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights?* Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968.

Donnelly, M.S. *The Government of Manitoba.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.

Jackson, James A. *The Centennial History of Manitoba.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1970.

Morton, W.L. *Manitoba: A History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.

Morton, W.L., ed. *Manitoba: The Birth of a Province.* Altona, Manitoba Record Society, 1965.

Owram, Doug. *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Articles:

Creighton, D.G. "John A. Macdonald, Confederation and the Canadian West.". In *Minorities, Schools and Politics.* Ed. R. Craig Brown. Toronto, 1969, pp. 1-9.

D'Eschambault, Abbé Antoine. "Cent Ans de Gouvernement à la Rivière Rouge.". In *Report,* Canadian Historical Association, 1948, pp. 39-45.

Friesen, Gerald. "Homeland to Hinterland. Political Transition in Manitoba, 1870 to 1879.". In *Historical Papers,* Canadian Historical Association, 1979, pp. 33-47.

Heintzman, Ralph. "The Spirit of Confederation. Professor Creighton, Biculturalism and the Use of History." In *Canadian Historical Review,* 52, 1971, pp. 245-275.

Jaenen, Cornelius J. "Foundations of Dual Education at Red River, 1811-34." In *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba,* Series III, No. 21, 1965, pp. 35-68.

Jaenen, Cornelius J. "French Public Education in Manitoba, 1818-1965." In *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa,* 38, 1968, pp. 19-34.

Jaenen, Cornelius, J. "The Manitoba School Question: An Ethnic Interpretation." In *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education.* Ed. M.L. Kovacs. Regina, 1975, pp. 317-331.

Miller, J.R. "D'Alton McCarthy, Equal Rights and the Origins of the Manitoba School Question." In *Canadian Historical Review,* 54, 1973, pp. 369-392.

Painchaud, Robert. "Les Rapports entre les Métis et les Canadiens-Français au Manitoba, 1870-1884." In *The Other Natives: The Métis.* Ed. A.S. Lussier & D.B. Sealey. Winnipeg, 1978.

Theses:

Fisk, Larry John. "Controversy on the Prairies: Issues in the General Provincial Elections of Manitoba, 1870-1969". Ph.D., University of Alberta, 1969.

Friesen, Gerald. "Studies in the Development of Western Canadian Regional Consciousness, 1870-1925". Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1974.

LeBlanc, Paul-Emile. "L'enseignement français au Manitoba, 1916-1968". M.A., University of Ottawa, 1969.

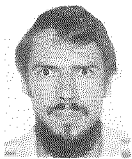
Milligan, Frank A. "The Lieutenant-Governorship in Manitoba, 1870-1882. M.A., University of Manitoba, 1948.

Painchaud, Robert. "Le Manitoba et l'immigration canadienne-française, 1870-1891". M.A., University of Ottawa, 1969.

Education is often viewed as a cure for all problems, but the use of French as a language of instruction in public schools has failed to halt the anglicization of Ontario's young Francophones.

Retention of French among young Franco-Ontarians

RAYMOND MOUGEON



Raymond Mougeon is an associate professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, where he is director of a programme funded by grants from OISE, the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. His publications are in the fields of bilingualism, language acquisition and sociolinguistics.

In 1968, the Ontario Legislature authorized the use of French as a language of instruction in public schools, thereby making it possible for students to receive their education in French up to the end of the secondary school level. This has raised hopes that the decline in the use of French in Ontario would slow down if not stop entirely. However, the 1981 census has revealed that anglicization is still on the increase.

Analysis of the census data on mother tongue and languages spoken in the home reveals that French is being abandoned at an accelerated rate in provinces with an English-speaking majority. Of the 475,605 people for whom French was the mother tongue in Ontario, the proportion of those who spoke mainly English in the home grew from 27 per cent in 1971 to 34 per cent in 1981.

It remains to be seen if French-language instruction has slowed down this phenomenon. At present, this is impossible to calculate because only since 1971 has the census taken into consideration the language spoken in the home. In order to have the necessary comparative data, we shall have to wait until 1991.

Many people are concerned that the new language regime has not put a brake on the declining use of French. Even though many schools were created following the new legislation, particularly between 1970 and 1975 (1), it should be recognized that education is not the only factor to be considered if we are to remove the phenomenon of transculturation, especially among young people. Socio-economic and demographic factors also come into play.

In the following pages, we examine a number of survey results regarding the language behaviour of school-age students. In particular, we analyse their use of French and their French-language skills.

The use of French among Franco-Ontarian youths

After analysing the results of the 1971 census, Charles Castonguay (2) noted in 1976 that this group was becoming increasingly anglicized. Two years earlier, he and J. Marion (3) had noted that Franco-Ontarians were very little affected by assimilation in localities where they were in the majority. However, in locations where they represented less than 50 per cent of the population, the rates of anglicization were in some instances very high. The authors were thus doubtful that French could hold its own in situations where demography worked to its disadvantage.

Toward the end of 1979, we conducted socio-linguistic surveys of Francophone pupils in seven towns with a minority French population: Cornwall, Ottawa, Pembroke, North Bay, Toronto, Welland and Windsor. These surveys confirmed and complemented Castonguay's study findings, and enabled us to measure the relationship between the frequency with which French was used in the family and the aptitude of students to learn and master the language.

From one generation to the next

In these seven Franco-Ontarian communities, French was used less in conversations among children than in those between parents: 32 per cent of the children always or most frequently used French among themselves, as opposed to 56 per cent of the parents. These figures are

TABLE 1

The use of French among children in Franco-Ontarian families

	Cornwall		Ottawa		North Bay		Welland		Pembroke		Windsor		Toronto	
Proportion of Francophones	*38 %*		*20.6 %*		*17.3 %*		*17.1 %*		*10.2 %*		*7 %*		*1.9 %*	
Level	**Elementary**	**Secondary**	**Elementary**	**Secondary**	**Elementary**	**Secondary**	**Elementary**	**Secondary**	**Elementary**	**Secondary**	**Elementary**	**Secondary**	**Elementary**	**Secondary**
Use of French and English														
Always or most frequently in French	*48.2*	*46.1*	*51.9*	*31.1*	*34.1*	*39.2*	*34.2*	*12.5*	*26.3*	*16.7*	*31.5*	*25.8*	*25.3*	*44.4*
	157	143	67	170	86	169	67	35	20	12	28	33	19	71
Equal frequency in French and English	*23.3*	*21.3*	*21.7*	*24.2*	*22.6*	*27.4*	*21.4*	*19.6*	*18.4*	*12.5*	*12.3*	*25.0*	*8.0*	*25.6*
	76	66	28	132	57	118	42	55	14	9	11	32	6	41
Always or most frequently in English	*28.5*	*32.6*	*26.4*	*44.7*	*43.3*	*33.4*	*44.4*	*67.9*	*55.3*	*70.8*	*56.2*	*49.2*	*66.7*	*30.0*
	93	101	34	244	109	144	87	191	42	51	50	63	50	48
TOTAL	**326**	**310**	**129**	**546**	**252**	**431**	**196**	**281**	**76**	**72**	**89**	**128**	**75**	**160**

somewhat discouraging, for they apply to pupils who were receiving their education in French, and not to all young Franco-Ontarians, as was the case for the Castonguay study.

The law of numbers

Our surveys also revealed that the retention or loss of French among pupils receiving instruction in that language were closely linked to the demographic weight of their community, as may be seen from the statistical data contained in Table 1. This table shows that the use of French between brothers and sisters varies in frequency from town to town: generally speaking, the smaller the Francophone element, the less frequent the use of French. We found the same phenomenon when we used other points of reference: the language used by parents with children, by children with their parents, with their friends, etc. French-language education has clearly not eradicated assimilation among Franco-Ontarians, and its influence is directly related to the demographic weight of the Francophone community.

We have seen that French-language education did not resolve the problem of linguistic alienation. In addition, the survey conducted with the help of collaborators (4), and other studies by our team, established that the frequency with which French is used in the home in the minority Franco-Ontarian community had clear repercussions on the aptitude of students receiving their instruction in French to learn and master this language. By way of illustration: if students correctly master the use of reflexive pronouns (il se lève) during their studies, those who express themselves always or most frequently in French in their families will, by Grade 5, have a sound mastery of this syntactic form. If the contrary is the case, students will not have mastered this usage by the end of secondary school.

Other persistent difficulties include use of the proper gender (école français), choice of preposition (aller à son amie), agreement between subject and verb (elles ne veut pas), phrases based on English syntax (je suis quinze ans), and anglicized terms (un movie).

Influence of the social milieu

The use of French outside the family is also an important factor. Table 2 contains data on the use of reflexive pronouns by students of elementary and secondary Francophone schools in four towns where the French language is of varying importance: Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke. The Hawkesbury sample does not include students who express themselves mainly in English in the home since this is not a significant phenomenon in this predominantly Francophone town.

Based on the data in Table 2, if we use Brown's criterion (5) of 90 per cent correct usage as indicating mastery of a language, the Hawkesbury students have already achieved this standard for reflexive pronouns when they enter elementary school. Those from Cornwall and North Bay who always or most frequently use French in the home achieve these same skills by Grade 5. In Pembroke, this level is achieved only at the end of secondary school. For children for whom English is the dominant language according to this criterion, the reflexive pronoun is mastered only at the end of secondary school in Cornwall and, for all practical purposes, in North Bay as well; in Pembroke, they finish their studies

without achieving this standard perfectly.

These results are linked to the frequency with which French is used outside the family in the four towns in question. In our 1982 study, we drew attention to the dual effect of the clear numerical predominance of Francophones in Hawkesbury: the very great majority of students who express themselves always or most frequently in French in the home also do so outside the home. In the other three towns, the attachment to French declined in concert with the proportional representation of Francophones, as follows: Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke. The same phenomenon exists to a lesser degree among students who rarely speak French in the family.

All these facts illustrate the impact of demography on the aptitude of young Franco-Ontarians to learn and master French.

Other findings

Our research also revealed a phenomenon we had not considered: the relationship between the frequency in the use of French in the home and the use of the familiar language register. In daily conversation, those who used French very little in the home, never, or hardly ever, used the typical forms of popular Canadian French; by contrast, however, those who used French regularly adapted naturally to these forms. Since use of the mother tongue in one's own family is essential to the acquisition of various registers of day-to-day language, we found that those who used French very little had serious weaknesses in this respect. As for the demographic element relating to this aptitude, the results of our research tend to confirm what we have noted above.

French, then is becoming a sort of second language for young Franco-Ontarians who rarely speak it in the home; its structure and familiar registers are largely unknown to them. The opposite of course, holds true in cases where French is the predominant language of use.

Remedies

In our view, the solutions to this problem are chiefly socio-political and pedagogical in nature. In predominantly Anglophone milieux, the abandonment of French by Franco-Ontarians is due in part to the low prestige they attach to this language given its relative lack of value as a means of socio-economic advancement. Consequently, any measure designed to enhance French in the mind of individuals would have repercussions on the resistance to assimilation and on students' attitudes toward their mother tongue. Such measures have already been the subject of studies by the Federation of Francophones outside Quebec and, in collaboration with Canale and Bélanger, we have ourselves published an article on this question. (6)

In terms of pedagogical solutions, we would first mention those currently implemented by some Ontario school boards. Educators have recourse to two remedies.

The first is orientation classes. Students suffering serious weaknesses in French derive benefit from such classes early in their programme, when they receive instruction especially adapted to their needs and dispersed in an intensive form if the teacher is assisted by a monitor. The second remedy consists of special "catch-up" classes.

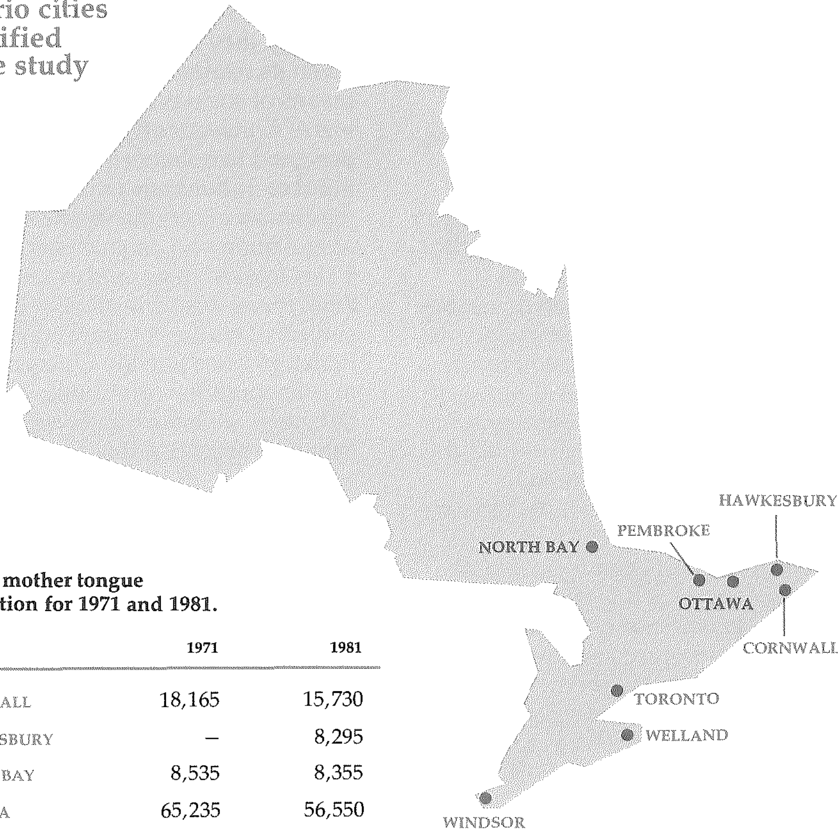
In both instances the objective is the same: to bring students to a sufficient level of French so as not to compromise or interrupt the progress of other students in that language and in the various subjects taught. (7)

Solutions may also be sought to the manner in which French is taught. According to a survey conducted by Cazabon and Frenette (8) in a minority Franco-Ontarian environment, the teaching of French may be coloured by a normative approach that tends to discourage students from usages which do not conform to *correct French* and to substitute equivalents which correspond to this standard. Both authors have noted that very few teachers made a distinction, for pedagogical purposes, between "mistakes" in popular Canadian French (le moineau a pogné une bibitte) and those that may be considered "un-French" (je lève à six heures). Most teachers found such mistakes equally

TABLE 2

Mastery of the reflexive pronoun among young Franco-Ontarians in four towns with varying proportional Francophone populations

	Hawkesbury	Cornwall		North Bay		Pembroke	
Percentage of Francophones	*(85%)*	*(38%)*		*(17%)*		*(10%)*	
Frequency of use of French in the home / Grade	Always or most frequently	Always or most frequently	Never or occasionally	Always or most frequently	Never or occasionally	Always or most frequently	Never or occasionally
2	77	57	22	24	45	25	37
	96%	*90%*	*78%*	*63%*	*36%*	*64%*	*35%*
5	72	77	29	23	44	27	40
	96%	*99%*	*80%*	*96%*	*72%*	*86%*	*33%*
9	117	51	42	36	38	30	43
	100%	*97%*	*88%*	*95%*	*83%*	*74%*	*70%*
12	82	62	30	77	26	45	20
	100%	*100%*	*94%*	*100%*	*89%*	*89%*	*75%*
TOTAL	**348**	**370**		**313**		**267**	
	99%	*92%*		*80%*		*64%*	



French mother tongue population for 1971 and 1981.

	1971	1981
CORNWALL	18,165	15,730
HAWKESBURY	–	8,295
NORTH BAY	8,535	8,355
OTTAWA	65,235	56,550
PEMBROKE	1,680	1,130
TORONTO	15,755	10,040
WELLAND	7,590	6,945
WINDSOR	14,305	10,535

Source: *Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 census.*

unacceptable and thus worthy of elimination.

Cazabon and Frenette also noted that the teaching of French provided few opportunities for communication and focused on a relatively mechanical learning approach far removed from the context of resources proper to correct language. Attention should be drawn to the weaknesses and inconvenience of this method.

In a majority Francophone community, acquisition of French as a language of communication is largely guaranteed outside the school; this does not hold true for a minority situation. Since language is primarily an instrument of communication, it is particularly important that the school recognize it as such. In our view, the great danger posed by the normative approach is that it tends to discourage the characteristic features of familiar Canadian French, particularly when those features are common coin among students who still express themselves in French in the home.

As well, we believe that familiar Franco-Ontarian speech is an authentic language system even though it may differ from correct Canadian French. In addition to the fact that it is used for a major portion of all communications, this variety of familiar French is part and parcel of the cultural identity of the Franco-Ontarian community. If the particularities of this language are viewed as errors, this could well increase the trend toward the rejection of French that has been observed to varying degrees among young Franco-Ontarians who are members of a minority community. In our view, a more tolerant attitude should be adopted.

The sociolinguistic approach to teaching French, which is the basis of the new programmes designed for Quebec's Francophone students, might be adopted to great advantage by Franco-Ontarian educators. One of the goals of this approach is to encourage students to master "correct local French" by comparing the characteristics of this variety of French with those of familiar Canadian French, and by providing an understanding of the social and stylistic features appropriate to each of the registers. This goal presupposes that we recognize the "system" concept and the major role played by familiar Canadian French.

This new approach will thus tend not to eliminate this variety of French, but to use it as a point of departure for mastery of correct Canadian French. We would add that familiar Canadian French might even be used as an objective in a minority Francophone environment because students who scarcely speak French outside of school have a poor mastery of this type of French.

(Adapted from the French)

REFERENCES

1. Churchill, S. "National Linguistic Minorities: The Franco-Ontarian Educational Renaissance." In *Prospects*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1976.
2. Castonguay, C. "La montée de l'anglicisation chez les jeunes Franco-Ontariens." In *Bulletin du Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française*, no. 12, 1976.
3. Castonguay, C. and J. Marion, "Une réalité: l'anglicisation du Canada." In *Le Droit*, February 8 and 9, 1974.
4. Mougeon, R. and coll. *Le français parlé en situation minoritaire*, vol. 1. Quebec: Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, 1982.
5. Brown, R., *A First Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.
6. Mougeon, R. and M. Canale. "A linguistic Perspective on Ontarian French." In *Canadian Journal of Education*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1979.
7. Desjarlais, L. and coll. *L'élève parlant peu ou pas français dans les écoles de langue française*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, Toronto, 1980.
8. Cazabon, R. and N. Frenette. *Le français parlé en situation minoritaire*, vol. 2. Quebec: Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, 1982.

Traditional second-language programmes for adults are proving to be inadequate for addressing the needs of immigrant workers. For these newcomers, the acquisition of a new language is largely dependent on social and occupational integration.

Learning the language: a critical hurdle for the immigrant worker

ALISON d'ANGLEJAN

After receiving her Ph.D. in experimental psychology from McGill University in 1975, **Alison d'Anglejan** joined the Faculté des sciences de l'Éducation at the Université de Montréal where she is now associate professor. Author and co-author of numerous articles, her teaching and research interests center on the cognitive and social aspects of language acquisition.

Immigration has played an important role in Canada's economic and social development. For many immigrants the decision to settle in Canada is a personal one, motivated by the desire to join other members of the family or to seek more desirable employment. In other cases, economic hardships, political strife or acts of God precipitate large-scale displacements of people, some of whom enter Canada under special refugee programmes. A glance at any history book will reveal that migration is not a recent phenomenon, but one which has recurred over time in waves generated by political and economic events. There is every reason to expect this pattern to continue.

The most pressing task facing the new immigrant is that of finding employment. This was one of the findings of a study carried out in Vancouver by Mastai (1979). Furthermore, she reported that adult immigrants' success in finding satisfactory employment is closely related to the extent of their knowledge of English. It is not surprising, therefore, that the federal government allocates substantial amounts of money for the teaching of the two official languages to recent immigrants. Indeed, Canada's provisions for language-teaching programmes for adult immigrants are among the most generous in the world. In Quebec, for instance, the provincial Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration supplements federal funding for language training and administers language teaching centres known as COFIs (Centre d'orientation et de formation des immigrants).

Immigrants receive a small allowance which allows them to attend classes six hours a day for a 30-week period, after which it is hoped that they will have acquired enough knowledge of French to enter the work-force.

A wide range of evening and part-time programmes are also available free of charge for those who may have found employment but wish to upgrade their language skills. In other parts of Canada, similar programmes are available for the teaching of English, often within the framework of the Community Colleges or within the continuing-education programmes offered by school boards.

Over the years, teachers and administrators involved in immigrant language programmes have come to recognize that there are enormous individual differences in the ability of these adults to benefit from classroom language instruction. Methods and approaches which have proven relatively successful for some learners appear to be of little benefit to others. Recently, the arrival in North America, and indeed in other parts of the world, of large numbers of refugees from Southeast Asia has heightened an awareness of this problem on the part of language-teaching professionals. Regular second-language programmes may not be able to provide the environment conducive to learning which is so desperately needed by many of these newcomers.

Obstacles to language learning

My own interest in the difficulties experienced by adult immigrants in second-language programmes is not new. In 1976, I was invited by the Ministère de l'Immigration du Québec (now known as the Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration) to study the problem of why some immigrants appeared to be virtually unable to communicate in French after receiving 900 hours of language instruction in the COFIs. I do not propose to describe our research in detail (interested readers can find

a full report in d'Anglejan et al, 1981) but some of the findings are useful in helping to understand the special problems of these learners and in working toward the development of alternative programmes more suited to their needs.

Our large-scale investigation examined the pattern of individual differences associated with acute learning difficulties. The results showed that lower levels of schooling, marginal literacy or illiteracy and higher levels of anxiety in the classroom were among the factors which characterized the unsuccessful student in comparison with those who were more successful. Many poor learners were from rural backgrounds and quite unaccustomed to city living. An additional important finding was that those who experienced difficulty generally had very little contact with native speakers of French. Since they tended to live in ethnic neighbourhoods and were not employed, they had little opportunity to establish informal social contacts with the local French-speaking population. Language classrooms appeared to provide their major contact with the French language. While the more educated students had access to books and newspapers to increase their exposure to French, the less literate students were highly dependent on the classroom. Paradoxically, most second-language classrooms provide a poor learning environment for this type of student. The use of methods which focus on the teaching of language *per se*, with an emphasis on drills or on the teaching of grammar, does not appear to set in motion the mental processes necessary for second-language acquisition. Indeed, the emphasis placed on performance that is correctly imitating model sentences or responding with a prescribed structure to the instructor's probe places the learner under considerable stress. In addition, classrooms frequently fail to provide adequate opportunities for the development of listening comprehension, an important activity which involves learners in the search for meaning in spoken language and familiarizes them with the intonation, stress and syntactic patterns which give meaning to a given code. Perhaps the most serious shortcoming of many language classrooms is that the language is not used in an authentic and meaningful way to communicate about issues of concern to the learners.

The impact of different cultural norms

For some immigrants there are also serious cultural obstacles to classroom learning. The competitiveness among students which is encouraged in many of our western classrooms is at variance with cultural norms which encourage cooperation and sharing. The pressure placed on students to demonstrate their learning, or their ignorance, before the instructor and fellow students may well be culturally unacceptable. Furthermore, those with little or no schooling, may be accustomed to acquiring important skills and knowledge in settings very different from classrooms where active participation in tasks and tacit observation of the performance of others are the privileged modes of learning. To complicate the picture further, some students who have had little school experience and are removed from their cultural setting hold firm views that all learning must come from books and be transmitted explicitly by teachers, whereas others are equally convinced that nothing good can come of spending a six-hour day sitting at a desk. We are only beginning to grasp the impact of these cultural norms and expectations on the adult immigrant's ability to benefit from language-teaching programmes. However, it is reassuring to discover through discussions with colleagues in other parts of Canada, in the United States, in Europe and in Australia that the phenomenon which we are observing in Quebec is a universal one.

The search for alternatives

In our research in Quebec, we proposed two alternative approaches for these learners to be tried out on an experimental basis. Both involved a shift in focus away from the explicit teaching of language toward the provision of opportunities for the learner to acquire information, knowledge or skills critical for his immediate socio-economic well being, presented through the target language.

This shift in orientation was based on current theoretical knowledge of the second-language acquisition process which indicates that under favourable conditions, well-motivated adults can acquire or "pick up" a second language without it being explicitly taught. Furthermore it drew on the immigrant's need for "survival" or "coping skills" to deal with pressing social integration or employment problems. An experimental programme was set up in which learners were taught how to use the transit system, how to cash cheques, how to enrol their children in school, etc. These skills were viewed not simply as a vehicle for the introduction of vocabulary and structures, but as important survival skills and thus appropriate learning objectives for adult immigrants.

We were at first surprised to learn that no such programmes were underway, since the language-teaching centres were actually set up with a broader mandate. Responses to our queries as to why socio-cultural objectives seemed to have been set aside were instructive. There appeared to be an assumption that mastery of the language is a prerequisite to the learning of anything else. Since, not surprisingly, few students mastered the language during the 30-week course, there was still a great deal to be done in the language domain without having to turn to other objectives.

The second experimental alternative which we proposed for learners who seemed refractory to classrooms was what we termed a temporary sheltered-workshop approach involving the individual placement of students in carefully prepared French-speaking working environments where they would have unstressful contact with sympathetic native speakers and would at the same time gain first-hand experience of the work world in Quebec. Learners would continue to receive

financial support for a period equal to that for which they were eligible to attend full-time classes. Contact with the language school was to be maintained by means of regular weekly meetings in which two or more learners would meet with teachers to discuss their experiences and receive help with specific language or social-adaptation difficulties. The rationale for this approach was three-fold:

- the need for authentic communication with native speakers in an unstressful situation as an input for language acquisition;
- the extreme discomfort of some learners at finding themselves in language classrooms; and, perhaps the most critical reason; and
- the importance placed on finding employment by virtually all adult learners.

Factors such as these suggested that the sheltered-workshop approach was well worth investigating. Unfortunately, only a few weeks after this experimental programme got underway with a few volunteers it was terminated and we were unable to evaluate its impact.

Today the wisdom of teaching "coping skills" is becoming widely recognized. Guidelines for such programmes are beginning to be produced. It is recognized, at least in theory, that it is counterproductive to view the teaching of a second language in isolation from the immigrant worker's other critical needs in terms of social services or job orientation. The pre-vocational, occupational and social concerns of immigrants must be addressed if they are to remain effectively involved in second-language programmes. If this is important for immigrants who are literate and have higher levels of education, it is absolutely crucial for non-literate adults for whom the process of acquiring a new language must be viewed as a long-term undertaking, closely related to, and, indeed, dependent upon, other social-integration processes.

Language learning beyond the classroom

Considerable progress is being made within the classroom by incorporating a more valid set of teaching/learning objectives and by using the target language for authentic communication. Interesting breakthroughs have also been taking place outside the language classroom. Early impetus for the development of programmes for immigrant workers in industrial settings was provided in *Industrial English* by Jupp and Hodlin's (1975). The book spelled out a rationale for on-the-job specialized language training for immigrants to Britain, and provided guidelines for the development and implementation of such programmes. The preface to *ESL in the Workplace*, a recent publication by the Center for Applied Linguistics (1982) provides interesting evidence of the recognition now accorded to the interaction between the immigrant and his environment in the language-learning process: "This guide looks at the nature of the partnership between the instructor of English for Special Purposes, private industry and the working refugees with a limited knowledge of English." Perhaps the most interesting document pertaining to English in the workplace which I have seen is a study conducted by Virginia Sauvé on behalf of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (1982). The study looks at six workplace projects in Alberta and Ontario from the standpoint of the industries involved, the worker-learners and instructors. From questionnaire and interview data, the author distills the characteristics of successful and less successful projects and prescribes guidelines for the setting up and carrying out of programmes. Of particular interest is the complex, multi-faceted role of the workplace programme professional who must acquire an in-depth understanding of what the industry is all about, how it functions, as well as of the interactions between various levels of management personnel, in order to establish appropriate curriculum goals and develop material. In addition, these professionals must play a vital role, not only in teaching the worker-learners, but also in educating management or supervisory personnel to understand what lies at the root of communication difficulties and how their own beliefs and practices can serve as catalysts for, or obstacles to, cross-cultural communication and language learning.

Encouraging trends

A glance at the direction in which programmes for immigrants are evolving is enlightening, for it reveals a gradual departure from uniform, institutionalized solutions to language training toward a broader, more societally or vocationally based framework, one which may involve a wide range of native speakers — be they fellow workers, managers, social workers or simply neighbours — in the socialization process which underlies language learning and the development of communicative, professional and social competence. Predictably, however, these developments are not taking place uniformly across Canada. In regions beset by high levels of unemployment we simply do not find concentrations of new immigrants in industrial settings. In other areas, where administrative structures responsible for language training, vocational training and social services are under separate jurisdictions, there may be no spontaneous converging and cross-fertilization of such programmes without the intervention of some external force. In my own province, for instance, where language training for immigrants comes under the jurisdiction of the provincial government (whereas vocational programmes come under that of the federal government of Canada), there seems to have been limited progress in fusing language and vocational training for immigrants. To the best of my knowledge, there are no Quebec-based counterparts to the type of projects described by Virginia Sauvé which are taking place in other parts of the country.

An additional obstacle to the broadening of the framework for adult immigrant language training is the fact that those responsible for these services, and indeed the general public, may still be unaware, or unwilling to accept, that effective

language learning can, and often should, take place in non-academic settings. Programme administrators may be reluctant to relinquish their control over language training. Similarly, members of the general public as well as personnel in business and industry may be only too willing to leave this burden entirely upon the shoulders of the educators. Attitudes such as these are not difficult to understand. Most of us tend to equate learning with schools, classrooms and institutions and to view language as a body of knowledge — like history or geography — rather than a form of social behavior which might best be acquired through communication with a well-disposed native speaker.

It is not difficult in a multi-ethnic country such as Canada to find numerous examples of thoroughly successful second-language learners. Many of the large numbers of immigrants from central and western Europe who have come to Canada since the turn of the century appear to have learned English or French without the benefit of special programmes. Those who entered public schools, universities or occupational settings which allowed them to interact socially or professionally with native speakers by whom they were accepted acquired a new language effectively. Others, however, who remained encapsulated in ethnic communities — married women or workers in factories with high concentrations of immigrants — and had little occasion or need for contact outside their group often failed to do so. It is not clear that traditional second-language classes would have had a significant impact on this group given their degree of isolation from mainstream society. Unfortunately, in many societies prevailing social structures perpetuate cultural and linguistic isolation. It is generally believed that individuals or groups who remain isolated do so because of their inadequate language skills. In fact, it appears that the converse is more likely true: low socio-economic status and ethnicity lead to the social isolation which is at the root of the failure to acquire the societal language. If this is true, then a much broader spectrum of society has a role to play in the language education of immigrants.

The ability of immigrant workers to contribute their knowledge and skills to Canadian society may well depend on the opportunities they are given to participate in our social and occupational mainstream. For this to come about, a much greater proportion of our efforts and resources will have to be directed toward helping the public to understand its role in shaping the social environment and, consequently, the communicative power of immigrant workers.

At the present time, the issues are clouded by the prevailing network of attitudes and assumptions. Foreigners are expected to go off and learn the language *before* they seek admission to jobs or social groups; their poor communicative skills are interpreted as a lack of cooperation or even of ability; society passes judgement on the immigrant for not learning the language, yet neither party understands the extent to which their own set of cultural norms filter and often obstruct communication. In the case of some Southeast Asian immigrants in Canada, for instance, these cultural differences are considerable and cannot simply be ignored. Nor can we afford to ignore the frustration and alienation which immigrants experience as a result of their inability to communicate effectively.

It is interesting to note that many of the issues which I have raised above are dealt with in a working paper on "The Provision of ESL Training to Adults. Six Principles Toward a National Policy." It is hoped that this will lead to settlement programmes that are more integrated and more focused than those which now prevail. But we must also bear in mind that more than any other group of language learners, these new immigrants desperately need opportunities to participate in unstressed conversations with sympathetic English and French Canadians. We all have much to gain by helping them take the difficult steps along the road to social integration and language learning. The responsibility cannot, and should not, be placed on the shoulders of language teachers alone.

REFERENCES

Crandall, J. "Adult Vocational E.S.L." In *Language in Education: Theory and Practice*, no. 22. Arlington, Va: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1979.

d'Anglejan, A., C. Renaud, R.H. Arseneault, A.M. Lortie. *Difficultés d'apprentissage de la langue seconde chez l'immigrant adulte, en situation scolaire : une étude dans le contexte québécois.* Québec: Centre International de Recherche sur le Bilinguisme, 1981.

Jupp, T.C. and S. Hodlin. *Industrial English.* London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1975.

Mastai, J. "Immigrant Adult Education: Tasks of Adaptation." Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Adult Education Research Conference. ANN Arbor: AERC, 1979, 94-99.

Sauvé, V. *English in the Workplace. A Study of Six Projects in Alberta and Ontario.* Edmonton: Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, 1982.

"The Provision of ESL Training to Adults. Six Principles Toward a National Policy. In *TESL Canada Newsletter*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1980, pp. 2-12.

SELECTED READINGS

d'Anglejan, A. "Language Learning in and out of Classrooms." In *Understanding Second and Foreign Language Learning.* Ed. J. Richards. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1978.

Gray, T. and A. Groguet. "Language Teaching and Literacy in the United States." In *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics 1981*. Ed. R. Kaplan. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1982.

Jupp, T.C., R. Munns, and C. Roberts. "Language Disadvantage and Discrimination: Breaking the Cycle of Majority Group Reception." In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 3 no. 3, 1982.

Klein, W. and N. Dittmar. *Developing grammars. The Acquisition of German Syntax by Foreign Workers.* Berlin, New York: Springer-Verlag, 1979.

Kleinmann, H.H. "External influences and their neutralization in second language acquisition: A look at adult Indochinese refugees." In *TESOL Quarterly*, 16 no. 2, 1982, pp. 239-243.

Painchaud, G., A. d'Anglejan and D. Vincent. *Acquisition du français par un groupe d'immigrants asiatiques. Rapport de recherche (no.4).* Montréal: Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université de Montréal, 1982.

Scribner, S. and M. Cole. *The Psychology of Literacy.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Vaut, E.D. *ESL/Coping Skills for Adult Learners.* Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1982.

Distance education — formal study outside the traditional classroom setting — is the fastest growing form of post-secondary education available to adults. With the aid of printed and audio materials, a student can acquire a new subject, a new language, at his or her own time and pace.

Distance education and language learning

JOHN S. DANIEL

A graduate of the Universities of Oxford and Paris, **John S. Daniel** played a major role in the development of university distance education in Canada. He is currently Vice-Rector of Concordia University and President of the International Council for Distance Education. This summer Mr. Daniel will be appointed President of Laurentian University.

In China five million people recently followed a radio-based English course. In Britain a million viewers tuned into the TV broadcasts of the multi-media course, *Russian — Language and People*. In North America over twenty languages can be studied through university correspondence courses. Languages are among the most popular subjects for formal study outside the classroom.

Forms of instruction where teacher and learner are separated have a variety of names in different parts of the world. North Americans talk of home-study or independent study, Australians of external studies and Europeans of correspondence courses, open universities, *télé-enseignement* and *Fernunterricht*. The internationally recognized term *distance education* embraces these forms of learning that have four features in common:

- unlike classroom study, the teacher and learner are separated from one another;
- unlike purely private study, an educational organization is involved;
- various communication media, especially print, unite teacher and learner and carry the educational content; and
- there may be two-way communication between learner and tutor and possibly occasional meetings.

Early developments

St. Paul's epistles to the early Christians may be cited as an early example of teaching with these features but the real growth of distance learning began with the establishment of postal systems in the nineteenth century. Isaac Pitman offered a correspondence course in shorthand soon after the penny post was introduced in Britain and English was taught by mail in Sweden even earlier. In North America correspondence education began in Pennsylvania in the late 1800s with a newspaper course in mining safety that was the grandfather of the International Correspondence Schools, one of today's largest distance-education enterprises.

Since the mid-nineteenth century many new means of communication have been developed. The telephone, radio and television are an integral part of modern life. Audio technology has taken an important step forward with the individual walker cassette players worn by an increasing number of people. Microcomputers and video units are already available in many homes. These developments have expanded and enriched correspondence teaching and made possible today's multi-media distance education systems.

The creation and immediate success of the British Open University in 1970 was an important milestone. Born of the desire to use the mass media to expand access to higher education, this institution uses a combination of correspondence texts, network TV and radio, home experiment kits, telephone tutorials and local study centres to offer degree programmes in a range of disciplines to part-time students. It is now by far Britain's largest university and has already awarded over 60,000 Bachelors degrees. This example has encouraged other countries to launch similar projects. Spain's Universidad nacional de educacion a distancia, for example, celebrated its tenth anniversary in the fall of 1983, and the Central China Television

University, created only in 1977 must, with its 500,000 students, rate as the world's largest university of any kind.

Distance education is rapidly growing

In Canada the trend started by the Open University has influenced a significant growth in distance education at the post-secondary level. In the last decade the Télé-université of the university of Quebec, Alberta's Athabasca University and, in British Columbia, both the Open Learning Institute and the Knowledge Network of the West have been established to expand the opportunities already available for home-study at the secondary, technical and vocational levels.

> *At a conservative estimate some 10 million people around the world are engaged in formal study at a distance.*

In a phase of rapid growth it is especially difficult to estimate numbers. However, at a conservative estimate some 10 million people around the world are engaged in formal study at a distance. This does not include, of course, the millions more who are engaged in purely private study or make use of educational broadcasts on TV and radio.

From the learner's perspective the primary advantage of distance education is flexibility. It allows people to study at their own pace and frees them from the constraint of travelling to classes in particular places at fixed times. On the other hand, to organize a schedule of study for oneself requires good motivation and skill in time management. Distance education is not an easy way to study. For those who successfully adapt to its requirements, however, learning at a distance often becomes a lifelong hobby.

From the perspective of governments and policy-makers the advantages of distance education are that large numbers of students can be reached inexpensively, including people in rural areas or those with variable schedules, and that projects can be started and phased out much more easily than schemes involving classroom teaching.

For all the old wisecracks about avoiding the professional services of surgeons or airline pilots trained by correspondence there are, in fact, few curricula in which distance education cannot play some part. Obviously, special arrangements have to be made for practical work. A surprising amount can be achieved by home experimental kits, especially in topical areas like electronics and computing. Even if special group sessions have to be held in institutional laboratories to give practical experience, distance-teaching techniques can still carry the theoretical part of the course.

Language learning

Learning new languages at home has always been popular. Almost everyone has had the experience of buying a self-instructional book (*Teach Yourself Japanese, Spanish in 90 Days*) in order to be better prepared for a visit to a foreign land. Many go a step further and enrol in a formal course of instruction. Distance-education courses are especially popular since it is easier to start them at a time of the student's choosing (instead of waiting for the next offering of a classroom course), and to study at the desired pace. The businessman wanting to acquire the rudiments of German in a month and the musician preparing for a vacation in Vienna on a more relaxed schedule can both use the same course.

In response to the inherent popularity of language courses both commercial institutes and public agencies have invested heavily in the development of distance-education materials for this purpose, often pioneering new uses of technology on the way. The Linguaphone Institute, recognizing the crucial role of listening and speaking in language learning, made long-playing records central to its courses. The British Broadcasting Corporation has, for many years, made imaginative use of television and radio in its many language courses. No doubt the dramatic spread of walker stereo-cassette players will soon lead to a new generation of language courses using audio-cassettes.

Two-way communication — an essential ingredient

The definition of distance education includes two-way communication with the learner. In language courses this usually means feedback on assignments and conversational practice. An important element of flexibility in distance education is that the institution providing local support and two-way communication for the student need not be the same as the institution developing the course materials. Such a division of labour makes good sense. Designing and producing written and audio-visual materials for language instruction requires special expertise and a substantial investment. There is an international market for quality instructional packages. However, those expert in developing such packages may not claim special competence in providing local support to students, even within their own national jurisdictions.

> *To organize a schedule of study for oneself requires good motivation and skill in time management. For those who successfully adapt, learning at a distance becomes a lifelong hobby.*

On the other hand, there are many educational institutions that would like to offer second-language instruction at a distance (or to enrich classroom instruction) but lack the expertise to design quality materials. Using instructional packages from elsewhere is an obvious solution and such materials were adopted by

Athabasca University made what has been called "a shot in the dark" and based its French programme on a sequence of multi-media interest courses produced by the BBC.

Canada's open universities. Indeed, Athabasca University and the Télé-université both went overseas for their second-language courses. Comparing the experience of the two institutions illustrates some interesting issues in language learning at a distance.

The Télé-université programme

Quebec's Télé-université obtained eight correspondence language courses (4 English, 4 Spanish) from France and offered them without any formal student support (other Télé-université courses are supported in a variety of ways: local workshops, study cells, teleconferences and telephone tutoring). Although these second-language courses attracted significant enrolments, drop-out rates proved to be higher than in other courses. A quite different approach was used in the Télé-université's advanced French course, *Français pour tous, français pour tout* which was aimed at Francophones wishing to improve the quality of their written and oral expression. This course was developed by the Télé-université itself as an extremely rich package, including games, audio-cassettes and top-quality printed materials, and was supported by an extensive regional network of study cells with much local publicity. Many students were recruited through their employers, who often provided tuition assistance.

The Athabasca University programme

For its second-language courses Athabasca University made what Dean Dominique Abrioux has called "a shot in the dark" and decided to base its French programme on a sequence of multi-media general interest courses produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Athabasca modified the courses to ensure their acceptance for transfer at other Canadian universities and provided extensive support through bi-weekly seminars or telephone tutorials. The result became one of Athabasca's success stories. Enrolments are high and completion rates are well above the University's average. Many of the students are located in cities where an extensive choice of classroom courses in French is available, which suggests that the convenience of distance education is an important factor in selecting a course. Indeed the seminars, while considered useful by those students who participated, are poorly attended and regarded by many as an unanticipated inconvenience. Beginning students are rather inhibited about trying to converse in French over the telephone but students in advanced courses find telephone tutorials less threatening.

Coping with conversation is, of course, the most difficult task for a language course. Some students pursued a policy of self-help using people and resources not printed as part of the course.

The TV programmes associated with these French courses can be viewed on the educational cable channel in each region of Alberta and the radio programmes are broadcast by the CBC French-language network stations across the province. No attempt was made to study the 'drop-in' audience of people who viewed or listened to these programmes but did not formally register for the course. A serious attempt was made, however, to link up with other groups interested in promoting the study of French. Cooperation with the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta and with Canadian Parents for French was especially fruitful.

Student enrolment and reactions

Surveys of the students in these Athabasca French courses were revealing. Fifty per cent had enrolled for personal reasons (rather than for career advancement or improved educational qualifications) and 70 per cent had enrolled specifically to learn French (i.e. were not registered in a degree programme at the University). More than 70 per cent of the students were female, a significantly higher proportion than Athabasca's university-wide average of 62 per cent. The success rate of older students (over 65) was 85 per cent which is remarkable in view of the difficulties of language learning at this mature age.

Student reaction to the non-interactive components of the course varied considerably with the audio-cassettes being rather more popular than the TV and radio programmes. This parallels experience at other institutions, notably the U.K. Open University, where audio-cassettes have proven a major success story. Students like the possibility of repetition and the degree of personal control which cassettes give, while course designers find cassettes more flexible than radio programmes since they can be integrated with other activities.

Coping with conversation is, of course, the most difficult task for a language course. Some students pursued a policy of self-help using people and resources not printed as parts of the course.

Although the University encouraged students to pick a "study buddy" among other local students in the course as a telephone partner none of the students surveyed had taken this step.

Since learning styles differ from one student to another, one of the advantages of a multi-media course is that it is likely to enable a greater number of students to develop learning strategies that are personally congenial.

Teleconferencing offers peer support

One development which holds promise for improving the support to language students is teleconferencing. After a slow start in the 1970s educational teleconferencing is now becoming more and more common, thanks in part to improved equipment (especially the "meet-me" teleconference bridge which allows students to dial in to the conference instead of waiting to be called by the telephone operator). Teleconferencing offers the student the comfort of peer support and costs the institution much less than providing individual telephone tutorials.

Since learning styles differ from one student to another, one of the advantages of a multi-media course is that it is likely to enable a greater number of students to develop learning strategies that are personally congenial. Distance education institutions should not be upset if a particular component of the course is not universally popular. If some students find that component helpful it is probably a useful part of the package.

However, too complex a package can be positively alienating. The BBC has found that the following checklist of questions provide useful guidance for course designers:

- Is it consciously designed to diminish anxiety?
- Is there as little reliance as possible on short term memory?
- Is learning based on activity by the learner?
- Can the learner control the pace of work?
- Is the learner likely to achieve success at every stage?
- Can the learner check that learning is correct?
- Is the material interesting, stimulating and relevant?
- Does it take into account the adult learner's existing experience?
- Are opportunities for constant practice built in?
- Can learners participate in learning with others?

Of particular importance is the need to build students' confidence, especially when the method is new to them — as it often is in modern distance-education courses. Plenty of guidance is needed to show students how the package works and how to plan their study.

The BBC's design principles were further refined for a recent multi-media course, *Russian — Language and People,* that was broadcast in prime time on the TV network. With a huge audience of limited linguistic sophistication, grammatical terminology had to be avoided. Because of the nature of the Russian alphabet the usual hierarchy of skills was reversed, with reading comprehension coming first. Television can show words in their natural settings and it was ideally suited to showing how Russians talk, look, dress, behave and live their everyday lives. A central feature of the series was the use of film interviews with ordinary Russians in a variety of situations.

Of particular importance is the need to build students' confidence, especially when the method is new to them — as in distance-education courses.

Well aware that broadcasters cannot operate in a vacuum the BBC took pains to encourage support activities for students up and down the country. The audience, at over one million, was a record for a BBC language course, and the course book had to be reprinted within a month. Despite a high drop-out rate (with reasons for drop-out overwhelmingly personal rather than course-based) many students acquired a useful competence in Russian.

Lessons for Canada

Canada is a country with two official languages and an economy based on international trade. In terms of the obvious need to máke opportunities for language learning widely available the use of distance education in Canada for this purpose has been rather timid. The current expansion in the number of cable TV channels entering Canadian homes is a chance to improve the situation. It is likely that hundreds of institutions and volunteer groups across the country would be ready to provide local student support if a range of first-class multi-media courses in English and French were always available on cable TV. The existence of such a channel would motivate many Canadians to set themselves a long-term goal of acquiring proficiency in another language. Some would learn quickly, many more would drop out and drop in again several times over a period of years, but the overall result would be a steady increase in the ability of Canadians to use a second language and understand their neighbours.

Is the odd salutation in Irish at the beginning or end of a television programme enough to stimulate awareness and interest in the restoration of the Island's native language? Can television programmes in Irish motivate people to learn, or relearn their ancestral language?

Television — tool of the trade

LIAM Ó MURCHÚ

Broadcaster **Liam Ó Murchú** is Assistant to the Director General of RTÉ, the Republic of Ireland's national broadcasting service. He has worked in Irish and British radio and television, has written a number of award-winning plays, and is involved in the development of Irish-language programming on television at RTÉ. He is a member of the Irish Language Development Board.

The Republic of Ireland celebrated the 21st Birthday of its television service in 1983. Since its inauguration, it has had a controversial role in the national policy of language restoration. During that time, I have been directly involved in, though not finally responsible for, the formation of policy with regard to programmes in and about the Irish language. Hence, the present may be an appropriate time to take a backward glance at what has been achieved. The subject, as is the case with lesser spoken languages in areas of mono-lingual dominance everywhere, is one that arouses much feeling.

An Irish experience

I came to work in RTÉ (Radio Telefis Éireann) in April 1964, some 15 months after the station broadcast its first programmes. My brief was to advise on ways and means of introducing the Irish language into broadcasting in general, but into television programmes in particular, and to do so in a way that would be attractive to the broad spectrum of the national English-speaking audience. Even then, it was clear that it would be a formidable task. Its dimensions have become familiar but the task is still the same. Television, like language itself, is a cumbersome instrument and difficult to change.

Centuries of conquest by our neighbour island left the native Irish language — sometimes referred to as 'Gaelic' — in a state of near extinction by the time national self-determination arrived in 1922. Subsequent policies of restoration, engendered in the first flush of national euphoria, ensured a place for the old language in the schools and for appointments in the public service. But as the years went by, it became steadily clear that these measures were not sufficient to create any real hope for reasonably competent secondary bilingualism amongst the great mass of the English-speaking population. And even clearer that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to reverse the trend of language erosion in the few remaining pockets where the native Irish language is spoken. These pockets are located mainly along the western seaboard, and have dwindled rapidly throughout the decades of freedom, for the most part because of the endemic emigration and the encroachment of the English-speaking areas without.

Hence, while modest progress was made in the schools, this had no perceptible effect on the general pattern of language outside the schools. Over time, lacking a real place in the day-to-day life of the general community, its position in the educational curriculum became a matter of debate, resentment, and not infrequent rejection.

It was in this atmosphere of public apathy that the new television service set about finding a place for the language in its programming. It did, however, have a number of factors in its favour. The first of these was the widespread and unquestionable public goodwill and inherited affection for the language itself — as opposed to some restoration methods — points which have remained constant in the compass of the language restoration effort ever since. This was repeatedly institutionalized both in statute and exhortation by the main political powers down through the years. Another favourable factor was the highly respected, if minority, role the language had played in the radio service since its inception some forty years before.

This was fine as long as it was confined to the selective, and on the whole, discriminating radio audience. But with the arrival of television things changed. Now, for the first time, the language was exposed to the harsh and critical demands of the great mass audience, for over half of whom a choice of alternative wholly English-speaking services would rapidly become available on a spill-over basis from across the Irish sea. The fiscal structure of broadcasting was such that it had to be in a position to compete. The mass appeal programme met the twin demands of audience satisfaction and commercial advertising needs. As with television services everywhere, popularity became a major criterion and in terms of the spoken and understood language, inexorably this meant programmes in the English tongue.

But the fact that the costs — in practice about half the total — were to come from a licence fee paid by setholders, did enable the legislature to credibly impose an obligation with regard to the native language and culture — an obligation, let it be said, which was supported by the great majority of the people and all political parties. However, this provision, enjoining upon the governing authority the duty of 'bearing in mind the national aim of language restoration', was expressed in such vague and unspecific terms as to give rise to difficulties from the very start.

What did 'bearing in mind' mean? Would it mean as little as the odd salutation in Irish at the beginning or end of a programme — which was what some would want? Did it have any real force when it came to the issue of educating the public about the importance of the language in inculcating a sense of national awareness? Or did it contain the obligation, for once something that would be welcomed by the general public, to teach the language, or put out refresher courses for those who had learned a certain amount of Irish at school but had lost touch with it as time went by?

All of these were the kind of questions with which I was confronted when I took up office as editor of Irish-language programmes in April 1964. To say that the task before me was formidable, if not utterly daunting, is a statement of simple fact. However, it is also true that there was, and continues to be, widespread public support for genuine and imaginative endeavour to advance and develop the language; and nowhere is this more evident than in television. The public actually lets you know, unsolicited, what it thinks. Of course, a great deal more could have been done; and this without damage to organizational solvency or the prudent provision with regard to finance which broadcasting organizations in all parts of the world must practise in these times if, in the predatory scene that surrounds them, their future is to be secure.

But this is speculation and I am here to report the facts. With the background sketched in, they can now be stated fairly briefly. My thinking with regard to programme matter fell into four main categories. I recount these here because they may form a useful framework for others working in the linguistic and communications field with language situations roughly comparable to our own in Ireland:

- programmes in Irish for those with full fluency, either as native speakers, or as competent secondary bilinguals;

IRELAND
Areas where Irish is the spoken language

- bilingual programmes — i.e. both Irish and English spoken within the same programme — for those whose comprehension of Irish is not total but who would nonetheless welcome its regular use so as to create familiarity and thus gradually build up confidence;
- programmes of language teaching or refresher courses; and
- enrichment programmes aimed at educating the public as to the advantage of relearning the language as a cultural and intellectual force in their own lives.

Successful beginnings

This approach has been consistently endorsed by all governing authorities since. It has also found approval with the political powers of all persuasions. But, as anyone with the creative corpuscles in his system will tell you, setting broadcasting policy down in orderly fashion like that does not produce the imaginative spark which makes good programmes. In this respect, I am happy to report that at least some of the time I had excellent help. My first venture into television language teaching was guided by a Franciscan priest who was also a linguist and whose work, I am told, is not wholly unkown in Canada. He was Fr. Colman Ó hUallachain, since deceased. Peter Montagnon, then with the BBC and subsequently involved with Britain's Open University, also helped by having me along to look at his own brilliant production of the Italian series *Parliamo italiano.* Fr. Colman's encapsulated linguistic strikes upon the fastness of my then impregnable ignorance ensured that the eventual shooting scripts would at least pass muster with the most demanding scholars. He had, however, the good sense not to be so zealous in the pursuit of the linguistic disciplines as to cramp our style when it came to the equally difficult discipline of applying them to television.

That series, entitled *Leabhar Gaeilge Linn* (Speak Irish to Us), continued for a period of four years and gained consistent audience acceptance. While it was going on, further research in the linguistic field resulted in a subsequent more scientifically devised series *Buntus Cainte*(the beginnings of speech)which started at a lower level of language competence and progressed to quite reasonable fluency. Both these series won television awards. It was not an unpropitious start.

Public interest creates new questions

I was, however, keen to press the matter further. Public interest having been whetted by these successful ventures, I was repeatedly asked a number of fundamental questions. Why should people engage in all this language effort at all? Why should the whole schoolgoing population, and for that matter the whole post-school population as well, have to be involved in an exercise which had no demonstrable material advantage? Since English was now an accepted vernacular amongst the whole people, what was the point of this Irish revival?

These were difficult questions but questions television assuredly could play a major role in answering. In fulfilling that role, I put together a number of programme schemes — eventually entitled *Watch Your Language* and *Voices from a Hidden People.* For the first of these, *Watch Your Language,* I invited scholars from different disciplines and countries to contribute scripts on the relevance of language in the making of national personality. We had the late Professor Jac L. Williams of the University of Aberystwyth in Wales talk about that country's unique bilingual scene and its parallels with our own. Professor Rabin and Professor Mordechai Kamrat explained the background to the sensational development of Hebrew; and a Hebrew scholar, Professor Meir Gertner of the Department of Talmudic Studies in the University of London, came to Ireland to say what the Irish language restoration effort might learn from Israel.

Successful series pave the way for new programming

A most moving programme and one which evoked a great deal of public empathy was one in which the dereliction of the Irish language in the wake of the Great Famine of the 1840s was described in graphic detail. This was a period of linguistic near-genocide during which whole countrysides fled from Ireland overnight and young children were savagely punished both at home and in the schools for speaking the native tongue. Such was the degree of identification of the native language with the prevalent hunger, deprivation, emigration and death. This series was an example of how vital a force television can be in the formation of public consciousness. I believe it had a small but significant effect upon governmental plans for language restoration from then on.

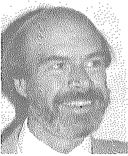
The second such series *Voices from a Hidden People* took eight Irish writers in different periods of time and showed how they 'held the mirror up to nature' for the then contemporary Irish scene. Again, the relevance of the language to the Irish mind was emphasized, thus building up an awareness of the central role of language, and smoothing the path for advances in other areas of television programming: regular programmes of current affairs, naturology, drama and entertainment in Irish were steadily introduced into the television schedule and in most cases achieved a reasonable measure of audience response. Such programmes are now part of the annual television scene.

The latent goodwill for the neglected language which is a widespread national fact can be developed into a real demand for programmes in the language field, provided that the matter is tackled with delicacy and flair. Once developed, teaching programmes are indeed useful; but I would warn against the over-sanguine reliance upon television as a teacher to supplant the classroom or home-student scene. However, once a measure of motivational and language-refresher work has been done, and television is excellent for this, then it can then be put to the broadcasters themselves to devise means to further stimulate interest and active endeavour.

Speculating about life on other planets and communicating with extraterrestrials has haunted wise men and fools alike throughout the ages. Today, to anyone interested, the subject offers a rich and subtle feast of intellectual speculation about what to say to them and how to get it across.

E.T. come home: communicating with the extraterrestrial

JOHN S. DAVIDSON



John S. Davidson was Director of Information at the federal Department of Communications, Canada, for eight years before forming a public relations firm which goes by the name of First Wave Communications. He has not, to our knowledge, established contact with anything "Out There" . . . at least not as this issue goes to press.

Despite the faintly crackpot aura which surrounds the whole subject, the possibility of communicating with extraterrestrial intelligence is attracting serious interest, not only from astronomers, but from biologists, linguistic scholars, psychologists, philosophers, historians, theologians and all of us who wonder.

For the linguistic scholar, or anyone interested in language and communications, the subject offers a rich and subtle feast of intellectual speculation; a banquet table where astrophysicists rub shoulders with semanticists, physiologists mingle with communications theorists, and radio propagation experts find themselves side by side with poets and philosophers.

We tend to think of attempts to communicate with extraterrestrial intelligence as a new phenomenon, spawned by the realization that our radio waves, and even our spacecraft, can travel millions, nay billions of miles into the void. But the idea of making contact with whatever may be "Out There" has taunted both wise men and fools throughout the ages. In the ancient Vedda culture of Sri Lanka, the local philosophy made room for the concept of many habitable worlds. We even migrate to them, according to their legends, but only after death; they were seen as a kind of stepping stone to Nirvana. Anaxagoras, the 5th century B.C. Ionian philosopher, believed that the moon was inhabited. And the Epicurian, Metrodoros, wrote that "to consider the Earth as the only populated world in infinite space is as absurd as to assert that in an entire field sown with millet, only one grain will grow."

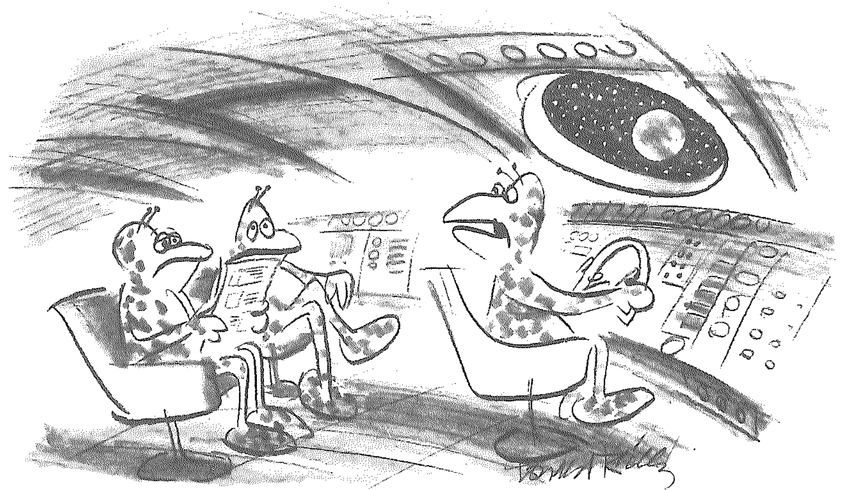
Four or five hundred years ago, speculating about life on other worlds was a sure fire way to put an end to one's own — life, that is. The Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno emptied his quill by writing the words: "Innumerable suns exist, innumerable earths revolve about these suns. Living beings inhabit these worlds," and was hideously burned at the stake for his pains. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, passions had cooled and the hypothesis that we are not alone had gained almost universal acceptance by scientists and intellectuals.

Earthly attempts to communicate

Meanwhile, a few intrepid souls, noted more for their enthusiasm than their practicality, were dreaming up ways to make actual contact. The Bohemian astonomer Joseph Littrow reportedly suggested that huge ditches be dug in the Sahara, to form various letters or geometric figures, 20 miles long. These would be filled with water and covered with burning kerosene for several hours a night, in order to signal our presence to whomever (whatever?) might be watching. A rough calculation shows that more than a million tons of kerosene would be required for the folly. Karl Friedrich Gauss, a mathematician, suggested cutting a triangle 10 miles to the side out of the Siberian forest, and planting the centre with wheat fields. Presumably, an observer would be drawn short to wonder about the highly geometric form and investigate.

Those who think about communications with extraterrestrials — and there are many — face two basic questions: What do we say? How do we get it across? In this sense, it is no different than any communications problem, and many of the standard axioms of communications theory apply. The intellectual exercise itself of

how to get our message across is a fascinating area, and it is perhaps ironic that an army of linguistic scholars, semanticists, psychologists, anthropologists and historians have now begun to train their intellects on the stars which were once the exclusive domain of astronomers and poets alone.



"No, not Carl Sagan. Too hokey. Let's grab somebody less obvious."

Drawing by Donald Reilly, © 1980 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

Given the difficulties of communicating with our neighbour down the street who happens to speak a different language, consider the obstacles when the person — or thing — we are trying to reach may not only be green, but shares none of our cultural or environmental paradigms whatsoever, lives billions, nay trillions of miles away, and may be missing some or all of the senses (sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch) which human beings take for granted.

The conditions for effective communication

The fundamentals of communications theory show that, in order for communication to take place, a number of conditions must be satisfied: there must be a commonly held view or idea about the subject being communicated; a sender; a code, or language which is mutually understood; a communications medium; and a receiver.

For the purpose of our exercise here, let us make the assumption that all of the conditions of extraterrestrial communications exist, except for a mutually understood language. Now this in itself may be a hard set of assumptions to swallow. The distances alone are such that it would take a generation or two on the human time scale to send a radio message to even our nearest potential neighbours, and have any hope of getting an answer. The mind boggles at what that answer might be. "Dear sender. In reply to the message of your great, great, great, great grandfather. . . " Add to that the fact that, even if there are civilizations technologically advanced enough to receive and send radio signals, "they" would have to be tuned in to the right frequency at the right time, be able to discern an intelligible signal from the incredible amounts of background radio noise generated by the universe, and, moreover, (perhaps the wildest assumption of all) they would have to be interested in establishing contact with us. The list of requirements to be met is as long as your arm. But in our scenario, they have all been, except for the problem of language.

We know we can reach potential civilizations through radio, assuming they are technologically evolved enough to receive electromagnetic signals. But how do we speak to them, or they to us? If we agree with the linguistic proposition that language is a code, a way of translating commonly understood reality into a series of thought patterns that can then be interpreted and manipulated by the intellectual process, then the business of communication is fundamentally one of translating commonly held reality into a code, transmitting it and then having it decoded and interpreted at the receiving end. The trick here though, is that both sender and receiver must have a concept of that reality, or the constructs to create such a concept.

Suppose we take, as an example, an initial communication between an English- and French-speaking person, Bill and Jacques, neither of whom speaks a word of the other's language. They are in a field. Jacques points to a tree and says "un arbre". It is relatively easy for Bill to link the tree (reality) with the sound "un arbre", and associate it with his own linguistic concept, "tree". But in attempting to communicate with civilizations on other planets, we may not assume any common ground of reality since the environment "they" live in, the reality they know may be entirely different. In a fundamental sense, there are no trees. So that even if we recognize that words are being sent, the meaning of them may remain forever incomprehensible, like the after dinner speeches of some politicians.

Communication barriers

Perhaps an inkling of the difficulties here can be brought to light with the example of the attempts at inter-species communication here at home. The American physiologist John C. Lilley has argued that dolphins and other cetacea have surprisingly high levels of intelligence. Yet a concerted effort, computer assisted at that, has failed to break the code that would enable effective communication. Perhaps, some argue, the problem resides in the fact that the contextual paradigms — the environment and the basic interpretations of reality — are so different among us that communication may not be possible unless we can transcend these

mutual limitations to understanding. At the first international conference on Communications with Extraterrestrial Intelligence (CETI), held in 1971 in Soviet Armenia, one delegate pointed out that, because all of us are subject to the fundamental laws of nature and physics, perhaps the common language, the starting point, would be science and mathematics. As one wag put it, "It may be easier to communicate with a Jovian scientist than with an American teenager."

The universal language of music

It is natural that astronomers would favour a language they are familiar with. And it does make rational sense to conclude that any civilization technically advanced enough to capture and transmit radio signals would understand the basic laws of science, as we understand them. Not everyone agrees, however. Lewis Thomas, who can best be described as a philosopher-biologist, says that perhaps the safest thing to do at the outset is to send music. "I would vote for Bach, all of Bach, streamed out into space over and over again. We would be bragging, of course, but it is surely excusable to put the best possible face on at the beginning of such an acquaintance. We can tell the harder truths later."

The understanding of any symbolic system (i.e. language) requires that the symbols be repeated in situations we know but in different practical contexts; that is the only clue to decoding their message. The deciphering of ancient hieroglyphs confronts this problem, as does a three-year old hearing a brand-new word from Uncle Henry. Anyone who has ever tried learning a second language knows that it is only through immersion — through the constant repetition of words, phrases and syntax in many different contexts, the sweat of the brow, that success eventually comes.

With CETI, no matter what "language" is sent, even if it is music, or paintings, we have to take as given that there is no *a priori* information about the coding system on the part of the receiver. We can only count on our correspondent being clever enough to understand what we are saying. Philip Morrison of the Department of Physics, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has suggested that a three-level message may be the most appropriate. In this construct, level A would be an acquisition signal; something quickly and continuously repeated, and designed only to attract attention — a kind of interstellar "Halloo." In between, would be a level B message, an initial substantive message, and finally the ultimate message, level C, which would include the contextual detail and language lessons required to understand and interpret. If we were at the receiving end of such a message sent from another civilization, Morrison believes, its interpretation alone would be a major social task, comparable to that of a very large discipline or branch of learning. And communication, he says, could hardly be restricted to science and mathematics. As he puts it: "There are many more folk tales than there are laws of mechanics."

Lincos: a new language based on math and logic

As it turns out, someone has already invented a language specifically designed for CETI. The Dutch mathematician Hans Freudenthal recently developed a language called "Lincos," designed as an entirely logical language, free from inconsistencies such as exceptions to grammatical rules, and other irregularities found in the spoken languages of the world, and so frustrating to the terrestrial language student. While the study of human languages includes grammar, syntax and phonetics, Lincos is devised entirely in terms of semantics. Lincos cannot be spoken. It consists of a coded system of units. The individual parts of the message are clearly enumerated into paragraphs, chapters and so forth.

A transmission in Lincos begins with the most elementary concepts of mathematics and logic. This is because the language must define itself before it can become a system of communication. As outlined in *Intelligent Life in the Universe,* authored jointly by I.S. Shlovskii of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Carl Sagan, author, broadcaster and Professor of Astronomy and Space Sciences at Cornell University, a first transmission in Lincos might consist of a series of simple radio pulses, not coded. A single pulse would be followed by two pulses, then three; not unlike Morse code. These would be arranged to constitute an initial lesson, as follows:

– = 1
– – = 2
– – – = 3 etc.

From this, the receiving civilization would learn the symbols for equality and the ordinal numbers in Lincos. Gradually, more complicated areas of mathematics could be covered. According to Freudenthal, Lincos could also transmit more complex ideas which characterize human nature, such as, for example, quick wit, cowardice, anger or altruism, by transmitting short theatrical performances with imaginary characters, thus attempting to provide that all-important "context" so necessary for the language, the signals, to be interpreted.

Could such a system be decoded? "We believe", write Sagan and Shlovskii, "that if an extraplanetary

HERMAN

"Er ... stay cool, baby ... and, er ... what's happening?"

© 1984, Universal Press Syndicate Reprinted with permission. All rights reserved.

civilization were able to build the apparatus to receive such signals, it would certainly be able to decode a passage based on so simple a language system. We wish to emphasize," they state, "that a linguistic system based on these fundamentals would be far easier to decipher than many of the written languages of ancient civilizations which have been deciphered by archaeologists."

"Greetings," from the Voyager spacecraft

Aboard each of the two Voyager spacecraft, launched by the United States on August 20 and September 5, 1977, and now past Saturn on their way to Uranus and beyond, is included a gold-plated phonograph record, which can produce both sound and pictures, and the equipment to play it. It was designed for no other purpose than to contain a message from Earth to possible extraterrestrial civilizations. The message aboard the Voyager spacecraft includes spoken and written greetings; 116 photographs and drawings; sounds, both natural and human; and a representative sample of the world's music. In all the information, however, there was not one reference to war, or even an allusion to man's more violent characteristics. So in the end, we tell it more like we like to think it is, than it may be. Or perhaps the organizers were merely being prudent. After all, they, too, read science fiction.

A sample of the messages aboard Voyager

To the credit of NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration), the Voyager spoken greetings are not only in English, but in 55 of the world's languages, representing 87.13 per cent of the world's population, but each is so short that they would be almost impossible to decipher, even if intercepted. It appears that the decision to include a couple of seconds worth of 55 languages was based more on representational expediency than clarity. Basically, the organizers of the communications project, which include Sagan, rounded up the 55 people, herded them into a recording studio and told them to say anything they liked, but to keep it short. Some of the messages are bland ("We wish all of you well," in Ila, a language spoken in Zambia), some funny and familiar, like a postcard ("Friends of space, how are you all? Have you eaten yet? Come visit us if you have time," in Amoy, a language of Eastern China) and some stirring ("Greetings to all peoples of the universe. God give you peace always," in the Uganda language of Southern Uganda).

The choice of music was equally cosmopolitan with Bach's Brandenburg concerto No. 2 in F Major leading the 27 selections, which also included Javanese gamelan music, Peruvian panpipes and drums, a Navaho Indian night chant, Chuck Berry's "Johnny B. Goode," a pygmy girl's initiation song from Zaire and a Bulgarian "Shepherdess" song.

Engraved on the aluminum cover of the record, the album jacket, if you like, are pictoral instructions on how to play it. This gets us back to the subject of deciphering, for most of us would be hard-pressed to make heads or tails out of the instructions. Presumably, the recipients would be more intelligent than I, but then I have trouble assembling a Japanese bicycle.

An earlier message, inscribed on a plaque affixed to the Pioneer 10 and 11 spacecraft, seems even more complex to decipher but contains an enormous amount of information.

Designed by Carl Sagan, his wife Linda and Frank Drake, Director of the U.S. National Astronomy and Ionosphere Center, it also elicited a number of complaints, ranging from editorials in the British Press demanding that any future enterprise of this nature be engineered by a large ecumenical group of scientists and lay people, instead of three humans, to all those letters to the editor lambasting NASA for sending smut into space.

The nearest stars which might support intelligent life are about 11 light-years distant. Pioneer and Voyager, travelling at 25,000 miles per hour, will take more than a quarter of a million years to reach them. It seems as desperate a way to communicate as sending a message in a bottle from a desert island. A radio signal travelling at the speed of light would, on the other hand, take barely a quarter of a century to make the round trip. Small wonder, then, that most researchers place their faith in radio as a more probable means of establishing two-way, albeit sluggish communications.

In 1960, Project Ozma, an attempt to examine radio signals from Tau Ceti, a star in the constellation of Cetus (the whale), through an 85-foot radio-telescope in West Virginia, turned up nothing but abject silence. The project was terminated a year later. In 1974, the 1,000-foot Arecibo radio telescope in Puerto Rico was upgraded and fitted with a reflector and a new transmitter with a power of about half a million watts. It directed a message toward the great globular cluster of stars, known as Messier 13, in the constellation Hercules. Drake describes the transmission: "As the audience looked at the huge transmitting structure shimmering in the tropical sun, many sensed that there was something very special about the eerie whine, the sound of a message being transmitted to the stars for the first time." It will take 25,000 years to reach its destination. The "language" in this case was nothing more than a series of 0's and 1's — binary digits — the official language of computers. But like any code, it becomes meaningful when successfully interpreted.

The Arecibo attempt to talk to our galactic neighbours provoked a protest from none other than Sir Martin Ryle, a Nobel Laureate and Astronomer Royal of England. "For all we know," he wrote, "it may be very hazardous to reveal our existence and location to the galaxy. Any creatures out there may be malevolent or hungry, and once they knew of us, they may come to attack or eat us." He strongly recommended that no messages of this sort be sent again and asked the International

Astronomical Union to condemn such attempts in future.

It is doubtful that these admonitions will significantly deter efforts to establish communication. For it seems to be a basic function of life itself to reach out and make contact with other organisms, by whatever means; to grow toward the openess of unity rather than accept the strictures of isolation. And this applies whether the task is the promotion of bilingualism in a country such as Canada, or our planet's inexorable desire to reach out from the confines of its isolation in the middle of a nondescript galaxy.

And intentionally or not, the Earth is transmitting a cornucopia of communications every day in hundreds of languages by virtue of the thousands of radio and TV stations which radiate their power not only into our living rooms but also into space. Perhaps, a few hundred thousand light years away, something, somewhere will eventually tune in to the televised debates of the House of Commons and conclude that, no, there is no intelligent life on this planet.

SELECTED READINGS

Cade, C. Maxwell. *Other Worlds than Ours*. London: Museum Press, 1966.

Roulet, Alfred. *À la recherche des extra-terrestres*. Paris: Julliard, 1973.

Sagan, Carl. *Murmurs of Earth – The Voyager Interstellar Record*. New York: Random House, 1978.

Sagan, Carl, ed. *Communication with Extraterrestrial Intelligence*. (English language version of proceedings of a conference held at Yerevan, USSR, Sept. 5-11, 1971). Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1973.

Shlovskii, I.S. and Carl Sagan. *Intelligent Life in the Universe*. San Francisco: Holden-Day, 1966.

Thomas, Lewis. *Lives of a Cell*. New York: The Viking Press, 1974.

Letters to the Editor

The 20th anniversary of the B and B Commission

As we know from coverage of the event by the print and broadcast media, members of the B and B Commission celebrated their twentieth anniversary by attending a colloquium on communications organized last fall in Quebec City by the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique. This meeting was attended by 200 Francophones from across North America.

Language and Society recently published an article on the Commission (No. 11, Autumn 1983). I noted with some surprise that the author, who asked permission to attend the colloquium, did not see fit to mention the exceptional session attended by the Commission in Quebec City on October 1, 1983. I should like to thank the Commission members for their presence and for a lively presentation of their views and experiences, thus showing for all to see why the Commission was so important to the future of our country. The Conseil de la vie française en Amérique has carefully preserved for posterity the recordings made at the session.

Jacques Lalonde
Chairman,
Communication Colloquium
Conseil de la vie française
en Amérique

Charles Strong replies

To set the record straight, may I thank Mr. Lalonde for giving me the opportunity to attend the Quebec City meeting. An acknowledgement to that effect in a prepublication draft of my article fell victim to the editing process. By attending the meeting, I was able to confirm the accuracy of the notes I had taken during lengthy personal interviews with the Commissioners.

An error slipped by

[. . .] In referring to my criticism of the Official Languages Act, Mr. Strong made a bad mistake mentioning Section *28* instead of Section *38* of this Act in both the English and French versions of his article "Two decades later, nine commissioners review key language issues in Canada," in *Language and Society*, No. 11, Autumn 1983. The matter needs correction.

Jaroslav Rudnyckyj
President
Ukrainian Language Association

Editor's Note: Yes, Mr. Strong no doubt meant Section 38 which deals with the rights and privileges respecting languages that are not official languages. We apologize for allowing this imprecision to elude the editorial committee and are pleased to reprint below the sentence from page 7, with correction.

[. . .] He regrets that Section 38 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.