

LANGUAGE and society

No. 3 Autumn 1980

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Editor's Notes

Readers will be interested to know that *Language and Society* now has a seven-member Advisory Council made up of individuals with a special interest in language-related issues. Coming from British Columbia, the Prairies, Central and Eastern Canada, Council members serve as a resource group representing not only their own individual concerns on language issues but also regional concerns across Canada.

Members advise and assist the Commissioner in maintaining the magazine's goals which are to stimulate awareness and discussion of national and international language issues, to serve as a forum for the expression of opinion on Canadian official languages policy and to provide information on matters relating to languages in Canada.

In this edition of *Language and Society*, constitutional issues are to the fore. Our first article discusses different approaches to the question of the entrenchment of language rights in the constitution. The article, written by one of our leading constitutional experts, Gérald Beaudoin of the University of Ottawa, also sketches a possible way forward to accommodate the various points of view.

Other articles include a discussion of bilingualism in Finland; a personal view on what has been done to foster multiculturalism in Canada; a study of the relationship between language and the economy in Montreal and, finally, an article on the role of computers in the modern translation process.

We are trying to offer you a variety of articles on language-related subjects. Give us your opinion on what we have done so far and what articles you want to see in the future. We would like your participation.

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Entrenching language rights proved a major area of disagreement at the recent constitutional talks. In this article, the author considers the reasons for this disagreement.



One of Canada's leading constitutional lawyers, **Gérald A. Beaudoin**, Queen's Council, is professor

of constitutional law at the University of Ottawa, he served on the Pepin-Robarts Task Force on Canadian Unity and is former president of the Constitutional Law Section of the Canadian Bar Association. He has published a number of books on constitutional issues his latest being *Le partage des pouvoirs* which is appearing this fall.

Canada and language rights

GÉRALD A. BEAUDOIN

Should French and English language rights be entrenched in the future Canadian constitution? In fashion for some years now, this question has sparked much heated debate and has generated positions as categorical as they are various. The federal government is very much in favour of entrenchment but the provinces are divided on the issue: several are opposed, several are undecided, and two or three support the principle. Can a consensus ever be reached on this issue? Before attempting to provide an answer, let us first place the question in its constitutional perspective.

The 1867 Constitution and language rights

Although more informative on this question than earlier constitutional documents, the British North America Act (BNA Act) contains only one section, section 133, dealing with language. The section guarantees French and English equal standing in the debates of the federal Parliament and of the Quebec legislature, as well as in the courts at both these levels of government. In 1867, no province other than Quebec was obliged to be bilingual. Three years later, however, when Manitoba joined the Canadian federation, Quebec was no longer alone: section 23 of the Manitoba Act closely paralleled the wording of section 133 of the BNA Act. However, the 1867 Constitution says absolutely nothing about language of education. As will be seen, language rights are unevenly distributed in Canada and poorly protected by the constitution.

And then they woke up

How can we explain the surge of new interest in linguistic rights when we have been desperately grappling with the problem for the past twenty years or

so? As Mr. Blair Neatby said, "... our present-day emphasis on language is a relatively recent phenomenon. The issues then, as now, were social values and cultural identity but the focus in those days was religious rather than linguistic". He could have added that once Quebec had secured the guarantee that it could keep its civil code and its schools, it felt the essential part of its way of life would be sheltered from untoward influences.

Language, however, became an even thornier issue as Canada's two founding language groups became increasingly industrial, urban and secular in nature and as economic activity between them increased. Toward the end of the sixties, language had become one of the major problems in the Canadian political arena. The federal government, and the governments of Quebec and New Brunswick especially, felt the pressing need for legislation in this area. A series of sometimes contradictory laws were passed: an Act Respecting the Official Languages of New Brunswick, the Act to Promote the French Language in Quebec (Bill 63), the federal Official Languages Act, the federal Consumer Packaging and Labelling Act, Quebec's Official Language Act (Bill 22) and Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language, as well as the most recent, a Bill Recognizing the Equality of the Two Official Linguistic Societies in New Brunswick.

Section 133 and the power of amendment

It is worth noting that this intense legislative activity took place under section 133, the intangible nature of which has been established by various court decisions. Examples include the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in the case of *Jones vs. the Attorney General of*

New Brunswick, which confirmed the constitutionality of the federal Official Languages Act, the Blaikie decision, which nullified sections 6-13 of Quebec's Bill 101, and the Forest decision concerning section 23 of the Manitoba Act, which re-established the rights of the French language in Manitoba. Since 1949, the Parliament of Canada has had authority to amend the federal constitution and, since 1867, the provinces have been able to amend their provincial constitutions. However, neither the federal authorities nor those of Quebec or Manitoba are able to limit French and English language rights as defined in the present Constitution.

A purely political question

With these uncertainties and ambiguities cleared away, the overall legal and practical inequality of English and French within the federation is more clearly visible. Only two of the ten provinces are bound by certain constitutional obligations toward their official language minority. Only one (Quebec) has made its legislative and judicial branches truly bilingual and guaranteed a complete range of services, including health and education, for the "other" community.

Manitoba, on the other hand, took the opposite path. From 1890, French no longer had official status in the province's laws, court proceedings and parliamentary debates.

For the sake of logic and fairness, all the provinces should one day have or assume the same legal obligations toward their official language minorities. New Brunswick, for example, did not wait for the "constitutionalization" of French and English language rights. In 1969, it passed its Official Languages Act and, in July 1980,

tabled a bill entitled An Act Recognizing the Equality of the Two Official Linguistic Societies in New Brunswick. Going beyond individual rights to the protection of collective rights was a praiseworthy legislative innovation.

As well, it was the expression of a political will to ensure the development of the Francophone population in New Brunswick. Should the bill be passed, both language groups will officially enjoy equal rights and privileges, separate cultural, educational and social institutions, as well as resources, policies and programs that would promote their cultural, economic, educational and social development.

Even though some jurists are wondering if the constitutional guarantees that obtain for the English in Quebec and French in Manitoba do not also apply to one or two other provinces, and although the Supreme Court may have to render a decision on this matter, the question of legal protection for both official languages nevertheless remains a predominantly political issue.

Basic rights and language rights

Before examining the respective positions of the federal and provincial governments in this matter, another point must be made. By providing legal and constitutional protection to their citizens' fundamental rights — for example, equality before the law, freedom of opinion and expression, equality of the sexes — the major Western democracies have not thought of including language rights. Such is the case for France, the United Kingdom and the United States, to name only a few of the countries which, because they have only one official language, have felt no need for a charter of language rights.

But even if these rights cannot be included in a standard list of basic rights, their central importance in a federation of such a varied character as Canada is self-evident.

Partners and adversaries

In identifying the parties concerned, it is useful to provide a brief description of their respective positions on the various issues involving the language question. Agreement or opposition depends on whether the issue concerns the language of the federal Parliament or of provincial legislatures, the language of legislation and the courts, or the language of education.

As regards federal government bilingualism, it can be said that virtually no one in Canada opposes the status of English and French as "the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada". In addition, no one opposes their having "equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada". At this level, the "constitutionalization" of language rights presents no problem.



Roy Peterson is a free-lance Vancouver cartoonist who contributes regularly to the *Vancouver Sun* and *Maclean's* magazine. His work has also appeared in leading foreign journals such as Britain's *Punch* and *Esquire* in the United States. He is the illustrator of the political satire *Frog Fables and Beaver Tales* which shows "what's going on in the nation in terms of swamp life". He published *The World According to Roy Peterson*, a collection of his political cartoons, last fall.

However, the issue of language in provincial legislatures, laws and courts provokes broad differences of opinion among the parties concerned.

The present federal government considers that all Canadians, from all provinces, should have the right to criminal court proceedings in the language of their choice. This idea is gradually gaining acceptance. The

federal government has proposed that bilingual civil proceedings be available in four provinces: Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and New Brunswick. Quebec has always been aware of this obligation recently confirmed by the Supreme Court and Manitoba has become so more recently. New Brunswick has already taken major legislative initiatives in this direction. The government of Ontario prefers to

continue to go the route of administrative and practical measures and, for the time being, sees no need for constitutional guarantees.

Differences of attitude in the East and concern for the ethnic vote in the West will cause the other provinces to move more slowly in this matter.

The language of education issue will certainly cause more heated debate. The federal government considers it extremely important that Francophones, like Anglophones, should be able to study in their own language in Canada wherever their numbers warrant.

Although New Brunswick may unconditionally adopt the federal position in this issue — likewise Ontario, though with some hesitation — such is not the case for Quebec and the other provinces.

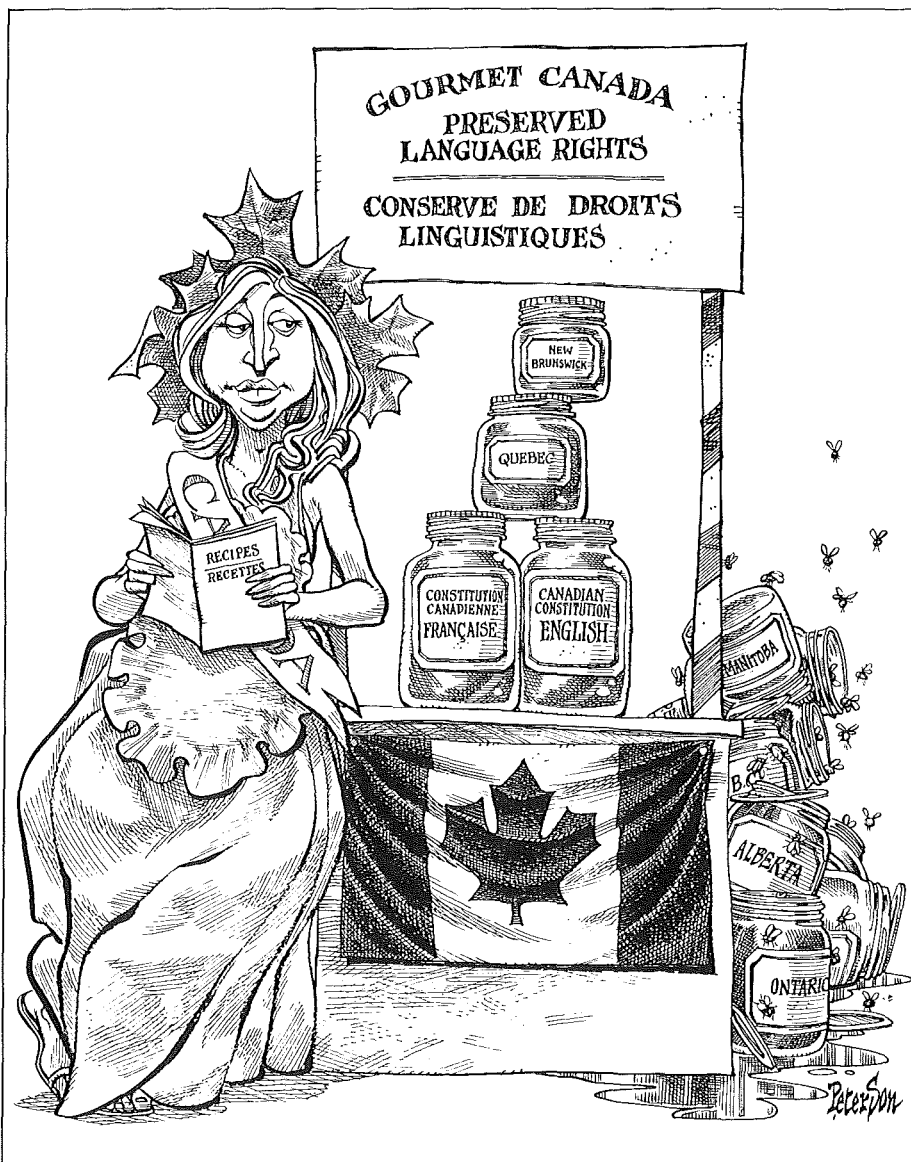
The present Quebec government wants the National Assembly to be the final arbiter on language rights and is not in favour of their entrenchment in the constitution.

Some of the other provinces will probably adopt Quebec's position on this issue for the same reasons as they oppose bilingualism measures for their legislatures and courts.

Conditions for a consensus

In searching for the elements of an agreement acceptable to all those trying to provide us with a new constitution, we must remember the causes of the tensions that have made such revision necessary.

To deal with the core of the question, let us consider the unequal treatment — today largely corrected — afforded our official languages within the federal



administration and the sad fate of the French language in most of the English-speaking provinces. If French is to flourish it requires the assistance and active protection of various levels of government.

This being said, let us review the areas we have already discussed and see if there is reason to constitutionalize language rights.

First of all, a distinction must be made between the federal and provincial levels of government. In the former, prompt action is imperative. Quebec will not remain part of the Canadian federation unless the federal government protects the English and French languages with equal zeal. Nor can this protection remain merely statutory; Quebec will not agree to remain at the mercy of a Parliament in which it cannot, and never will, have a majority.

In legislative and judicial areas falling within provincial jurisdiction, federal proposals currently affect only Quebec and Manitoba. It would be good if they also applied immediately to Ontario and New Brunswick and, over time, to the other provinces.

Education is a very complex problem because the situation of official language minorities varies considerably from one province to another.

The federal position in this matter may be acceptable if the system of double standards which has so adversely affected Francophones outside Quebec is abandoned. Moreover, the opponents of the federal position would perhaps be more easily won over if only minimal language-of-education rights were constitutionalized, thus leaving the provinces with the power to take whatever action they deem appropriate.

Since the French language requires protection even in Quebec, it is possible that the constitutionalization of the right of Anglophones to English-language education should apply only to Canadian citizens whose mother tongue is English. Immigrants choosing to settle in Quebec should have no objection to enrolling their children in French-language schools if such is the will of the provincial government. It would suffice for them to be well-informed on the nature of the Canadian federation and on the problems facing the French language in Quebec.

In all these areas, the lasting success of future negotiations and agreements depends on the determination of all levels of government to grant the country's two major language groups equal opportunities for development and progress.

A fair number of provinces are opposed to the federal government's proposal on the entrenchment of language rights. The government of Quebec takes the position that linguistic minorities should be protected through reciprocity agreements signed between provinces, and that final decisions on questions pertaining to language of instruction should be taken by the National Assembly. In other provinces, the reasons for opposition vary according to region. The Western provinces, for example, question the very principle of entrenching language rights. The likelihood of consensus on this issue is therefore slim because there are two distinct visions of Canada clashing one with the other.

One possible compromise might be to entrench in the constitution a charter of rights accompanied by a derogatory clause? A clause of this type would permit a legislature to derogate from the charter of rights by expressly providing for such an eventuality in a statute. If no compromise is reached on this issue, the struggle may well continue until one of the two visions of Canada is forced to admit defeat.

(Adapted from French)

Like Canada, Finland has two official languages — Finnish, spoken by the majority, and Swedish, spoken by the minority. This minority group is being actively supported by the Finnish government. The author explains why and how.



Christer Laurén is professor of Swedish and head of the Language Studies Department at the

University of Vaasa in Finland. He recently studied Canadian language regulation at Laval University, Quebec. A member of the Swedish Language Committee of Finland and of the Board of the Finnish Centre for Technical Terminology, he is thoroughly committed to promoting the Swedish language in Finland.

Bilingual Finland

CHRISTER LAURÉN

People are often surprised to learn that Finland has two official languages. Nevertheless, within the community of nations, Finland has a considerable reputation for successfully solving the problems of co-existence which arise from the presence of two distinct language groups within a single state.

The Finnish Constitution of 1919 declares both Finnish and Swedish as equal national languages of the republic. Although the Swedish-speaking population of Finland is relatively small it is guaranteed linguistic equality in fulfilling its intellectual and economic needs within the state.

Declining numbers

Despite these constitutional guarantees the Swedish-speaking population of Finland has diminished in both absolute and relative terms. In 1920 it numbered 341,000 and accounted for 11 per cent of the country's total population. By 1970 it had declined to 303,000 or 6.6 per cent of the population. The reduction which has taken place since the 1940s is attributable to high rates of emigration to Sweden (some 60,000 Swedish-Finns live in Sweden), a falling birth rate, intermarriage and the adoption of Finnish as the language of work by Swedish-Finns entering the labour force.

Bilingual organization in Finland is relatively simple because of the demographic distribution of the Swedish-speaking population. This is concentrated almost exclusively in three well-defined coastal areas. In 1970, about a quarter of the Swedish-Finn population lived in unilingual Swedish cities or rural districts while only three per cent lived in unilingual Finnish cities or

rural districts. The remaining 74 per cent lived in bilingual areas. As a result of this geographic concentration, Swedish-Finns generally have access to social services in their own language.

Fighting off English

Finland is being helped in achieving its bilingual goals by the close co-operation of the other Scandinavian countries to which Finland is culturally and economically bound. For the past two years, interpreters have been used for the benefit of the Finnish-speaking delegates to translate proceedings during sessions of Scandinavian conferences such as the Nordic Council. No translation is necessary for Swedish, Danish and Norwegian which are similar and interchangeable. International languages such as English and French are not regarded as appropriate on such occasions because this would belie an important reason for holding the meeting in the first place. This reason is the development and promotion of Scandinavian linguistic and cultural interests. Finland in fact has to make a conscious effort to resist the pull of international languages, especially English. For example, Finnish-speaking primary school pupils study Swedish for a minimum of three years. Nonetheless, when the time comes to choose a first foreign language, which will be studied for six years, students almost always choose English. This is why a conscious effort is being made in our schools to promote Nordic languages.

Minority discontent

A Finnish government committee established in 1978 disclosed that the emigration of Swedish-Finns during the 1970s was three times higher than that of other

Finns. The committee offered two explanations for this phenomenon. Firstly, a common language creates bonds between Swedish-speaking Finns and Swedes and secondly, Swedish-Finns do not enjoy their minority status in Finland.

Unemployment is another reason for the high emigration levels. It can, however, only explain part of the story because even when there is full employment, Swedish-Finns continue to emigrate.

The government committee on emigration recommended giving priority to a policy aimed at full employment. This, it is hoped, will stem, if not stop, the tide of Swedish-Finns emigrating to Sweden and perhaps even win back those already settled in Sweden. To this end, the committee suggested the adoption of more efficient measures within Finland's Ministry of Employment, including measures to establish semi-autonomous Swedish offices within the various branches of the ministry which together would form a Swedish section parallel to the Finnish section in the ministry. At the same time, the committee proposed that, in bilingual cities and rural areas, employers should give all job information in both national languages. It also suggested other measures to improve services to Swedish-speaking Finns in the cultural and educational fields.

Minority television

Of course, there are discrepancies between the legal definition of bilingualism and the reality of bilingualism in Finland. Such discrepancies are exacerbated by a mass media which is not geared to meet minority needs. Finnish television, for example, allots a strictly limited amount of time to Swedish programming, and the

time it does allot is often scheduled during off-peak viewing periods. Swedish-Finns living in the Åland islands and Swedish Ostrobothnia (the coastal area by the Gulf of Bothnia) have an advantage in that they can receive two TV channels from Sweden in addition to the Finnish channels. But Swedish-Finns in other areas are not so fortunate. It is generally agreed that a separate Swedish-Finn TV channel would be an important means of maintaining and strengthening Swedish-Finn cultural identity. The demand was clearly demonstrated in 1975 when a petition demanding such a channel was signed by some 74,000 Swedish-Finns.

In April of this year, a governmental committee took up the cry and recommended the creation of a Swedish-Finn TV channel. The committee's proposal called for a channel serving all the Swedish-Finn communities by 1989. In the debate leading up to the report (and to some extent continuing) it has been argued that a separate Swedish-Finn TV channel would isolate the minority from the Finnish majority. It is hard to see, however, how this would be the case. The strength and status of Finnish popular culture is far greater than Swedish-Finn culture, particularly in Helsinki. Indeed, the influence of Finnish culture is so strong, especially on today's Swedish youth, that it even affects the structure and development of the Swedish language. A fact worth noting is that opposition to a Swedish-language TV channel is strongest in Finnish-dominated bilingual communities.

Helsinki's importance

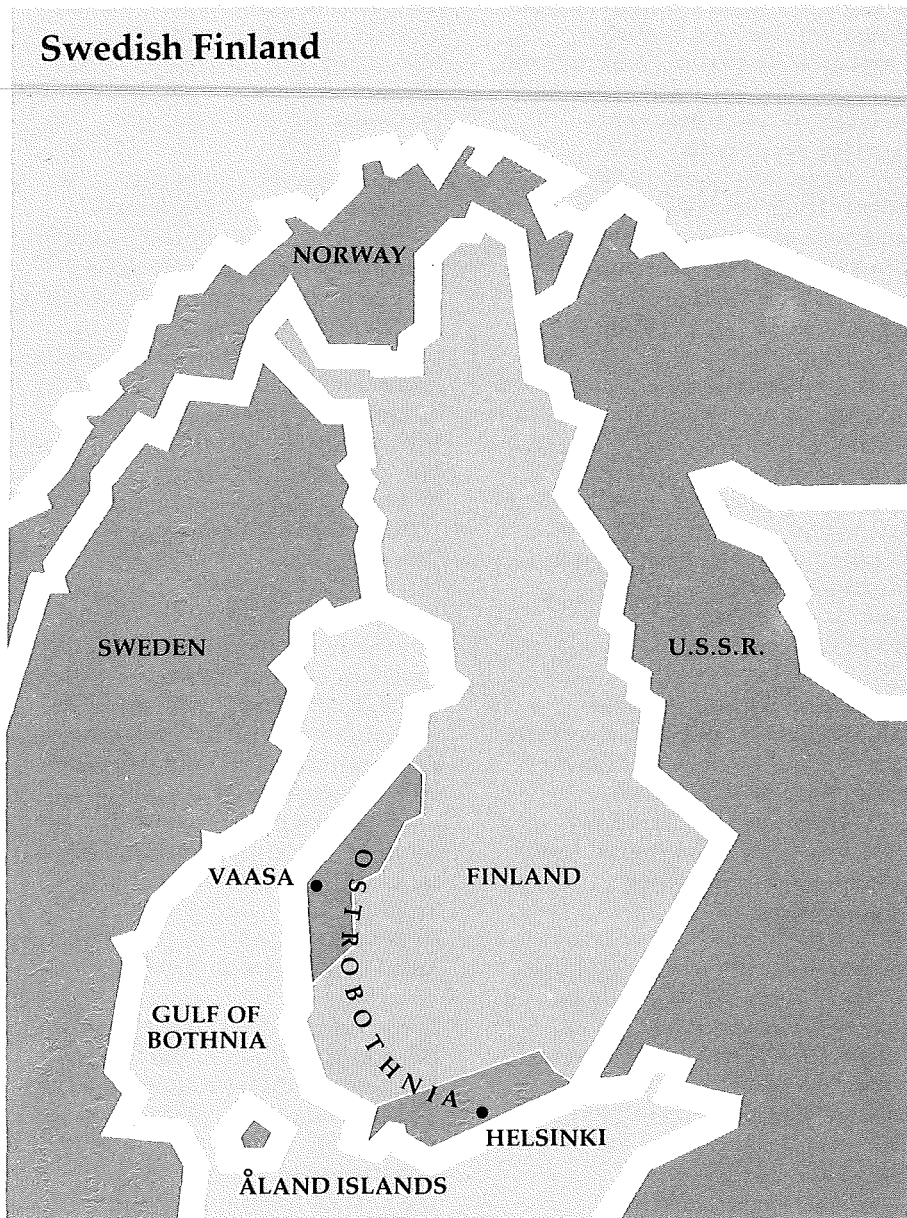
Helsinki is an important centre for the Swedish-Finns. In addition to being the nation's capital, the city and its immediate environs support

the largest concentration of Swedish-speaking people in Finland. In the Helsinki region there were about 86,000 people who declared themselves to be Swedish-speaking in the 1975 annual mini-census. This represents almost one-third of Finland's Swedish-Finn population. However, even in this area of high concentration, Swedish-speakers are in an acute minority position. At 86,000, Swedish-Finns in the Helsinki region make up only 11 per cent of the local population.

Apart from those living in the Helsinki area, another third of Finland's Swedish-speaking population lives in West Finland along the coastal plains of Ostrobothnia. One hundred years ago, 97 per cent of the population of Ostrobothnia was Swedish-speaking. But by 1979, the percentage of Swedish-speaking Finns had declined to 57 per cent. The decline was particularly dramatic in the 1950s and 1960s and, had it continued, would by now have led to a Finnish majority in the area.

This did not happen because the urbanization and emigration which caused the influx in the first place lost momentum during the 1970s.

In any event, the statistics to some extent provide a misleading picture. The decline in numbers of Swedish-speaking Finns in Ostrobothnia is primarily an urban phenomenon. The Finnish-speaking influx has been mainly to the cities. In the rural areas where economic and cultural development has been as great as in the cities, the Swedish-speaking majority has remained strong. Nonetheless the decline of the percentage of Swedish-speaking people in some cities has had noticeable detrimental effects.



■ SWEDISH SPEAKING AREAS

In Vaasa, the largest city and provincial capital of Ostrobothnia, the percentage of the Swedish-speaking population has decreased to the point where Swedish-Finns are experiencing, as in Helsinki, difficulties in obtaining essential services in Swedish.

Trends towards assimilation
The minority is under constant pressure to become bilingual which often results in those bilingual members of minority groups using the language of the majority for their everyday means of communication. According to

recent research most Swedish-speaking inhabitants of Vaasa could manage almost entirely speaking only Swedish. Nevertheless, this is not the language they always use. This behaviour results from an erroneous distrust of the viability of Swedish and an exaggerated estimation of the importance of Finnish in the area.

Older people use Swedish more consistently than young people. This indicates that the future status of Swedish in these communities will be further weakened unless there is a change of attitude.

Language of work

There is also a trend towards unilingualism in the world of work. Finnish is often used on the job while Swedish is spoken at home. Such a diglossic situation is not uncommon in Vaasa. Many individuals speak Finnish even when they are under no pressure to do so. On the job, more than anywhere else, the Swedish-Finn gives in to a real or imagined pressures to use Finnish, while at home, going to the theatre, or when reading, he uses Swedish.

It has also been shown that in cities or districts where the linguistic balance has drifted away from Swedish, a very high percentage of Swedish-speaking Finns are employed in small firms or in sectors where Swedish is the dominant language.

A recent research project, carried out at an Ostrobothnian company with strong Swedish traditions and a majority of Swedish-speaking employees, provided both linguistic groups with an opportunity to gauge their knowledge of the other official language. The results indicated that Swedish-speakers were far more confident of their command of Finnish than

Finnish-speakers were of their command of Swedish. When asked to estimate their own use of the other language, 60 per cent of the Swedish-speaking employees replied that they thought they spoke Finnish "quite a lot" while only 21 per cent of the Finnish-speaking employees thought they were speaking Swedish "quite a lot". In addition, 51 per cent of the Finns said they did not use Swedish at all in dealing with their customers while only four per cent of the Swedish-speakers said they did not speak Finnish to their customers. Thus, even in a firm with strong Swedish traditions, Swedish-Finns suffer intense pressure to become bilingual.

It is a rather depressing fact that the process of urbanization and industrialization during the 20th century, and especially in the postwar years, has caused changes in the linguistic balance in those cities most important to Swedish-Finns. There has been no automatic legal or administrative check on the changes caused by rapid economic development. One consequence of the radical changes that have taken place is the sharp deterioration in the standards of social services available to the minority Swedes. This may have increased the tendency on the part of Swedish-Finns to emigrate, a tendency found even in communities where the Swedish-Finn population is comparatively large.

Language quality

In its written form, the Swedish language of Finland is essentially

the same as that of Sweden. At the Research Centre for Domestic Languages, located in Helsinki, two linguists in the Swedish branch are available for consultation on questions relating to *Allgemeinsprache* (general language issues). Their field of work is limited, in accordance with Scandinavian tradition, and does not include *Fachsprache* (specialized language studies). The type of linguistic problems they are asked about, however, shows the need for aids such as bilingual dictionaries in various specialized fields. Research on terminology is carried out by a separate organization which, like its counterparts in the rest of Scandinavia, concentrates on the language of technology at the expense of other areas of terminology.

In fact, with Sweden's rapid technological growth and the close, voluminous and varied contacts between the two countries, Swedish-Finns have far fewer problems over technological terms than over terms for other specialized areas.

The problems of terminology and language occur mainly in those areas of life most affected by administrative and legal interests. In the case of social security, for instance, Swedish-Finns have, to some extent, developed their own terminology. Schools and universities in Finland have different characteristics from their Swedish counterparts and so Swedish terms have been created suitable for use in Finland.

Similarly, at both the national and local levels of government, Swedish-Finns have developed a vocabulary peculiarly suited to Finland.

In some specific and highly specialized fields, differences in terminology between the Swedish of Finland and that of Sweden reflect the development of different theories. The language used by Swedish-Finns is not necessarily a mere translation of the Finnish. In accountancy, for instance, even though the Swedish-Finn relies on Finnish terms, he is also dependent to some extent on the theories and traditions of accountants in Sweden.

A doubtful future

It is fair to conclude that the Swedish of Finland can preserve its status as good Swedish. After the difficulties caused by problems of economic development during the last two decades, Swedish-Finns are now in a position to strengthen their language and culture. There is, as well, an increased interest among Finnish politicians in the linguistic and cultural problems faced by the Swedish-Finns.

Nonetheless, it is possible that the declining position of the Swedish language in metropolitan areas has already passed the point of no return. If it has, then important questions are waiting down the road about the future of the Swedish population in Finland and the future of bilingualism.

A member of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism gives a personal view of multicultural policy in Canada: the ground covered so far and the way ahead.



Jaroslav Rudnycky is professor emeritus at the University of Manitoba where he taught for

27 years and was founding head of the university's Department of Slavic Studies. A member of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, he currently lives in Montreal. He was born in the Ukraine and taught at the Universities of Prague and Heidelberg before coming to Canada in 1949.

Towards a multicultural Canada

JAROSLAV RUDNYCKY

When it comes to social relationships and in particular to politics, confusion, ambiguity and vagueness have prevailed since time immemorial. Moses' decalogue, Hammurabi's codex, and Plato's Republic were only a few attempts out of many to call the human mind to order. Yet centuries later W. F. Willoughby in his work *The Government of Modern States* (1936) wrote:

Political science, in common with other social sciences, has always suffered the grave disadvantage of a loose use of terms and a failure on the part of writers to agree upon the very foundation concepts...

The existence and the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963-1971) in Ottawa was no exception to this state of affairs. It was no wonder that Frank Scott, a distinguished member of the Commission, used to place both the *Petit Larousse* and the Oxford dictionary in front of his seat and check each word of importance during our long discussions in Ottawa or elsewhere.

The English version of the B and B Commission's terms of reference stated that the Commission was to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an "equal partnership between the two founding races". This immediately started a controversy on the notion of "races". Representatives of the Canadian Jewish Congress, amongst others, attacked the Commission during its preliminary hearings and cries of "racism" were raised again and again. Finally, the commissioners solved the matter by adopting the French version of the mandate which did not talk of "races" but of "deux peuples". In the first volume of its report the

Commission had this to say on the subject:

... the use in the English text of the word "race", has been a source of misunderstanding. Should it be taken to mean two "races" or two "peoples" will receive special treatment at the expense of the "other ethnic groups"? Some understood it this way and strongly protested against any such recognition of a special birthright of two founding peoples. They objected to the suggestion of discrimination, which they read into the Commission's terms of reference, as inimical to the interests of Canadians who had come here after the French and the British. They pictured a kind of hereditary aristocracy comprised of two founding peoples, perpetuating itself from father to son, and a lower order of other ethnic groups, forever excluded from spheres of influence... In our view the reference to the two "founding races" or "peoples who founded Confederation" is an allusion to the undisputed role played by Canadians of French and British origin in 1867, and long before Confederation...

The name of the Commission, which was suggested by the late André Laurendeau, clearly implies the notion of two founding peoples. This reflects, in my opinion, a common Eastern Canadian bias. It was also a bias which was not particularly palatable to the government of the then prime minister, Lester B. Pearson. His government was fully aware of the existence of some very vocal "other ethnic groups". This, I believe, is why the Commission's terms of reference included the mandate of "taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural development of Canada and the measures that should be taken to

safeguard this contribution." However, nothing was done to modify the exclusive duality implied by the Commission's title.

Inadequacy of "bilingualism"

I argued at that time, and still do, that if, as the Commission said, language is a vehicle of culture, then the inserted passage asking for safeguards for other ethnic groups was contrary to the bilingual and bicultural exclusiveness implied in the Commission's title. The Commission's mandate should have included not only English-French bilingualism, but all other kinds of bilingual situations in Canada, such as English-Ukrainian, Polish-French, German-English, Icelandic-Ukrainian, Eskimo-Russian or Cree-German. I argued that bilingualism in Canada, ever since it was first officially recognized in 1897 by the so-called Laurier-Greenway Compromise, meant English in addition to French or any other language. Moreover, such bilingualism could be called official because it was officially introduced and implemented in Canada between 1897 and 1916 under this federal-provincial agreement. Thus, I believe, the Commission should have treated the word "bilingual" in its broadest sense, corresponding to the linguistic reality of Canada.

The above interpretation of Canadian bilingualism was not mine exclusively. Professor Jean-Paul Vinay, who was then president of the Canadian Linguistic Association, had this to say in a paper delivered at a UNESCO International Seminar on Bilingualism at the University of Moncton in 1967:

When we speak of bilingualism, we are not necessarily speaking of French-English bilingualism . . . There exist other forms of

bilingualism, with English being generally one of the languages involved, because of its strength everywhere. These forms of bilingualism raise several special problems . . .

Between 1963 and 1964, several briefs from Canadian groups and individuals were submitted to the Commission favouring English-allophone bilingualism, or, as stated in the 1964 submission of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Edmonton Branch, favouring "the knowledge and use of one official language (English or French) along with another mother tongue.

In view of the above, in 1967 I proposed the following formula for adoption by the Commission:

Canada is a multilingual nation with two official languages, English and French, and several non-official tongues which form the Canadian linguistic pattern.

It did not work. Despite all my arguments, the Commission restricted the notion of bilingualism to the English and French languages, leaving me with no alternative but to submit a Separate Statement to Book I of the Report.

The government's response to the first volume of the B and B Commission's Report was the 1969 Official Languages Act and the subsequent creation of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

This reaction clearly entrenched the exclusive sense of the word "bilingual" in Canada and prompted me to submit to the government in 1971, shortly before the Commission disbanded, my own "Supplemental B and B Recommendations". This stated that:

Whereas the Official Languages Act in its Section 38 deals also with languages other than English and French, and

Whereas this Act as well as the Commissioner of Official Languages, shall be concerned with all the languages of the country (official, regional, non-official etc.), and

Whereas the present designation of the Act and the Commissioner might be interpreted as implying a discriminatory attitude towards the other ethnic languages by ignoring them by the very title of the Act and by the designation of the Commissioner, I recommend

that both the Official Languages Act and the Commissioner of Official Languages be renamed to "Canadian Languages Act" and to "Commissioner for Language Protection and Linguistic Planning in Canada" respectively . . .

Victory for multiculturalism

Multiculturalism proved a good deal easier for the Commissioners to accept than multilingualism. They recommended that multiculturalism be fostered in Canada and the federal government accepted the idea, producing a policy of multiculturalism on October 8, 1971, with the unanimous agreement of all political parties. Prime Minister Trudeau said at the time:

A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help break down discriminatory

Population by mother tongue* where the population reporting the language exceeds 25,000 persons per province

	CANADA	%	QUEBEC	%	ONTARIO	%	MANITOBA	%	SASKATCHEWAN	%	ALBERTA	%	BRITISH COLUMBIA	%
Italian	484,050	2.1	124,575	2.0	309,810	3.7							26,715	1.1
German	476,715	2.1			154,625	1.9	73,375	7.2	61,250	6.6	79,925	4.3	80,970	3.3
Ukrainian	282,060	1.2			76,035	0.9	60,250	5.9	45,920	5.0	64,960	3.5		
Chinese	132,560	0.6			51,660	0.6							46,655	1.9
Portuguese	126,535	0.6			88,495	1.1								
Netherlandic	114,760	0.5			61,920	0.7								
Polish	99,845	0.4			57,050	0.7								
Greek	91,530	0.4	34,660	0.6	48,205	0.6								
Croatian, Serbian, etc.	77,575	0.3			57,490	0.7								
Magyar (Hungarian)	69,300	0.3			37,980	0.5								
Indo-Pakistani	58,415	0.3			27,045	0.3								

*Excluding French, English and Native Indian languages

Statistics Canada. 1976 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-821, Bulletin 2.2, Table 2

attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence.

The new policy promoted the idea of a multicultural Canada within the official English-French bilingual context. It was a turning point in Canada's sociological development. It launched the concept of a pluralism among minority groups while leaving intact the dualism implied by the existence of Canada's French- and English-speaking majorities. It also, of course, allowed Canada to remain,

in spite of differences, one single, unified country.

The B and B Commission's work, which took eight years to complete, helped considerably in shaping this official approach to Canada's social make-up. We had come a long way. But there was still a long way to go.

The main difficulty was, and still is, the clash between the original concept of biculturalism and the new concept of multiculturalism. The problem was most acute in Quebec where there was far more support for the concept of a bicultural Canada than for a multicultural Canada. It is interesting to note that neither the Bourassa nor the Levesque provincial governments in Quebec have taken any meaningful steps to develop the federal government's multicultural policy.

The West, on the other hand, has shown far more enthusiasm. While criticizing what some ethnolinguists in the West refer to as the "official languages curtain", Western experts accepted not only the concept as a whole, but also the subsidies which flowed consequent to the policy. These subsidies were used to promote folkloramas, national festivals, caravans and other folkloric activities. The West also put in a number of applications for more sophisticated grants for international centres like the one in Winnipeg, the Canadian Federation of Citizenship, Human Rights Committees and related projects.

Folkloramas v. academic research
The first decade of multiculturalism might be characterized in general by an overemphasis on folk-culture at the expense of academic research. This went directly against what was

suggested by the Commissioners in volume four of their report:

A striking fact which emerged from our research into the cultural groups other than the British and French in Canadian society is that so little is known about the subject . . . Our recommendation that cultural and research organizations receive support is intended to recognize and extend their efforts . . .

Later on, the Commissioners wrote:

A centre for studies in immigration and ethnic relations might be established at one of our universities, or a special section with a focus on such studies within an institute for Canadian studies.

But in spite of these recommendations, no such centre has been established. Worse still, such important bodies of scholars as the Canadian Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations in Toronto, l'Institut des civilisations comparées de Montréal, and the Canadian International Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences in Ottawa and Lennoxville, have not received, as far as I know, any support from successive ministers for multiculturalism. There are other instances when the government has failed to live up to its intentions. For example, the well-established and successful bibliographic yearbooks, *Slavica Canadiana* and *Ukrainica Canadiana*, ceased publication, ironically

enough, the very same year the multicultural policy was proclaimed. These publications were very important to the cultural development of the respective groups yet no one in the government saw fit to save them. Another example of an opportunity lost, was the government refusal to subsidize the only ethnic linguistic journal in Canada, *Slovo na storozhi* (Word on guard). The journal, published since 1964, fortunately continues to survive without government aid.

The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism recommended in its first annual report that:

The Minister responsible for Multiculturalism consider the establishment of an office in Ottawa to provide government information and other assistance to the ethnic press.

However, here again, a suggestion has been followed by a noisy silence. Hopes for an Ottawa ethnic press bureau are no further ahead now than in 1975 when the proposition was put forward. In spite of this, however, a Canadian Ukrainian group has succeeded in establishing an Ottawa Ukrainian Press Service which has supplied information to Ukrainian newspapers in Canada, the USA, Europe, South America and Australia since 1963. A seemingly bright spot in official multicultural gloom was a generous multicultural grant of \$300,000 to the University of Toronto to establish a chair of Ukrainian Studies in 1978.

However, as there were already two centres for Ukrainian studies in Toronto (one at the University of Toronto and one at York), there was no real academic need for a third Ukrainian centre. The money would have been better spent establishing such a chair in Quebec where there is currently not one Ukrainian centre at any of the province's French universities.

Constitutional reform

During the Quebec referendum this year, the Prime Minister, his cabinet ministers and the Quebec Liberal leader, Claude Ryan, all promised to renew Canadian federalism. This cannot be done without discussing the question of multiculturalism, an essential element in our society. This means, in fact, that we are back coping with those same problems with which the B and B Commission once wrestled, namely, how far can a multicultural society be officially fostered within a bilingual and bicultural framework?

I suggest that the old question raises the old answers. Constitutional renewal means three things. Repatriation of the constitution, the construction of a generally accepted concept of federal union (either federation or confederation) and, last but not least, language reform. That reform must include a close look at the linguistic claims of the non-French and non-English speaking members of our society. Multiculturalism as we know it today is not enough.

The use of English as the dominant language of Quebec business, says the author, is at the root of Quebec nationalist movements. This, he argues, is why political solutions will be hard to find till economic tensions are settled.



With parents from both of Canada's official language groups, Dominique Clift has used his inherent bilin-

gualism as a journalist contributing to leading Canadian newspapers. He wrote for the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Star* and *La Presse*. In 1963, he won the grand prix de l'Union canadienne des journalistes de langue française, and, more recently, he co-authored *The English Fact in Quebec*, a book which traces the economic and social development of the English-speaking minority in that province.

French in the market place

DOMINIQUE CLIFT

The language conflict which started more than a dozen years ago in Montreal will continue until a new economic equilibrium is established between the French- and English-speaking communities.

This connection between language and the economy is evident in a current practice in the Montreal area. The practice consists in a refusal by some English- and French-speakers to express themselves in any language other than their mother tongue. Thus, tensions connected with the confrontation between the English and French communities in Montreal often find expression in a deliberately cultivated unilingualism. In the market place, this kind of behaviour has clear economic overtones. It means giving an economic value to the one language and withholding it from the other.

Nationalist goals

During the 1930s, French nationalist elements in Quebec often waged vigorous campaigns to induce the public to patronize French-speaking stores only. They also sought to persuade commercial establishments and the federal public service to offer more services in the French language. At that time, nationalist elements were not trying to promote the economic strength of French Canada. They were primarily defending interests that were political, social and cultural in nature.

As late as the end of the 1950s, there was general acceptance of the fact that English was the language of administration within the federal service by virtue of the political preponderance of English Canada. Nor was there any opposition to the idea that property rights included the right to determine the language of operations within any given firm.

Business leadership in Montreal, prior to 1960, was overwhelmingly English-speaking and saw itself as having proprietary rights over the economy. It did not believe that any concessions to French-speaking customers, beyond those dictated by short term opportunism, were necessary. This business élite felt itself to be part of a larger Canadian society that was uncompromisingly English-speaking. As for the French society of Quebec, it could lead a parallel and separate existence, but its communications with the Canadian majority and with the managers of the economy were expected to be in English.

Economic competition

The first indications of economic competition between the English and French languages appeared in the early 1960s while the provincial Liberal Party was in power and as it sought to launch a movement of economic emancipation under the slogan of *Maîtres chez nous*.

After 1963, when private power companies were nationalized, French became the language of Quebec regionalism while English remained the language of Canadian continentalism. English was perceived by many as a defence against Quebec nationalist centrifugal tendencies which could threaten the economic and political unity of the country.

Gradually, there emerged a clearer view of the relationship between the economy and language both in Canada and in Quebec. The report of the Laurendeau-Dunton commission on bilingualism and biculturalism heightened awareness of this relationship. The Official Languages Act of 1969, which put some of its recommendations into effect, stimulated the

economic growth of French society by vastly increasing the area where its language was in use, especially in the federal service. At the time the law came into effect, it was thought to be a vital reform in helping to correct the disparities between English- and French-speaking people which were threatening to tear the country apart.

Growing economic competition between the two languages came much more clearly into view in the

light of results obtained with the implementation of the Official Languages Act and the impact it had on business generally. There was considerable progress made towards the recognition of French as a language of administration and communications in both government and business.

But one area remained impervious to French: financial and economic management. In spite of the express will of the federal cabinet, the

management of key federal departments and agencies dealing with economic matters has remained almost exclusively English-speaking, as did that of the large national and multinational corporations based in Montreal. Industry, Trade and Commerce, Air Canada and Atomic Energy of Canada Limited remained as resolutely English as Canadian Pacific and the Royal Bank. English Canada's rejection of French as an economic language indicates a



refusal to share economic power at the national level. The exclusive use of English in this respect contrasts with the flexibility being displayed in others. For example, there has not been much resistance to the penetration of the French language and of French managerial personnel in government departments that have social and cultural purposes and objectives. This is because the confrontation between the two languages is basically an economic rather than a political one.

Bill 101

It was on this very question that fundamental changes were brought about by what is generally known as Bill 101, the Parti Québécois' 1977 language law. The law required all firms with more than fifty employees to convert their operations to French within a certain period of time, with special and discretionary measures applying to head offices and companies doing most of their business outside the province. The law also stated that children immigrating into Quebec either from the rest of Canada or from abroad, had to enrol in French schools. Bill 101 was designed to break English economic power in



Jean-Pierre Girerd's witty sketches have amused readers of *La Presse* for over a decade and earned him

a leading place among Canada's political cartoonists. Born in Algeria, he came to Canada in 1964 where he has worked for a variety of newspapers and magazines including *Perspectives*, *Maclean's* and a number of publications in the United States. He has held several exhibitions, including a one-man exhibition at the University of Montreal, and is in the process of preparing another show this fall.

Quebec and to channel all newcomers into French society.

Patriotic gestures

The novel element in the present situation is the personal and active participation of individuals as users of what might be called linguistic coinage. For a growing number of people, speaking one language in preference to the other represents support for English or French economic pre-eminence. There is among the French a desire to end the historical division of labour in Canada whereby the economy was in English hands while the French-speakers themselves were confined to political, social and cultural domains.

The current resistance of Montreal's English community seeks to forestall any change of role that might jeopardize its economic leadership and possibly its very existence. In this context, the use of English or French, the refusal to speak a language other than one's own, becomes a patriotic gesture promoting the value of one linguistic coinage at the expense of the other.

These attitudes often give rise to embarrassing encounters in public places such as stores, restaurants and post offices. But often, English- and French-speaking Canadians have different ways of waging their linguistic war. Fear of French Canada is quite prominent among the English-speaking population, particularly those who have had little professional or social contact with it and who have remained isolated within their own community. The latent hostility which accompanies this fear results in psychological blocks that impede the learning of a second language.

The most prominent aspect of nationalism among French

Canadians, on the other hand, is the desire to end what is usually called the economic domination of the English minority and this sentiment is especially strong among teachers and students; in the entertainment world and the arts; in the labour movement and among career-oriented public servants. Their protests take various forms. For example, students in many university faculties systematically refuse to make use of books and texts written in English. It is not that ignorance has become a virtue. This type of gesture is meant to preserve and broaden the economic space occupied by French Canada and to emphasize, at the personal level, the students' membership of that community.

Group attitudes

Group attitudes and actions, however, are much more significant. A survey of language use among the working population of metropolitan Montreal, published in the *Montreal Star* in 1976, found that 36.2 per cent of the city's English unilinguals were concentrated in managerial and professional occupations; of those who speak both English and French, only 20.7 per cent were found in these two occupational categories while only 12.4 per cent of French unilinguals were found in these two categories. These figures suggest that those who are the least sensitive to language pressures are those in the highest and most powerful positions. They also suggest a definite bias in selection processes for top jobs in business and industry.

While some years ago bilingualism was believed to be absolutely necessary by most French-speaking people, there is now a strong tendency to avoid penalizing French unilingualism. This is particularly true of the public and

para-public sectors. Indeed, *l'Office de la langue française* set up under the authority of Bill 101 makes it difficult to seek out bilinguals officially, except for certain specified types of jobs. In addition, civil servants and unions combine to maintain a monopoly over certain categories of jobs in favour of French-speaking people to the exclusion of cultural and linguistic minority groups.

Economy and language became linked in Quebec after the values associated with a modern industrial society were fully accepted and internalized by the French-speaking population. The results became visible towards the beginning of the 1960s as French Quebec turned its back on the traditional expectations inspired by the life of the rural parish and adopted attitudes more closely identified with urban society and with industrial, commercial and bureaucratic employment. It was then that the desire to exercise political control over the new environment suddenly emerged. This is what has sustained the various forms of nationalism which

have appeared over the last fifteen years and which have led to the current clash over language and the economy.

Anglo isolation

Meanwhile, Montreal's English-speaking community has become increasingly isolated from the Canadian mainstream as a result of the westward migration of head offices and of the managerial functions of some large Canadian corporations with which this community had long been identified. Nor could the English community find a way of participating in the regionalist movement which aimed at gaining greater economic and political autonomy for Québec in the 1960s. Instead of establishing a working relationship with the French community, it clung desperately to an obsolete relationship inspired by its historical role as manager of the national and provincial economies. The unilingualism which has continued to prevail in the upper levels of large Montreal-based firms represents, as it were, the ultimate line of defense.

It is impossible at the present time to predict how the conflict will ultimately be resolved, or whether it will allow the province's two main language communities to continue existing side by side. The direction of the French community's future economic expansion is also difficult to forecast. However, it is possible that increasingly aggressive French firms based in Quebec will be seeking their share of Canadian and international markets. Given the hard feelings generated by language, this might prove to be a more realistic outcome than current attempts to gain a foothold in already established national firms whose language of operations is English.

Competition rather than a real sharing of power would then become the rule, with each language community continuing in its current relative isolation. Political and constitutional arrangements, by whatever name they present themselves, may reflect this new state of affairs.

At one time we thought computers would soon be able to translate Shakespeare and Molière. It has not happened. Instead of taking over, the machines are sharing the translation load with their human counterparts.



A professional translator, Marcel Paré helped establish a computerized terminology bank at the

University of Montreal in 1970 and, since 1978, has directed the university's research group on computerized translation. It was this group which introduced computerized weather forecasts to Canada and is now developing a system to translate aircraft maintenance manuals by computer.

The letter, the spirit and the machine

MARCEL PARÉ

I think it was an article by Aurélien Sauvageot, published twenty-five years ago in *Vie et Langage*, which first focused my attention as a translator on a new phenomenon: machine translation. I read that article with great interest and some alarm.

The mind and the machine

What is translation? According to *Le Petit Robert*, to translate is to render what is expressed in one language into another, all the while maintaining the meaning and impact of the original. This definition suggests, then, that translation is a very complex activity which calls into play not only the translator's mind and natural curiosity but also a broad range of study, reading and travel experiences — in short, that "knowledge of the world" which is absolutely indispensable to any translator.

Given all that translation entails, how is it conceivable that even the most impressive machines could be endowed with the intelligence and experience of the human brain?

The universal translation machine dreamed about less than a quarter of a century ago was supposed to be able to translate the whole range of human experience from any language into any other. But today this machine still exists only in the imaginary world of science-fiction where even the wildest dreams are permitted. Philosophical speculation and the subtle themes of literature still lie beyond its scope. Proust, Voltaire, Dante, Goethe and Shakespeare must still be interpreted by thinkers, writers and talented translators if the full richness of their thought, imagination and style is to find expression in other languages.

Linguistic research

Why, then, has the University of Montreal devoted so much time and effort to research into "automatic" (I prefer the term, "computerized") translation? The question is all the more pertinent when we know that the American government, on the recommendation of the Automatic Language Processing Advisory Committee, stopped subsidizing such research in 1966. According to the ALPAC Report, translation was too complex an intellectual activity for machines.

However, owing to its place in the geographical, political, linguistic and economic situation in North America, the University of Montreal could not afford to remain indifferent to the many problems posed by the language barrier. The University already had a well-established School of Translation and its activities over the past fifteen years in other fields, such as the establishment of a linguistics research group working on computerized language processing and translation and the creation of a terminology bank were, and still are, totally justified.

Encouraged by the confidence of the government of Canada, which provided it with financial assistance through the National Research Council, the University took up the challenge by establishing the first Centre for the Study of Automatic Language Data Processing, which soon became the Automatic Translation Research Group, designated by the acronym, TAUM.

There are many reasons why great numbers of technical works will never be translated. The primary obstacle is the shortage of specialized translators capable of quickly transforming enormous masses of important technical

information and directives from one "specialty language" into another. For this reason, research was stepped up in order to find appropriate means of facilitating the translation of these texts within the prescribed time. This was essential if the non-industrialized countries were to avoid becoming technical, economic and ultimately linguistic and cultural slaves of the technologically advanced manufacturing nations.

Sub-languages: "technolects"

In order to create operational systems capable of achieving the most automated translation process possible, TAUM researchers soon realized they had to restrict themselves to sub- or specialty languages or, as Messrs. Wandruska and Darbelnet called them, to *technolects*.

Each sub-language has a particular *vocabulary*, which it tends to impose on its sub-fields. The sub-fields in turn have their own scientific or technical *terminologies*, which become part of the sub-language. Finally, there are differences in syntax, with some constructions occurring more frequently in one sub-language than in another. Some texts are particularly suited to computerized translation because of the characteristics of the sub-language to which they belong. Such is the case with the weather forecasts translated by the TAUM-METEO system.

Tomorrow will be sunny . . .

How did such a system come to be implemented? In the early seventies, the government of Canada instructed the Translation Bureau of the Department of the Secretary of State to make weather forecasts available in English and French throughout the country. However, cost factors made it impossible to recruit a sufficient

number of translators to carry out such a considerable and meticulous task. For this reason, the government turned to TAUM, which immediately undertook to design and develop the system.

The result of this work, TAUM-METEO, has now been in use at Environment Canada for over three years. Operating 24 hours a day, seven days a week, it automatically translates 85 per cent of forecasts from English into French and sends out translations in unrevised form over the entire Canadian network. The remaining 15 per cent or so of the forecasts which the system is unable to translate are automatically routed to a display terminal where a human translator does the work and transmits the finished product over the automatic distribution network.

Meteorology provides an excellent illustration of a sub-language. Its technical language and vocabulary amount to a mere 2,000 words, not including geographical place names. In addition, the syntax is very basic, relatively uniform in nature and obeys the rules of telegraphic style.

Several countries are extremely interested in this achievement, which even today is the only computerized translation system in the world in permanent service. In its January 1980 issue, *Science et Vie* reported the following:

Among operational second generation systems, a Canadian example, the TAUM project developed by the University of Montreal in 1975, is worthy of note. This system specializes in English-to-French translations of weather forecasts. Linked to a network serving all parts of the country, it translates approximately 5,000 reports per day. As a bilingual nation,

Canada has been and remains one of the most advanced countries in the field of computerized translation.

The question of generation

Before continuing, we must consider the expression, "second generation", used by Michel de Pracontal, author of the above-mentioned article. In automatic translation, the notion of "generation" is only coincidentally related to that of computer generations. The first generation of computerized translation systems (i.e. those in use before 1966) essentially relied on dictionary capacity and left to the revisor the arduous task of clearing up ambiguities and solving syntactical difficulties and other problems of polysemy, synonymy and homography, which increased with the size of the dictionaries. The analytical capacity of these systems was very small. The computer's role was to take the strings of characters (words) in the source text and replace them, from left to right, with corresponding strings of characters in the target language.

In second generation systems which the University of Montreal group began using in 1965, computerized translation is based on the following principles:

- The source text must be as unambiguous as possible and must respect the standards of the language in which it is written;
- The language of the source text must fall within the constraints of a sub-language which belongs to a technical area or to a group or sub-group of technical areas;
- The system must be able to carry out as thorough a syntactical analysis as necessary.

Grammatical analysis of the source text's sentences is an essential prerequisite for good results, even

for the most skilled human translator. The computer must be able to conduct this analysis as thoroughly as possible. This it does with the help of a dictionary of the sub-language used in the text, as well as an analytical grammar of the source language. These complex bodies of information assembled in the computer's memory are a very simplified version of the human translator's "knowledge of the world."

Once the computer has completed its analysis, it consults the bilingual transfer dictionary to find the right expression in the target language. This dictionary is in fact a list of all the English words in the original text, with a French equivalent for each of the possible meanings. After replacing the words in the English source text with equivalents, the system consults its French language grammar and then reconstructs not only the words but also the sentences of the translated text.

At the speed of sound

The TAUM-METEO project was followed by TAUM-AVIATION, again with the assistance of the Department of the Secretary of State's Translation Bureau. This project dealt with the translation of aircraft maintenance manuals. Confronted with what was a very technical sub-language, the team chose the hydraulic circuits sub-field for its initial efforts. In

hydraulics, the technical terminology and the vocabulary of current words are more extensive than in meteorology and its syntax follows more closely the standard rules of written language; in other words, it is a more complex system involving a greater number of rules.

The TAUM-AVIATION system goes through ten successive steps which together constitute the *computerized translation process*. At the final stage, the revisor receives a translation which, if necessary, he can edit as he sees fit, just as he would a man-made translation.

This process can be described as computerized translation assisted by the human translator. Man will always have the first and last word in this computerized activity, either as linguist or as translator. Linguists will have to create and update the dictionaries and grammars needed by the computer and translators will be responsible for refining the style and for removing any ambiguities left by the computerized system.

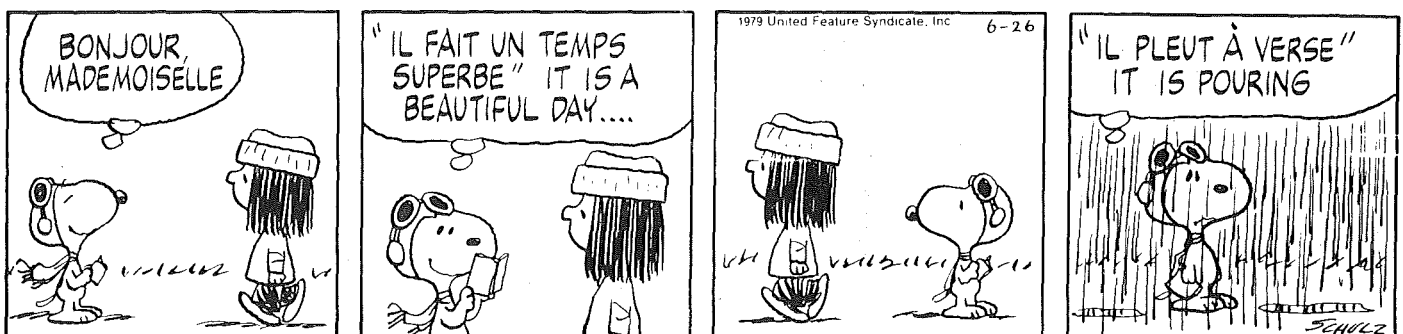
Among the advantages of computerized translation, speed is certainly one of the greatest. Another major advantage could be achieved if it were possible to revise a computer translation as quickly as a human translation of the same type. However, a great deal of research will still have to be carried out by linguists, computer experts and translators to determine the

practical limits of this type of computer analysis and to discover how dictionaries and grammars must be edited and organized so they can be used for the translation of a range of texts beyond those belonging to a sub-field such as hydraulics.

Work of quality

For all its promise, computerized translation cannot yet be applied to just any text. Until we can harness artificial intelligence, we will have to continue developing the analytical characteristics of computerized translation systems, make source texts as unambiguous as possible and ensure that they belong to sub-languages for which dictionaries and grammars have been established. Generally speaking, texts of this type will be found in technical or semi-technical fields, usually in the form of massive instruction handbooks which have to be translated at speed. Of course, the day-after-day translation of meteorological bulletins or instructions for assembling or greasing a jet engine is not exactly thrilling work. Computerized translation can, therefore, lighten the translator's burden and speed up his work without depriving him either of his livelihood or of the intellectual satisfaction of translating.

In *De l'écritoire à la console de visualisation : l'esprit et la lettre* (From Desk to Display Terminal: The



Spirit and the Letter) the author, Michel Blond writes:

Mistrust often greets the development of a new tool, and sometimes the reaction is one of rejection . . . However, I predict that current developments, far from inciting translators to destroy their machines, will

bring them a sense of job enrichment. For beyond all the detailed paraphernalia of terminology, translation, revision and editing, there lies the noble goal of serving the text. Not serving the machine, but using it to follow in the footsteps of the scribes . . . 'manual translators'

worried by the progress of machine translation should take heart. Quality work has a good future.

(Adapted from French)

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Letters to the Editor

Understanding Manitoba

Eugene Forsey's description of the passing of the Manitoba Act in 1870 appears somewhat mystifying (your magazine, second issue). Forsey states that "Unquestionably, in 1870, French-Canadians expected Manitoba to be a second Quebec", but adds that "the people of Quebec would not migrate to the West". Were the Quebecers of yesteryear already incorrigible dreamers? The clue to this mystery lies rather with that Forsey has left out a few essential facts, namely, Louis Riel and the Métis people.

According to Forsey, difficulties due to cultural or racial prejudice arose in Manitoba only somewhat before 1890. The Manitoba Act, and in particular its section 23, without which "there would have been no Manitoba", appears to have been passed in some Eden of the Two Founding Nations, where "half the population was French-speaking".

The truth is rather that there would have been no Manitoba and no section 23 without the Métis uprising, spurred by a patent case of prejudice. In their own eyes, the Métis formed a new Nation, equally of European and of Native Indian heritage. But in Canadian and British eyes, the Métis, both "English-speaking" and "French-speaking", were non-entities, and were not to be consulted on their future status.

The Manitoba Act was therefore partly the fruit of armed conflict, and, as Ottawa refused to fully recognize the Métis' concept of justice, was followed by Riel's forced flight to the United States.

This atmosphere of violence, and of what was already perceived in Quebec as injustice and prejudice, could hardly have encouraged immigration from Quebec: barely thirty years had passed since the merciless crushing of the Quebec uprising of 1837-38. And, furthermore, the French-Canadians of Quebec and the Métis of the time simply did not share quite the same sense of nationhood, a fact which remains true to this day.

The current Canadian fallacy of considering language alone, and of ignoring the essential ethnic or national underpinnings of a population's collective identity and behaviour, thus leads directly to the myth of a pristine half English-Canadian, half French-Canadian Manitoba. But worse than mythifying, Forsey's description is properly prejudicial to the Native Indian population. Of the total Manitoban population of about 18,000 in 1870, only some 1,600 were whites (mostly English-speaking). The 10,000 Métis, both "English-speaking" and "French-speaking" (did many not also speak Native Indian languages?), were all at least half of Native Indian descent, through their mothers or grandmothers. The remaining 6,000, most often not even counted among the "population" by official (white) historians, were Native Indians (cf. Canada): *Sessional Papers*, V(20), 1871, pp. 89-95; *Census of Canada 1880-81*, I, p. 405; *Census of Canada 1890-91*, I, p. 366; see also two articles by the author in *Le Devoir*, January 23 and April 1, 1980). It would therefore be more correct to

describe Manitoba's population in 1870 as mainly of Native Indian origin, rather than as half French-speaking and half English-speaking.

I realize that *Language and Society* aims at highlighting the present Canadian language policy. Nevertheless, it would be preferable to avoid, as far as possible, rewriting history in that light, at least if today's Canadians, Quebecers, Métis and Native Indians are to understand their history.

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Senator Forsey replies*

Professor Castonguay's fascinating and learned letter really deals with a different subject from the one I was asked to discuss, and tried to discuss, in my article. I was not asked to write a history of Manitoba for the years 1870-1890, or of the Métis people, or the Riel Rebellion; or a dissertation on the differences between the Métis and the French-Canadians, or the reasons why relatively few French-Canadians went to the West between 1870 and 1890.

I did not say, or suggest, that "difficulties due to cultural or racial prejudice arose in Manitoba only somewhat before 1890." I merely pointed out that, by 1890, Manitoba was overwhelmingly English-speaking, because the new settlers had been overwhelmingly English-speaking. That is a fact. I quoted Sir John A. Macdonald's statement that

this meant Manitoba was (by 1888) "becoming . . . wholly English, with" (among other things) "English prejudices." I specifically added that by 1890 these had been "reinforced" by the "Equal Rights" campaign. The reasons why so few French-Canadians went to the West between 1870 and 1890 (in spite of much official as well as unofficial encouragement) were not relevant to my subject, "Languages and the Law."

Did the delegates from the Red River, Father Ritchot and the rest, ask for section 23 of the Manitoba Act, or did they not? Could Manitoba have been created without it? Would Cartier and the Quebec French-Canadian M.P.'s have accepted anything less? Did the Red River delegates ask for special status, or special protection, for any Indian language? Perhaps Professor Castonguay will enlighten us.

The information on ethnic origin (let alone languages) in Manitoba in 1870, is, to say the least, incomplete and imprecise. But I have never before heard it challenged that roughly half the population was, as far as European languages are concerned, French-speaking. The only languages that got into the Manitoba Act were English

and French. It was the provisions for the French language, and what happened to them, that I was asked to discuss. To drag into that discussion the number of Indians, their languages, the Métis' sense of nationhood and sense of justice, Riel's "forced flight to the United States," the "atmosphere of violence," "the merciless crushing of the Quebec uprising of 1837-38," etc., etc., etc., would have been wholly gratuitous, and the editors would have boxed my ears if I had tried it.

Eugene Forsey

*Since Senator Forsey's article "Languages and the Law" (*Language and Society*, No. 2, Summer 1980) was written, the Office of the Attorney General of Manitoba sent a document showing there was a county court judgement in 1892 known as the *Hébert Case* which followed the lines of the judgement by the same court in 1909 and of the Supreme Court of Canada in 1979. All three judgements found that the constitutional rights guaranteed to the French language in Manitoba could not be taken away by the legislature of Manitoba. Manitobans, therefore, had the right to use either English or French in the legislature and the courts of Manitoba. Giving the 1892 ruling, the presiding judge commented that "French is in Manitoba the same as English in Quebec" (trans.).