

LANGUAGE and society

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Official languages and Western alienation

Stanley C. Roberts
Attitudes towards bilingualism:
Startling changes

3

Edward de Bono
The language of the mind:
On finding words for thought

7

William F. Mackey
The effects of mixed French/English schools:
Assimilation or bilingualism?

10

Jacques Henripin
Language and population movements in Canada:
Gazing into the demographic future

15

Maria-José Azurmendi
The Spanish Basques:
A lesson in survival

19

Letters to the Editor

23

Editor's Note

In the last few months we have heard a lot about Western alienation. In our lead article, Stanley Roberts, former president of the Canada West Foundation, says the situation presents an interesting contradiction: the sense of alienation may be increasing, but, at the same time, western resistance to bilingualism is decreasing.

Our second article moves to a philosophical plane, discussing the usefulness, or otherwise, of language as a medium for thinking. It is written by Edward de Bono who invented the phrase "lateral thinking".

Parents who are interested in obtaining bilingual schools from their school boards will be specially interested in the article by William Mackey, a linguist of great distinction who writes about the mixed blessing of mixed French/English schools.

We are happy to be able to offer our English-speaking readers a sneak preview of a book due out this spring by Quebec demographer, Jacques Henripin. Already published in French, Henripin's latest book is about population movements in Canada and how these may affect language developments.

Our international subject this issue deals with the Spanish Basques, a unique people who, after centuries of difficulties, have won official recognition of their language in the new Spanish constitution.

We are also including a poster map "World Languages" which is part of our "Explorations" language kit. The map shows the distribution of languages throughout the world, countries in which English and French are languages of communication and countries where more than one language is spoken.

More copies of this map are available on request.

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An interesting contradiction seems to be developing in the West: alienation is increasing while resistance to federal bilingual policies is decreasing.



Stanley C. Roberts is former president of the Canada West Foundation, a non-profit

organization that researches issues of concern to Western Canada. A former Manitoba farmer, Roberts also has roots in British Columbia where he taught at Simon Fraser University. He was recently appointed president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and now lives in Montreal.

Sense and sensibility in the West

STANLEY C. ROBERTS

Western alienation is a real phenomenon and has been for 60 years. Though the expression "alienation" has become distorted, no one has been able to invent a more descriptive one. Western disaffection? Western separatism? None is more accurate or descriptive than "Western alienation".

Canadians east of the Lakehead first became aware of the alienated mood of the West in 1980 when a major public opinion poll revealed that "most" Westerners feel alienated from central Canada in general and Ottawa in particular. In that poll, 84 per cent of over 1,200 Western individuals surveyed at random indicated they felt the West was not getting a fair deal from Confederation and 53 per cent said they felt they had more in common with the U.S.A. than with "Eastern Canada".

We know that Western anger, frustration, and alienation is very old indeed, but for most Canadians this 1980 poll reveals something new. It was new to see TV reports showing thousands of determined men and women meeting in over-crowded halls and joining protest movements dedicated to separating the nation. Almost overnight, Canadians everywhere learned of long held grievances.

Bilingual backlash

To what extent is the West's alienation an anti-bilingual, anti-French language backlash? Hardly at all. There are, of course, some diehards who relate the two, but these are rare indeed. During June and November 1980, the president of a large Canadian food processing empire speaking to largely

Anglophone audiences in Alberta and Saskatchewan was aggressively challenged by those present when he complained about bilingual labelling. In Banff, Alberta, in November 1980, the Honourable James Richardson was booed by many of his 300-strong audience when he suggested that Canada was on the "road to ruin" because of its bilingual policies. That audience was, incidentally, fully representative of the West since its members came from a variety of occupations and political associations in the four Western provinces and two Northern Territories.

This suggests there has been a significant, and very important, shift in the Western Canadian viewpoint. In the early 1970s, the West's resistance to the federal government's bilingual policies was substantial. The Official Languages Act was not understood; it had not been properly explained to the people. It seemed at the time that bilingual signs and notices suddenly appeared wherever the federal presence was felt — in parks, post offices, airlines, railways, etc. Labels on products "suddenly" carried two-language labelling and Western federal public servants, judges, and RCMP were whisked off to expensive French language training.

And the rumours! Reports were rampant that "one had to be a Francophone to get a job in Ottawa these days", and "many Anglophones in the federal service desperate to hold on to their jobs, were taking expensive language immersion courses regardless of their age". The cost figures of implementing bilingualism being reported via the grapevine to a highly suspicious West, ranged from millions of dollars per year to hundreds of millions of dollars.

And we, the Western taxpayers, were paying the shot, or so it was said.

Bilingual today, French tomorrow
The expression "having French crammed down our throats" began in those years. It didn't lose anything in the telling, culminating in the widely distributed paperback, *Bilingual today, French tomorrow*. The book depicted an evil Ottawa government made up of Quebecers designing a master scheme to francize the whole nation.

My own surveys in two constituencies (Vancouver Centre and Winnipeg South) indicated that the very significant erosion of support for the Liberal government in the West, between the 1968, 1972 and 1974 elections, was to a large extent due to the widely held suspicion that the Trudeau government was determined that we must all speak French or be ostracized. Even then there was no real resistance to learning a second (or third) language. The real resistance - a traditional Western trait - seemed to be due to the supposed compulsory nature of the language issue. I am convinced this perception was particularly unacceptable in the West because a strong spirit of independence is part of what it means to be a Westerner.

Even the introduction of the metric system of weights and measures was often seen as a bilingual/bicultural ploy. Celsius temperatures, kilometre distances, and especially hectare measurements of land, were seen as "the French system". Or, more likely, "the damned French measures"!

The liberal government never did effectively reach the Western people to tell them that the Official

Languages Act was not a threat. Time passed and the worst *didn't* happen - no one was forced to learn the French language. It gradually dissipated into a non-issue. Such political leaders as Robert Stanfield, Ed Schreyer, Ed Broadbent and Joe Clark were seen, not only defending Trudeau's policy vis-à-vis languages, but speaking French themselves! Joe Clark even made a point of speaking some French at every political meeting held in Western communities during the 1979 campaign.

A growing interest in learning French

At present, the public schools in the West - in all four provinces - are under extremely heavy pressure to offer more French language training to the young. The pressure is not only coming from Francophone families, but from Anglophone families who wish their children to be raised with two languages. In fact, it is the Western Anglophone community which is leading the rapid movement towards more French language training in schools.

A quick interview with Anglophone parents sending their children to schools where they are taught most subjects in French reveals that parents are willing to go to considerable trouble (usually it is a greater distance to a bilingual school) and expense to have their children learn French while young, especially at the kindergarten and elementary school level. These parents believe that an hour a day of French in school is of little, or at least of no long term value, and that in giving their children immersion schooling they are giving them an economic and cultural advantage not enjoyed by unilingual citizens.

They also feel that learning French as an adult is a difficult, if not an impossible task, and they are determined to have their children learn French at school age. They believe that in training their children to be bilingual they are contributing to Canadian unity.

Interviews with public school administrators in the West indicate that theirs is not an easy task. For the most part their sympathies are with the parent wanting bilingual training for their child. But they have reservations. For one, the increase in cost is significant, and where is the money to come from? Federal government grants normally provide only seed money, with the local school board having to carry the brunt of on-going costs. Then there is the expectation that if a child is accepted as an immersion student at kindergarten, or Grade I, then that child will receive a bilingual education through to high school graduation. This increases the cost factor considerably. Administrators also have to deal with the problem of a chronic shortage of qualified French language teachers in the West.

Another negative factor is the highly controversial community decision which has to be made from time to time to decide which school should be designated for French language training. This issue is often inaccurately reported by the media, especially when tempers flare at a school board meeting. The issue appears at first glance to be a racial split or feud. It is usually nothing of the sort. It is a difference of interests. It only stands to reason that when the local school board decides that School A is to be *the* "French school", that all those parents living near School A and sending their children to an "English

school" are angry. After all, because of the arbitrary decision about School A, children living near School A, which probably has long been an English language public school, will now have to bus their children to School B, probably some distance away. Then tempers fly!

In every major Western Canadian city, the demand for French language training seems to exceed availability. This is mainly because more and more Anglophone parents are trying to get their children into these schools. The numbers attending are quite impressive. So far, they are almost all elementary schools - but the indications are that the number who will be in secondary schools will increase sharply during the '80s as the students progress through the system.

French in Burnaby, B.C., and Calgary, Alberta

A quick look at two Western cities' experience will give a reading as to what is happening. Burnaby, British Columbia, is a bedroom subsidiary of Vancouver. It is not, in relative terms, a high income community. The population is about 150,000. Responding to great pressure from parents, the Burnaby School District, four years ago, opened its first classroom for French immersion courses. Now eight classrooms teach all subjects in the French language to almost 200 children up to Grade IV. As each year passes another class will be added to take care of the maturing students as well as the new ones entering the programme. The classrooms gradually blend into bilingual status, rather than total immersion, as the students become older.

Calgary is the best known Western Canadian city today, and has a

population of 500,000. It has been unfairly billed as the anti-bilingual city of the West. The facts are quite astounding and are contrary to popular opinion.

During the eight-year period from 1972, enrolment in the bilingual program of the *public* school system has grown from 60 students to 2,248! These children are enrolled at 11 different centres around the city - each of which offers only bilingual courses so that all the children in each school are in the program and tend to speak French in their leisure hours as well. There are nine elementary schools and two junior high schools in the bilingual program. In the fall of 1981, the first bilingual secondary school will open as the students from the above programs mature.

There are many interesting aspects of the Calgary experience, for example the demand is growing markedly and it is rapidly making an impact on the community-at-large. Only seven per cent of the students enrolled have Francophone parents. Most Francophone children are in the private (Catholic) school system, which is not included in this study.

Changing attitudes

The data on bilingual school attendance in the West is impressive. But even more impressive is the turnaround this implies in attitudes towards the French language, towards bilingualism and towards Canada as a nation with two founding language groups. Only five years ago it would have been impossible to obtain a majority in the West willing to accept equal status for both languages in schools and in government services to the public, or to accept the concept of

entrenching minority language rights in the constitution. In 1980, for the first time that position changed and the trend in all the West is clearly toward a more liberal view.

In the most comprehensive survey of Western public opinion ever conducted, the Canada West Foundation commissioned MIR Limited to question in depth over 1,200 Western Canadians at random - approximately 200 each in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and 400 each in Alberta and British Columbia.

The survey was conducted in October 1980 and found that in Western Canada, 53 per cent were in favor of entrenching language rights in the constitution of Canada. The range between the provinces was 47 per cent in favor in Manitoba to 57 per cent in favor in British Columbia. Only 49 per cent in Manitoba and 41 per cent in British Columbia were opposed — the balance was either in favour of some third position or had no opinion on the subject. It is noteworthy that the number who have accepted and are supportive of language rights per se is far greater than the number of those prepared for the entrenchment of language rights in the constitution.

At the end of November, the Canada West Foundation held a major conference of people drawn from all parts of the West and North. They too were surveyed as to their opinion on the entrenchment of language rights. They revealed similar support in favor of entrenchment. Additionally, they were asked about other French language rights in the West and it was found that 75 per cent were in favor of *full* educational rights for Francophones in the West.

It is perhaps worth noting here that though conventional wisdom has always referred to Alberta as the anti-French centre of the nation, in fact, Manitoba has recently produced stronger negative emotions about the language issue - emotions which seemingly date back to 1890 and the Manitoba Schools Act, among other acts. Old prejudices die hard!

What attitude and trends are we then witnessing today? In today's West we are seeing *an increase in understanding and acceptance of the nation's language issue at the very time when there is a rapid increase in the strong and often rancorous split*

between the West and central Canada on other issues.

Perhaps Westerners are becoming more constructively selective, i.e. they are clearly divorcing their growing understanding and acceptance of the language issue from their economic and political differences with Ottawa. At a time when there are no elected representatives in the Liberal government west of Winnipeg; at a time when 28 per cent of those in the West (30 per cent in Alberta) say: "We get so few benefits from being part of Canada that we might as well go it alone" (the number of potential separatists has doubled in a year); at such a time

there is still a significant increase in support for the nation's bilingual program.

There is reason to believe that the unprotective attitude of Quebec's Péquiste government towards Francophones "hors Québec" has influenced Westerners. Certainly the referendum debate and vote were meaningful consciousness-raisers for all Canadians. But finally, whatever the reason for the West's positive approach, it is clear that an interesting contradiction has developed: Western alienation is increasing while bilingual resistance is decreasing.

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"Language is only the instrument of science, and words are but the signs of ideas..." said Samuel Johnson. In this article, it is argued that to find new ideas we sometimes have either to ignore the old signs or find fresh ones.



A reserved iconoclast, Edward de Bono treats words with affectionate circumspection.

He has set out his fresh approach to language and ideas in numerous books of which the most famous is *The Use of Lateral Thinking*. Maltese by birth, he studied in England and has since held appointments at the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, London and Harvard. Currently he directs the *Cognitive Research Trust* in Cambridge.

Warm logic and cold reason

EDWARD DE BONO

In economics there is something called the Laffer curve which suggests that if you continue to raise taxes there comes a point beyond which total revenue collected starts to fall. I prefer to call this the salt curve: some salt is necessary with food but too much salt is bad. The general principle applies to all inflected curves on a graph. It is in this context that I propose to look at some relationships between language and thinking. It is clear that up to a point the development of language has been most valuable for our thinking skills. I want to look beyond that point: to explore the region where language may be inadequate, restrictive or even dangerous for our thinking.

Language has been designed by evolution as a communication device. There is no reason to suppose that a good communication device will also be a good thinking device. With communication we want to remove ambiguity so each word we add seeks greater precision for our communication. With thinking we want to do the opposite: we want to open up more and more possibilities so that in the end our mind can thread a new path through the enriched cognitive map. In this respect poetry is a better thinking medium than prose. Prose is concerned with description and with the past: poetry is concerned with possibility and the future. The Hellenic tradition (polished by Thomas Aquinas and mediaeval scholasticism) has made descriptive logic dominant in our thinking culture. If we had not been constrained with this restrictive idiom we might have been better at developing system logic which has a greater potential for solving many of our social problems. But that is a whole article in itself.

On being clever

At school, fluency and articulation are often taken as synonymous with thinking skill. Yet when some examinations were recently carried out in general thinking skills it became apparent that fluency with language was only one type of thinking skill and not a general ability that transferred to other thinking areas (particularly not operative thinking). In an educational experiment underway in Venezuela, schools are teaching thinking skills directly at grades four, five, and six. The experiment shows that, in this subject area, there is not the usual correlation between socio-economic class and performance.

In culture in general we have no choice but to equate fluency in writing with fluency in thinking with the result that writers have probably had too large a dominance in the areas of intellectual development. It is difficult to see what else could be done, for without adequate powers of communication, the power of thought remains sterile.

One of the projects I am working on involves the creation of a meta-language for thinking that would cut across different languages and cultures and deal in a higher order manner with situations and processes. Mathematics does this to a limited extent but presupposes that we can translate an imperfectly perceived world into finite symbols and relationships. The new meta-language will have to operate more within the area of "warm logic" and "fuzzy sets". We are coming to realise that the main virtue of the brain as an information processing device is its tendency to make mistakes and to produce blurry images. Hitherto much thinking about thinking has followed

the seductive but misleading path of computer simulation with its unfortunate accuracy.

Bilonging

The most powerful word I have come across in any language is in pidgin English in Papua New Guinea. The word is "bilong". From an information handling point of view this is an immensely powerful word because it implies "association frame" and nothing more. It does not imply ownership or property possession. You could as easily say "this book bilong him" as "him bilong this book". You could also say "him bilong restaurant this evening". By refusing to specify ownership or position in space and time the word "bilong" is rich and powerful in use because it implies "association frame": it means that the things described are in the same association frame.

In general, languages tend to be too weak in vague words which are yet so powerful for thinking. This is because we tend to rush towards the security of accurate description. To be of use for thinking, however, the vague words must not be vague through ignorance and inaccuracy but through design. For example the notion of "cause and effect" is

much too limiting; we badly need a word to be stronger than "influence" but less defining than "cause".

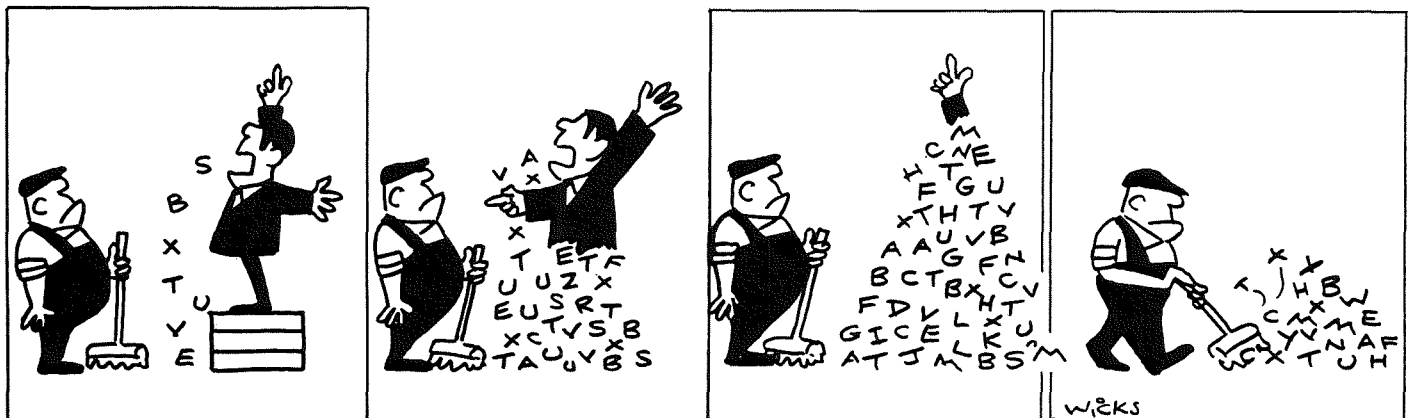
Lateral thinking

Some years ago I invented the term "lateral thinking". This is now officially part of the English language with an entry in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (even in the small "Concise" version). It was necessary to invent this word if we were ever to understand creativity as a thought process that could be developed and applied deliberately. The ordinary word "creativity" makes it impossible to focus upon the area that needs focusing upon. For example we may have a creative painter who has a particular perception of the world. If he is able to express this perception through a combination of craftsmanship and emotional response he may succeed in getting some of us to look at the world through his eyes. Our vision is thereby enlarged and that painter is of value to society. But that painter may be quite unable to change his perception. His perception may be different and valuable — yet totally rigid.

The same thing happens with children. If a young child is presented with a problem he may

come up with a highly original solution because he is ignorant of the usual approach. But that child will be unable to change the offered approach for a different one.

So here also we have creativity and rigidity. We now know enough about cybernetic systems to understand how the brain can operate as a self-organising information system that allows incoming experience to form patterns. We can see how these patterns are formed by the arbitrary sequence in which experience has arrived. So we can see the utility of trying to change some existing patterns of perception. That is where lateral thinking comes in. It is the type of perceptual changing used by Einstein and used by mathematicians as they tackle problems. There is nothing mystical about the process. It is just a different type of logic: perceptual logic based on a universe of patterning systems. Such a universe can be described accurately and its relationships even simulated on a computer. It is a universe of active nerve nets as contrasted with our usual idiom of passive recording systems. It is a universe of "curved" information instead of linear information.



Sweet unreason

In a patterning universe the process of provocation is essential. Provocation is best described in the phrase "there may not be a reason for saying something until after it has been said". In normal logic this is a definition of nonsense but in a patterning universe it is sober and mathematically sensible. For example in discussing pollution legislation I once suggested "Po, the factory should be downstream of itself". At first sight this is an impossibility but it leads to the notion that legislation should insist that a factory's input must always be downstream of its output — so that it is the first to get a sample of its own pollution. This notion has now become legislation in Russia and East Europe.

The word "po" used in the provocation above is an invention intended to indicate that the following statement is being used outside the usual judgement/descriptive mode and in what we may call the "movement" mode. That is to say the statement is used in order to see what might

follow from it. In ordinary culture the nearest we get to this is with words like *hypothesis*, *suppose*, *possible* and *potential* (hence the origin of the syllable "po"). All these cases are, however, much too weak because they imply a degree of reasonableness for the statement which is seen to fit existing circumstances even if this is not yet certain or proved. "Po" indicates an operation totally outside the judgement mode.

Truth and proto-truth

In one of my books (*The Happiness Purpose*) I talk about "proto-truths". The Western concept of truth with its Platonic overtones tends to be absolute. The Eastern concept of truth is almost exactly the opposite: all is illusion and arbitrary. The concept of a "proto-truth" is a truth that is to be held and treated as absolute — provided that at the same time we are trying to change it. In ordinary language terms that tends to be something of a contradiction but in operational terms it is easy to understand. In fact it is not dissimilar to the Japanese mode of thinking in which they use rigid patterning and "switching" instead of the dialectic idiom which has done such an immense amount of harm to Western culture.

What right do we have to invent words like "lateral thinking", "po" and "proto-truth"? Should a word only be invented if a perceived gap exists (as with "lateral thinking") or should a word be invented in order to lead our thinking in a different direction (as with "po")? This raises an immensely important question regarding language and thinking. Is it better if language has a precise word for a particular concept — rather like the evolution of the excellent French word "informatique" — or is it better if the concept has to be

described in a periphrastic way by means of an assembly of other words?

The use of a large number of words may indeed accurately describe the new concept but it seems to me that such a cumbersome method makes the description a destination rather than a staging post to other thoughts. On the other hand a precise word can fossilise the concept and prevent the emergence of other "cross-concepts" as has happened with the concept of "creativity". That we should be able to obtain an accurate description of what we want to say — in one way or another — is quite insufficient as an objective. We also need to enrich our thinking with an operational concept.

In some cases, new operational concepts are created all the time. The whole area of neologisms, jargon, slang and technical phrases, for example, gets a certain amount of attention and both sides in the argument (liberal or conservative) are equally in the right — as in all balance situations which our thinking culture forces us to treat in a polarised manner.

What concerns me now is not finding new words for new things, but changing some of our best established and hallowed concepts. These are difficult to change because they are frozen by words which show no obvious sign of needing to be changed. That is where the danger lies: language tends to immobilise yet who can travel new lands unless free to go?



Ben Wicks not only behaves like Puck, he looks like him. The difference is that Puck

mocks in verse, but Wicks exposes frail humanity in cartoons. He came to Canada from England in 1975 and currently draws for almost 200 daily newspapers in North America and the West Indies — a feat which wins him a massive readership of about 50 million daily. Though primarily a cartoonist Wicks has lately branched out to act as TV host, satirical writer and Toronto restaurateur.

Because English is the dominant language in North America, bilingual education affects an English-speaking child differently to a French-speaking child. The first may learn two languages; the second risks assimilation.



"I'm a victim of bilingual education myself", says William F. Mackey, who attended a

French/English school in St. Boniface, Manitoba. At 14, his mother declared he could speak neither language properly, and sent him to a unilingual French school. He founded *Le Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme* at Laval University, where he still teaches. He has also taught at the universities of London, Cambridge, California and Texas.

Safeguarding language in schools

WILLIAM F. MACKEY

"One man's meat is another man's poison" may be as true of languages as it is of people. Educating Francophone minorities within the same system as the Anglophone majority has contributed to the now well-documented decline of many French-speaking communities outside the St. Lawrence Valley heartland of French Canada. The language histories of such towns as Maillardville, Gravelbourg and St. Boniface bear witness to this fact.

Francophone communities are not the authors of the decline in the use of French. Most would have preferred it otherwise. Traditionally, it has seemed natural for families to hand down to their children their own cultural heritage. This may include religion, language, values, and the concept of what constitutes correct behaviour.

If these constituents of family culture differ from those with whom members of the family have contact, there will be a certain amount of adaptation which will cause a watering down and eventual loss of most cultural traits which differentiate the children and grandchildren of the family from their cultural surroundings. The more the contact, the quicker the loss. This is especially true of language. Contact between two families speaking two different languages is only possible if one of them understands the language of the other.

Throughout the world, the families which make up linguistic and other cultural minorities have banded together to create institutions for the preservation of their cultural heritage — churches, schools, and even communes. Some minorities, like the different sects of

Anabaptists, have migrated to distant parts of the globe in search of countries which would permit them to remain different.

Cultural differences have traditionally been tolerated in most parts of North America, especially as regards religion and customs. But in the crucial cultural area of schooling, there has been much less tolerance. The modern industrial state can operate only on the assumption that its citizens possess certain basic skills, acquired in school, enabling the government to communicate with the people in a language or in languages they presumably understand. This makes possible the rule of law. It is not surprising that in the modern state, schools have tended to become the property of the government, with its ministries of education, curriculum coordinators and professional educational administrators. Consequently education has been transformed into a system which values uniformity over diversity. Gradually the cultural values, traditions, customs and language that have been conveyed through the educational system have invariably become those of the majority — even in countries where the minority language has enjoyed the protection of the law.

That two languages have been declared equal *de jure* does not mean, however, that they are *de facto* equal. Reasoning from equality in law to parity in practice has led to a dominant fallacy in the evolution of Canada's language policy.¹ It leads to such practices as allotting the same expenditure for the promotion of English (which needs none) as to the support of French (which needs more) — quite often on a per capita basis — since legally no discrimination can be

made between equals. It is therefore uncertain whether parity in official language promotion actually prevents assimilation of Francophone minorities.

Bilingual today, assimilated tomorrow

In practice, the assimilation of "official minorities" has often followed the same process as that of the acculturation of immigrant communities. In both cases, intergenerational bilingualism has served as a catalyst in transferring the medium of interpersonal communication from one language to the other. While the intervening generations are bilingual, the preceding generations were unilingual in the ancestral tongue and the following generations, unilingual in the adopted language. The process may be completed within the lifetime of a settler, whose grandchildren no longer understand the language, or it may take centuries. It is accelerated by bilingualism; stabilized by diglossia.

If bilingualism is the use of two languages, diglossia is their functional distribution. When a community or part of a community continues to use two languages for all functions, one of the languages is likely to dominate since no two languages can remain equal for all things at all times. On the other hand, if some of the functions such as schooling, religion and recreation are always performed in one of the languages, while other functions such as work, shopping and public administration always take place in the other language, both languages can be maintained for as long as the functions remain both important and unilingual. Depending on the distribution, some members of the community may be able to remain unilingual; others will have to become

bilingual. This bilingualism may be that of one group, that of the other, or that of both. In other words, a certain type of diglossia may help maintain a certain degree of bilingualism.

The diglossia of a community is one result of the ethnicity of its constituents. Some groups maintain a much higher degree of ethnicity than do others; and their ethnic identity may require a language and a religion and a morality and laws and customs which are exclusively their own. At the other end of the ethnicity scale, ethnic identity may be limited to a vaguely identified common ancestry.²

The functional distribution of languages in a community is also determined by historical constraints and the past conditions under which language minorities have attempted to survive. If the only exclusive function possible was the use of the ethnic language in the home, it is likely that, as contacts with speakers of the other language increased, this limited diglossia would give way to an increasing degree of bilingualism within the home, to interethnic marriages, and eventually to language transfer. The processes are difficult to quantify, since not enough is known about the language ecology of diglossic communities.³

Buying stamps in English

It would seem, however, that once a diglossic pattern is set, it is difficult to alter. If French speaking families in Saskatchewan have always bought stamps in English from the attendant at the local post-office, it is unlikely that they will suddenly switch to French after the attendant has been transformed, at federal expense, into a bilingual public servant.

And this in spite of the exhortations of ethnic activists to use the language so as not to lose it. Language behaviour is not a charade. It is part of the business of living. And to most people, life seems more important than language. As for the freshly-baked bilingual attendant, the rewards lie in the accolades received from local Francophones — often in English — on the quality of the bilingual's newly acquired French.

The probability of being able to modify diglossic patterns in the language behaviour of a community also depends on its degree of ethnicity favoured by geolinguistic context and historical circumstances, as a comparison of the success of ethnic irredentism in Israel and its failure in Ireland will attest.⁴

Diglossic patterns differ in viability, and the relative importance of each of their component language functions varies from one age-group to the next. As a child ages the relative importance of language-related contexts of the home, the school, and the community may evolve from home-oriented to work-oriented language behaviour. The classroom is not always decisive in determining the eventual language behaviour of the group. The variety, intensity and affectivity of language-related stimuli outside the classroom are more important; and they often become dominant before the child attains adolescence. They are also far greater in number.

If in a given year, a child spends some 300 hours in the classroom, he will spend more than five times as long outside it. What happens language-wise during those many out-of-class hours may be far more important in determining that

individual's language future. If all out-of-school activities are done in a language other than that of the classroom — playing, reading, watching television, listening to the radio, shopping, casual conversation, odd-jobbing and the like — it is that other language, rather than the instructional medium, which is likely to dominate. But the most crucial of these out-of-class influences seems to be, not that of the parents, but that of the peers.

Talking like our friends

In a bi-ethnic community, where each family functions in its own home-language, uni-ethnic schools have the likelihood of assuring that the peer language be that of the home as long as the children remain fairly isolated from unilingual peers speaking another language. If this other language is that of the majority, or is otherwise dominant, it will necessarily become the medium in which children may eventually have to work, if they are to achieve a desirable degree of mobility. If this happens only after the end of secondary school, it is unlikely that the bilinguals will forget the language in which they were reared and educated, although they may in fact have to use the second language to a greater and greater extent, especially if they marry partners who speak it. This does not mean however that they will be able to transfer their mother-tongue to their own children — especially if the children must attend a unilingual school in a unilingual community.⁵

In such a context, demonstrably, the influence of such a centralized educational system is so powerful that it can change the culture (and language) of a family within two generations. The span of time may

be short enough to become directly observable by the very minorities whose language and customs are disappearing. It has become evident, time and time again, that no matter what the cultural traditions of the home, it is society and the school that will largely determine the culture and language of the children. It is not surprising that ethnic minorities have always fought for their own schools.

Schools are parts of a community or of a complex of inter-related communities whose dominant language may be other than that of the school. The more dominant this other language happens to be, the more will the burden of ethnic survival have to be borne by the school and the family. For Francophones, this burden may be heavier in Edmonton (Alberta)

than it is in Edmunston (New Brunswick) where the majority of the community is French-speaking. It may be lighter in Northern Ontario than in Southern Ontario where the influence of the Anglophone population is greater and the incidence of exogamy consequently higher.⁶

English minorities in North America

In the heartland of French Canada, on the other hand, it is the Anglophone minorities which have taken special steps to keep their language, through their own schools and their own media. But they have had a much easier time of it than have had their Francophone counterparts in English Canada. This is partly because Quebec has traditionally supported separate and distinct educational systems, while in other



provinces, all children regardless of ethnic affiliation have been obliged to integrate into a single Anglophone educational system. It is also because on a larger scale, English is by far the dominant language in North America.

So powerful has been the influence of English in North America, that cases of Anglophone families losing their language in America rank as sociolinguistic oddities. Rather it has been extremely difficult for the Anglophone population to master any language other than English. An independent survey commissioned from the Educational Testing Service by the research division of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the sixties revealed that even Anglophone high school graduates in Montreal, a city which was then more than sixty per cent Francophone, did no better on a standardized French test than did their counterparts elsewhere in North America — and this, despite the fact that they had studied French as a subject in

school three to four times longer. Observations such as these made many Anglophone Montrealers lose faith in the capacity of their English-speaking school system to make their children even moderately bilingual. After badgering their reluctant educators for several years, a small group of Anglophone parents finally obtained permission to create an experimental class in which French would be used as a medium of instruction instead of being taught simply as another subject. This was the origin of the voluntary French “immersion” classes which, within a few years, were to attract more than ten per cent of the Anglophone parents of Montreal and to spread to all parts of English-speaking Canada. After more than a decade of observation, it has become evident that, in spite of all that immersion into the French language, the Anglophone children by becoming bilingual did not lose their native English.

This same experiment, had it been performed in English on a Francophone population, would not necessarily have produced comparable results. The reason lies in the uses and influence of the two languages in urban North America. Although French has indeed rivaled English in many countries, it is the English language that has long been dominant in North America.

It has come to possess, because of a complex of inter-related economic, demographic, cultural, scientific and mobility factors, what has become known as language power.⁷ Because of this geolinguistic imbalance, bilingual education cannot produce the same results in a North American community of Francophones as it can in a comparable community of Anglophones.

Immersion schools: a key to where?

A successful bilingual school for Anglophones in Quebec might indeed result in a certain degree of bilingualism within the school population. Yet a comparable bilingual school for Francophones in Ontario might lead to the complete assimilation of the population into the Anglophone community. In Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Halifax and most other places in English Canada, Anglophones may require total immersion in French in order to attain a moderate degree of bilingualism while maintaining their mother tongue. This same remedy, paradoxically, is what may be needed to maintain the mother tongue and the bilingualism of the Francophones of English Canada.

This does not mean, however, that both Francophone and Anglophone pupils in the same all-French immersion school would profit equally, since the out-of-class language is likely to be the one dominant in the area. Moreover, while the French of beginning pupils from English-speaking homes is often low or non-existent, the entering language level and initial available vocabulary in French of those whose home language is French is already a few years in advance.⁸ Thirdly, schooling in the language of the home seems more natural than the somewhat artificial French of “immersion” classes composed exclusively of pupils who speak only English at home. Such pupils as they become more and more adult tend to shy away from the play-acting language of childhood in favour of the everyday language of the adult world. Such “bilingual” uni-ethnic schools do not in themselves tend to promote societal bilingualism.



Berthio's vigorous cartoon characters have amused readers of *Le Devoir* for

over eight years. He has also drawn cartoons for *La Presse*, *Dimanche-Matin*, *l'Actualité* and most other major daily, weekly and monthly publications in Quebec. Periodically, Berthio gathers his work together to publish collections such as *Pierre, Jean, René, Claude et les autres* which came out in 1980. A native of Montreal, Berthio still lives in that city where he is known to friends and neighbours as Roland Berthiaume.

Bi-ethnic schools, however, can and do promote this type of bilingualism. Some such schools composed of a balanced student population from different home-language backgrounds can have a curriculum (with extra-curricular support) designed to promote "natural" or societal

bilingualism whereby language is always functional, becomes part of everyday life, and seldom exists as an end in itself.⁹ If bi-ethnic or "mixed" schools are best for English Canada while being undesirable for the preservation of Francophone minorities, from where can enough

French-speakers be recruited to populate bi-ethnic schools designed for Anglophones?¹⁰ This is just another dilemma among the many included in the implementation of a policy of official bilingualism based on a principle of parity.

Notes and References

1. See in the Bibeau Report (*Report of the Independent Study on the Language Training Programmes of the Public Service of Canada*, Ottawa, 1976) my survey of the evolution of federal language legislation in Canada and its inherent contradictions. See also the *Report of the Second Bilingual Districts Advisory Board* and its appendices (Ottawa, 1975).

2. See examples in my "Identité culturelle, francophonie et enseignement du français en milieu plurilingue". In: *Identité culturelle et Francophonie en Amérique II*, edited by Hans Runte and Albert Valdam. Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center for Language and Semiotic Studies, pp. 81-102.

3. As a species of conventional social behaviour, language and languages thrive better in certain social environments than they do in others. See the conclusion to W.F. Mackey & J. Ornstein (eds.) *Sociolinguistic Studies in Language Contact*. The Hague: Mouton 1979, pp. 453-460; also, W.F. Mackey, "The Ecology of Language Shift", *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik Beihefte* 32 (1980): 34-41.

4. This has become a frequent comparison. Much has been written on the revival of Hebrew; likewise on the Irish language revival. But only recently have scholars and government commissions given the question the hard, objective and painstaking study needed for the formation of a realistic language policy. For a description of such a study see, W.F. Mackey, "L'irréductibilité linguistique: une

enquête témoin". In: G. Manessy & P. Wald (eds.) *Plurilinguisme: Normes, Situations, Stratégies*. Paris: Éditions l'Harmattan 1979, pp. 255-284.

5. Little has been written on family bilingualism. See, however, Ilonka Schmidt Mackey's "Language Strategies of the Bilingual Family". In: *Bilingualism in Early Childhood*, edited by W.F. Mackey & Th. Andersson. Rowley: Newbury House 1977, pp. 132-146.

6. In Ottawa, Castonguay, DeVries, Vallee, Joy and others have attempted to correlate language survival with economic, social and demographic variables. Attempts have also been made to measure and plot degrees of language assimilation on language maps. See, for example, W.F. Mackey & D.G. Cartwright "Geocoding Language Loss from Census Data". In: *Language Planning and the Building of a National Language*, edited by B.P. Sibayan & A.B. Gonzalez. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines 1977, pp. 60-87.

7. For validation of some indicators of language power, see W.F. Mackey *Three Concepts for Geolinguistics* (CIRB Publication B-42). Quebec: International Center for Research on Bilingualism 1973. Reprinted in Vol. 2 of *Sprachen und Staaten* (pp. 167-239). Hamburg: Stiftung Europa-Kollege 1976.

8. Comparative studies have been made between the available French vocabulary of bilingual and French-Canadian children and that of

their counterparts in France. See W.F. Mackey, J.-G. Savard & P. Ardouin *Le vocabulaire disponible du français* (2 vols.). Paris & Montreal: Didier International 1971.

9. Descriptions are now being made of how such schools operate. See, for example, W.F. Mackey *Bilingual Education in a Binational School*. Rowley: Newbury House 1972.

10. The question of ethnic schooling has generated a great deal of inevitable conflict. Unfortunately it has also created disagreements due to an unwitting lack of agreement on the meaning of key terms. The word *bilingual* for example, has meant different things to different persons because in reality language competence is a matter of degree — how much of which language for which purpose. Interchangeable adjectives like *biethnic*, *mixed*, and *bicultural*, meaning people with different home languages and cultures, also indicate proportion — how many of each. For a glossary of definitions in English, see pp. 190-213 of W.F. Mackey and V.N. Beebe, *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community*. Rowley: Newbury House 1977. A comparable French glossary may be found in W.F. Mackey, *Le bilinguisme canadien: bibliographie analytique et guide du chercheur* (CIRB Publication B-75). Quebec: Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme 1978. For an overall view of the general problems of bilingualism and bilingual education, see the first half of W.F. Mackey *Bilinguisme et contact des langues*. Paris: Klincksieck 1976.

According to some researchers, Quebec is set to become more French and the rest of Canada, increasingly English — a vision of a polarized future.



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Demography at the University of Montreal. His interest in demography began in 1953 when he graduated from the University of Paris to work for *l'Institut national d'études démographiques* in Paris. Since returning to Canada in 1954, he has produced numerous articles and books, his latest being joint authorship, with others, of *Les enfants qu'on n'a plus au Québec*, due to be published this year.

Two solitudes in 2,001?

JACQUES HENRIPIN

Since 1760, Francophones and Anglophones have competed for demographic supremacy in Canada. Until the early years of the 19th century, Canadians of French origin were in the majority, but thereafter they were outnumbered in the territory which corresponds to today's Canada. Over the next fifty years, the proportion of Anglophones grew steadily and by 1851 represented approximately 70 per cent of the total population. For the following 100 years or so, the extremely high birth rate among Francophones counter-balanced the threat posed by immigration and enabled them to maintain their numerical representation at 30 per cent of the total population.

However, since the second World War, the Francophone birth rate has declined so rapidly that many socio-political observers have serious doubts about the future. Are we heading towards a situation in which their representation is not only declining in the rest of Canada but also in Quebec, particularly in the greater metropolitan area of Montreal? Is their future in fact, threatened everywhere in Canada, even in the province of Quebec?

A research group led by Réjean Lachapelle¹ has devoted almost two years to studying this question and a number of related issues. The group focussed its analysis on three language groups defined in terms of the language usually spoken at home: English, French and all other languages. They also took mother tongue data into consideration in order to study language transfer: i.e. the adoption by some people of a language other than their mother tongue as the language they most frequently use.

Unfortunately, space permits only a cursory summary of the study. First, however, we should bear in mind that, whatever the intrinsic value of a language or the richness of the culture it expresses, no language can be maintained if it is not built on a sufficiently dynamic demographic base. This is where many different elements and circumstances come into play, but the action they spark is always expressed in terms of one or more of four dynamic demolinguistic components: mortality rate, birth rate, shifts in population and language transfer.

Past trends

Since a census question on the language most frequently used by Canadians was not asked until the 1971 census, we must examine data on mother tongue (the first language learned or spoken in childhood and still understood) in order to describe the evolution of our major linguistic communities since the end of the 19th century. This data has been collected since 1921, but we may legitimately assume that in 1871 the terms ethnic origin and mother tongue are more or less interchangeable. Based on this hypothesis, we are able to draw up the following table which includes statistics on the language most frequently used, i.e. the language most often used at home, (as determined by the 1971 census).

As we see on the next page, at first English as a mother tongue lost ground to "other" languages in Canada as a whole. It later re-established its primacy everywhere except in Quebec, where it has continued

¹ Réjean Lachapelle and Jacques Henripin : *La situation démologique au Canada : évolution passée et prospective*, Montréal, l'Institut de recherches politiques, 1980.

Table 1
Population (as a %) based on mother tongue
(1871-1976) and language most frequently used (1971)
Canada, Quebec, and Canada excluding Quebec

	1871(a)	1931(b)	1961(a)	1976(a)	1971(c)
English					
Canada	61.5	57.0	58.5	61.5	67.0
Quebec	20.4	14.9	13.3	12.8	14.7
Canada excluding Quebec	80.1	73.1	76.8	79.7	87.2
French					
Canada	29.0	27.3	28.1	26.0	25.7
Quebec	78.0	79.8	81.2	81.1	80.8
Canada excluding Quebec	6.9	7.2	6.6	5.4	4.4
Other					
Canada	9.5	15.7	13.4	12.5	7.3
Quebec	1.6	5.3	5.5	6.1	4.5
Canada excluding Quebec	13.0	19.7	16.6	14.9	8.4

(a) Includes Newfoundland (b) Does not include Newfoundland (c) Language most frequently used
Source: Lachapelle and Henripin, *op. cit.*, tables B.1, B.2, B.4 and B.6. See also p. 12 for 1871.

to decline in importance. English as the language most frequently used (1971) is now making considerable gains throughout Canada. In this context, English is the language most frequently used by 67 per cent of the total Canadian population, by 14.7 per cent of Quebec's population, and by 87.2 per cent of the population outside Quebec.

Although French was spoken by 30 per cent of Canada's population until 1951, this figure has declined considerably since then, except in Quebec, where it has increased slightly. As the language most frequently used, French has progressively lost ground. In 1971, it was used by only 4.4 per cent of the Canadian population outside Quebec.

As for other languages, successive waves of immigration at first

encouraged their proliferation. However, because of the attraction English has for immigrant Allophones, the representation of these other languages has declined drastically from one census to the next and, in 1971, stood at only 7.3 per cent for all of Canada.

The net result of these developments was that, in 1971, 88 per cent of the country's Francophones were concentrated in Quebec and 94 per cent of all Anglophones lived in the rest of Canada.

Demolinguistic phenomena

If we exclude the mortality rate, which plays a negligible role today, we need only consider the following as factors affecting the size of the various language groups: birth rate, shifts in population and language transfer. Differences in birth rates, which were particularly favourable to

Francophones in the past, have been greatly reduced. Although recent trends are difficult to interpret, we can at least say that the so-called "revenge of the cradle" has ended. It no longer enables Francophones to maintain their numbers as a percentage of the population as a whole regardless of the influx of English-speaking immigrants. Even in Quebec, immigration is now more advantageous to the English than to the French.

Examined in terms of language, migratory trends are extremely complex and unstable. It is nevertheless possible to evaluate them tentatively for Quebec and the rest of Canada for the 1971-1976 period.

It is clear that, in relation to the other linguistic groups and with due consideration being given to their number:

- the "other" languages are in a winning position both in Quebec and in the rest of Canada;
- English is at a great disadvantage in Quebec and at a slight disadvantage in the other provinces;
- French is at a slight disadvantage in Quebec (although better off than English) and at a substantial disadvantage in the rest of Canada.

What we are then left with is language transfer, which is a much more stable phenomenon than population movements. One can get a good idea of this phenomenon by calculating the proportion of individuals who, by the age of 30 or 40, no longer frequently use their mother tongue. The figure is small for the French in Quebec (two per cent) and for the English in the rest of the country (0.5 per cent) who

were born in Canada. But following are some significant statistics showing other instances of language transfer:

- of Anglophones born in Canada and living in Quebec, 11 per cent transfer to another language
- of Francophones born in Canada and living outside Quebec, 40 per cent transfer to another language
- of Allophones born in Canada as a whole, 80 per cent transfer to another language
- of Allophones born abroad and now living in Canada as a whole, 41 per cent transfer to another language.

We see therefore that the "other" languages survive in Canada only through the influence of immigrants. However, native languages represent an exception to this rule. In the case of native peoples, 35 per cent abandon their mother tongue around the age of 30. This proportion roughly

corresponds to the losses suffered by Francophones outside Quebec and is an extremely important factor in the future development of Allophones and Francophones outside Quebec. For the latter, the degree of language transfer varies greatly from one province to another and is particularly low among Acadians (about ten per cent)².

Possible future prospects

There are enormous risks attached to forecasting the future. Abandoning all predictions, the authors have attempted to determine only what is plausible, i.e. possible situations which politicians dare not ignore.

In the absence of any proven formula, the best solution is to be guided by past demolinguistic trends (giving due consideration to attendant circumstances); to the manner in which these

² Lachapelle and Henripin, op. cit., p. 191 and 193.

circumstances may change in the future, and, finally, to what can be brought about by government intervention.

At the outset, such an exercise presupposes a choice of possibilities for the future development of the phenomena in question. This is particularly delicate in the case of shifts in population. Furthermore, in Quebec, where the fragile linguistic balance can give rise to difficult problems, the situation becomes complicated by government interventions which may influence both shifts in population and language transfer.

Four possible projections have been prepared, each corresponding to the following sets of circumstances:

- *Good* socio-economic conditions and *slight* improvement in the situation vis-à-vis French (GS);
- *Good* socio-economic conditions and *great* improvement in the situation vis-à-vis French (GG);
- *Mediocre* socio-economic conditions and *slight* improvement in the situation vis-à-vis French (MS);
- *Mediocre* socio-economic conditions and *great* improvement in the situation vis-à-vis French (MG).

The acronyms in the following table correspond to these four situations. In order to reach a better understanding of the strategy adopted for each situation, it should be noted that, while attempting to keep to what is reasonable, the authors have systematically chosen situations favouring the Anglophones of Quebec. The reason for this is the fear that Quebec's Francophone majority may be endangered in the long term. In the interventionist context of Quebec, therefore, the

Table 2
Mother tongue losses and gains resulting from population, shifts between provinces and immigration from abroad, Quebec and the rest of Canada, 1971 - 1976.

	Immigration from abroad	Population shifts between provinces	Total losses and gains
Quebec			
English	+ 6,500	- 53,000	- 46,500
French	+ 10,000	- 4,000	+ 6,000
Other	+ 26,000	- 6,500	+ 19,500
All languages	+ 42,500	- 63,500	- 21,000
Rest of Canada			
English	+ 216,000	+ 53,000	+ 269,000
French	+ 8,000	+ 4,000	+ 12,000
Other	+ 198,500	+ 6,500	+ 205,000
All languages	+ 422,500	+ 63,500	+ 486,000

Source: Lachapelle and Henripin, op. cit., pp. 191, 193.

study of plausible future trends has to be slanted in favour of Anglophones to establish unequivocally that fears for the future of the French language in Quebec are unfounded.

The results of our projections for the year 2001 show that it is highly unlikely that Quebec's Francophone majority is in danger of losing ground. This hypothesis would hold only if economic conditions remain good for thirty years and if the role played by the French language shows only a slight improvement compared to the situation prior to government intervention. Even in this case, with Francophone representation dropping from 80.8 per cent in 1971 to 79.3 per cent in 2001, the situation of French would deteriorate only slightly. According to the three other situations, Francophone representation would increase and might even reach 86.5 per cent. Contrary to wide-spread opinion, Montreal's prospects are even more reassuring.

On the other hand, the Anglophone minority could decline considerably and in fact has apparently been doing so for several decades both in Montreal and in the rest of Quebec. According to the GS hypothesis, however, the proportion of Anglophones could also increase throughout the province. But if we consider the linguistic "assistance" given this group, such a situation appears unlikely. Furthermore, Anglophone representation might even decrease by one-third. In the rest of Canada, the situation is much clearer: it is a case of increased anglicization and reduced Francophone representation. The proportion of Allophones will increase or decrease according to the number of immigrants.

Table 3

Population according to language most frequently used showing four projections for 2001; Canada, Canada excluding Quebec, Quebec, Montreal and Quebec excluding Montreal (by percentages)

	1971	Projections for 2001			
		GS	GG	MS	MG
Canada					
English	67.0	70.5	68.4	72.2	70.6
French	25.7	21.6	22.3	23.1	23.9
Other	7.3	8.0	9.3	4.7	5.5
Canada excluding Quebec					
English	87.2	88.8	87.3	91.7	90.6
French	4.4	2.2	2.3	3.2	3.5
Other	8.4	9.0	10.4	5.1	5.8
Quebec					
English	14.7	15.8	11.2	12.1	9.1
French	80.8	79.3	82.6	84.3	86.5
Other	4.5	5.0	6.2	3.7	4.4
Montreal					
English	23.3	23.1	16.8	18.6	14.2
French	68.8	69.5	74.2	75.5	78.9
Other	7.9	7.4	9.0	5.9	6.9
Quebec excluding Montreal					
English	5.8	5.0	3.4	4.4	3.3
French	93.3	93.6	94.2	94.5	95.1
Other	0.9	1.4	2.4	1.0	1.5

These results indicate that little importance is being accorded to the major differences inherent in the situation and that the future will be difficult for Francophones in the various regions of Canada. They show, however, that the Acadians' position will remain strong, that that of Franco-Ontarians will very probably decline and that the situation of Francophones in the West is in great danger.

Unless we are mistaken, Quebec will probably become more and more French and the rest of Canada increasingly English. The question then arises whether it will always be possible to support a policy which affirms the position of two dominant languages throughout Canada. In this respect, it appears to us that generosity will have to fight an uphill battle against demolinguistic realities.

(Adapted from French)

The Spanish Basques won official recognition of their language in the new Spanish Constitution. The event is a landmark in the history of an ancient people.



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Language and the Spanish Basque Revival

MARIA-JOSÉ AZURMENDI

The Basques are an ancient people who have lived in the area they now occupy since paleolithic times. They have formed a deep attachment to their physical surroundings — mountains, valleys and rivers — and a close bond to their language. This language is called Euskara. It is not Latin in origin and therefore not related to any neighbouring language. It is Europe's only remaining pre-indoeuropean tongue.

After centuries of intermittent oppression, this language has, in the Spanish section of the Basque region, finally achieved official status. This status was granted in the new 1978 Spanish Constitution, a landmark in the history of the Basque tongue. However, in order to provide a better understanding of the evolution of this language, I would like first to set the geographic and historical scene.

The land of Euskada

Straddling the Franco-Spanish border, the Basque region, or Euskada, as it is called by the Basques themselves, descends from the Pyrenees to the Atlantic Ocean and to the plains of France and Spain. Its some three million inhabitants represent a little more than seven per cent of the population of Spain and approximately .5 per cent of the population of France.

Fiercely independent in ancient times and during the Middle Ages, the seven territories which make up the Basque region did not form a political entity until the short-lived supremacy of the Kingdom of Navarre at the beginning of the 11th century. There followed many turbulent centuries until, in the 16th century

Euskada was divided between France and Spain and a policy of Basque assimilation began. However, efforts to make the Basques more Spanish brought about revolts and confrontations which strengthened Basque determination to consolidate a national identity.

In the 19th century, Spanish supremacy in that part of the Basque country which lies to the south of France was well established. The Basque peninsula region lost many of its autonomous rights including its financial and economic independence. Its economy and legal system became part of those of Spain. Young Basque conscripts were sent to serve in the Spanish army. It was at this time that the nationalist movement was born. This political development coincided with a process of industrialization which gave Euskada new economic power. A brief period of autonomy accompanied the short-lived Spanish Republic of 1936-39, followed by a period of complete suppression when, with the victory of Franco, Spain once again became a centralist state.

After the death of the Caudillo in 1975, the return of the Spanish monarchy brought about a liberalization of government policy culminating in the 1978 adoption of a new constitution. The Basque peninsula region however, did not obtain recognition of its independent status until 1979. Power shifts brought about by this new status are still unconsolidated. It was, for example, only in October 1980, that the Basque government's first Official Plan was approved by the new Basque parliament.

Languages and the law

The Spanish Constitution of 1978 states that:

1. Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
2. The other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective Autonomous Communities in accordance with their Statutes.
3. The wealth of the different language variations of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be the object of special respect and protection.

This means that Euskara becomes an official language, along with other Spanish languages such as Catalan and Galician. It also means that there is official bilingualism in the Autonomous Communities.

In December 1979, a Statute of Autonomy gave the Basque region the right to self-government. This right was accompanied by certain provisions to protect the Basque language and culture. Paragraph 3 of Article 6 of this Statute specifies that no person may be discriminated against on linguistic grounds. This could present problems in applying the policy of bilingualism since Spanish-speaking persons could thereby legally remain unilingual whereas Basque-speaking persons would have to be bilingual. Paragraph 1 of the same Article clarifies the matter. It states that in the Basque region, Euskara is an official language with the same status as Castilian, and that all inhabitants of Euskada are expected to know and use both languages.

Paragraph 5 opens doors to cultural relations with the Basques of France because it contains the provision that the Autonomous Spanish Basque Community may

request the Spanish government to petition parliament on its behalf for authorization to make agreements establishing cultural relations with Basque peoples in other countries, particularly in France.

Euskara: language of education and culture

The Official Plan of the first independent Basque government unequivocally expresses the importance accorded to the Basque language, Euskara. The government makes clear its intention to revitalize the language in Chapter 3 (Education and Society) of the Official Plan.

This chapter stresses the importance of Euskara to the Basque identity and the urgent

need to pass cultural measures to preserve this identity, irrespective of administrative or political boundaries. Similarly, the government insists on the importance of the language for Basque education and culture if contacts between groups and individuals are to be maintained in Basque.

However, although much work has been done in this regard, concentrated efforts are still needed. We must not forget that the Basque language has suffered throughout history, first from the pre-eminence of Latin and later from the domination of neighbouring Romance languages. Basque literature did not flourish in the Basque language until the 19th century, and it was only in

The seven Basque provinces

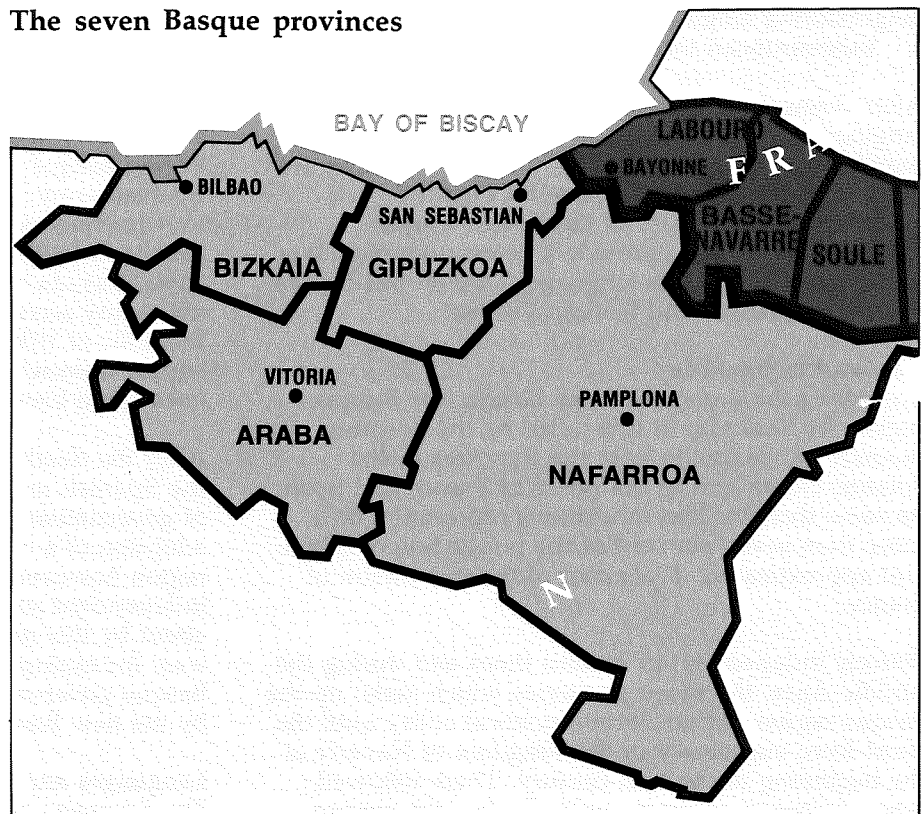


Table 1

Distribution in percentages and by socio-professional categories, of Basque-speaking and non-Basque-speaking families in Spanish Euskada

	Basque-speaking families	Non-Basque-speaking families	Total
1. Heads of businesses, manufacturers professionals, senior managers	5.7%	10.7%	7.4%
2. Small businessmen, tradesmen	12.1	7.5	10.6
3. Contractors, technicians, administrators	9.3	14.3	11.0
4. Industrial and business employees	11.1	11.5	11.2
5. Skilled workers	23.6	28.6	25.3
6. Unskilled workers	13.5	15.9	14.3
7. Farmers and fishermen	17.8	2.4	12.6
8. Other categories	4.7	7.9	5.8
9. Undetermined	2.2	1.2	1.8
TOTAL	100 %	100 %	100 %

the 20th century that Basque became acceptable as a language of administration.

A study published in 1975 entitled *l'Estudio socio-linguístico del euskara*, summed up the current state of the Basque language by drawing attention to the following facts:

- The Basque illiteracy rate is fairly high among Basque-speaking persons: 88 per cent speak Euskara, 43 per cent read it while only 21 per cent write it.
- The long period of linguistic oppression has had a marked effect on the extent to which the language is used today. It is used 80 per cent within the family circle, 70 per cent among friends, but only 57 per cent

during leisure activities and at work. Those surveyed "normally" read in Euskara 19 per cent of the time and "normally" write in Euskara less than 12 per cent of the time.

The authors stress, however, that a particularly strong recovery has taken place since the relaxation of Spanish control and that there has been an accompanying increase in socio-cultural activity. Among the points highlighted:

- The Basque-speaking population is represented in all socio-professional categories of the Basque region, thus contributing to an increasing prestige for Euskara in the eyes of Basques and other Spaniards (see Table 1).

- Basque-speaking persons, and even, to a large extent, those who do not speak the language, are in favour of encouraging the use of Euskara and in giving it official status (see Table 2).

- Considering Euskara's extraordinary capacity for resistance and survival in difficult times, it should very rapidly recover in the context of the newly acquired autonomy.

Beyond mere survival

The recovery heralded in 1975 is now in full swing. It is characterized in particular by the establishment of Euskara schools, "ikastolak", and by the increasing use of Euskara for newspapers, records, radio and publishing.

Television remains state controlled. It is also evident in the desire of many adults to learn Basque and in the growing number of Basque-speaking persons who are learning to read and write Euskara. It is predicted there will be 40,000 students of the language and 2,000 teachers by 1990.

The accomplishments of recent years include the creation of a faculty of education for instruction in Euskara, a teachers' college for teaching Euskara as a first or second language, the establishment of a translators school and the creation of the Institute for the Modernization of Euskara, (UZEI). This institute is responsible for the adoption of Euskara as a scientific language through the production of technical dictionaries.

Contacts are also being re-established between Basque and non-Basque linguists and philologists. Such contact was frequent during the 19th century but was interrupted by the Franco regime. In the summer of 1980, an International Congress on Basque Culture and Language focussed on an exchange of information about Basque cultural and linguistic research and on establishing collaboration in this field. Specialists attending the Congress came from Germany, England, Austria, Spain, the United States (the universities of Harvard, California and Nevada), France, Japan, and the U.S.S.R. Needless to say, the majority of participants came from the Basque region.

Table 2

Attitudes of Basque-speaking and non-Basque-speaking families towards the renaissance of Euskara

	Basque-speaking families	Non-Basque-speaking families
In your view, is Euskara more important than other languages?	yes 66.75	yes 41.6
In your opinion, will Euskara be extended to the whole of the Basque region?	yes 68.9	yes 62.3
Do you wish Euskara to be used in the whole of the Basque region?	yes 81.2	yes 71.7
Do you feel that it is necessary to save Euskara?	yes 82.3	yes 48.6
Should the authorities make Euskara an official language?	yes 62.6	yes 34.1

The past five years have also witnessed the growth of a whole series of institutions and organizations which, although not directly related to the language, suggest nonetheless that a socio-economic renaissance of Euskara is taking place. Among these organizations are the Institute of Economic and Industrial Research (IKEI), and the Institute of Basque Geographical Studies (INGEBA). The result of private initiatives, such organizations contribute to Basque self-reliance in planning the revitalization of the area.

Political power

The Basque government intends to promote the use of Euskara as much as possible and for this

reason has created the position of special linguistic adviser to the Basque cabinet. Among other duties, the adviser will be responsible for planning and coordinating government activities relating to Euskara. The objective is to have Euskara completely reinstated as a language in its own right and to save it from any further difficulties and threats of extinction.

Acknowledging itself to be a multilingual country, Spain has, in the 1980s, finally made room for its languages. As a bilingual community, Euskada takes up the challenge.

(Adapted from French)

Letters to the Editor

Language rights and the constitution: Edward McWhinney comments on Gérald Beaudoin's article (*Language and Society*, No.3).

Gérald Beaudoin's thoughtful and dispassionate discussion, *Canada and language rights*, in the Autumn 1980 issue of your journal, correctly notes that the B.N.A. Act is silent as to language rights, apart from the politically and territorially very limited section 133. There is always a high element of ethnic-cultural and also temporal relativism in any act of constitution-making, no matter how hard the constitution-makers may quest for the universal and the permanent. It would have been surprising in a 19th century British imperial act if there had been express mention of, let alone deference to, the idea of cultural-linguistic dualism; although the very same year as the B.N.A. Act was adopted, and across a cultural-linguistic legal frontier that British and British-trained jurists would have been unable to cross (even if they had wanted to), that very principle was being accepted and applied in that pragmatic constitutional compromise, the AUSGLEICH (or Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy) of 1867.

The major preoccupation of those who drafted and enacted the B.N.A. Act, once they strayed from the area distribution and allocation of law-making authority, was religious — viz. the Protestant-Roman Catholic division, already familiar to late 19th century British parliamentarians through the so-called "Irish problem". Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act is a perfectly logical reflection of such concerns in a Canadian, or, more strictly, a Quebec context, and an attempt to regulate a problem by constitutional means before it should become pathological and politically out-of-hand.

Constitutional charters, at least those framed for Western liberal democratic societies, have rarely

attempted to cover the whole spectrum of political, social and economic interests present in society at the time of constitutional drafting. The reconciliation of conflicting interests can sensibly be left, in many cases, to ordinary legislation and to administrative or judicial decisions in the specific fact-settings of concrete problems, as they may happen to arise in the future. The attempt at comprehensive, holistic solutions that are good for all time and written into the constitutional charter itself, runs the risk of making the constitutional text quickly dated and irrelevant as new fundamental political compromises occur within the society for which the constitution was adopted in the first place. One of the rare qualities of the B.N.A. Act, and one of the key reasons for the political survival, until the present day, of the constitutional system established under it, is its very open-endedness in ideological terms; for this has enabled its accommodation, without significant textual changes, to a very rapidly evolving Canadian society. In effect, while the constitutional charter has remained virtually intact, it has undergone significant changes since 1867 in its basic meta-legal, political premises or *Grundnorm*. One might indeed suggest that there have been several such significant changes of the *Grundnorm* over the period since 1867 without any occasion for corresponding changes in the constitutional text of 1867.

In very many ways, the most significant legal heritage of the "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec has been the two successive language laws — the Bourassa Liberal Bill 22 of 1974, and its successor, the Lévesque Parti québécois Bill 101 of 1977. The ties of legal consanguinity between the two Bills is clear, in spite of party political differences between the respective sponsors. In very many respects, these two Bills have enabled a social and economic revolution to be effected within Quebec in the guise of linguistic

reform, the French-as-language-of-work stipulations being, in this context, rather more important in their impact on Quebec society than the French-as-official-language sections, since they opened the way to access, at long last, on some equitable basis, by the French-Canadian majority within Quebec to economic decision-making power within the province.

There was a time when we seemed, in Canada, to be mounting two radically different and mutually irreconcilable language policies within our country — the federal government official bilingualism policies, expressed in the federal Official Languages Act of 1969 and resting on what is known, legally, as the "personality" principle; and Quebec government policies which, — under both Bourassa and Lévesque and as expressed in the two successive language laws of 1974 and 1977 — effectively "territorialised" the "French fact" within the Province of Quebec. Yet the collision course that, in the early and mid-1970s, seemed more or less inevitable, has been avoided. The federal government positively refrained from frontal assaults by way of direct constitutional challenges to the Quebec language laws, such constitutional complaints as emerged being from purely private pressure groups within Quebec, with any federal government interventions in such cases being deliberately modest and low-key and certainly not perjorative. Such seeming federal government self-restraint in regard to Quebec government language policies, whether of the Bourassa or the Lévesque governments, was balanced, increasingly, by a large element of flexibility, commonsense and humanity in the Quebec government's application of its own language-of-work legislative stipulations. Pragmatic adjustments and compromises such as these, on both sides, have, up to the present time at least, facilitated a practical coexistence of federal government and Quebec government language

policies — of the “personality” and the “territorial” principles, in fact — with distinct and separate, but not conflicting, zones of application for each so that the two language policies, federal and Quebec, may conceivably emerge, in the long term, as being fully complementary and mutually supportive.

Are we seeing — have we in fact already seen — the emergence of a new Canadian *Grundnorm*, or fundamental political compromise involving accommodation of the two different language policies? It is tempting to try to explain the May 1980, Quebec “sovereignty-association” vote, at least in some part, as being due to a sophisticated recognition, on the part of the clear Quebec majority who voted “No”, of this new basic political fact of life in Quebec and in Canada, with its important practical consequences for the survival and extension of the “French fact” within Quebec and in Canada as a whole.

If that is so, it would be at least as important for the future of our Canadian society as the attention now being devoted to rewriting of the constitutional-legal super-structure — that is to say, the British North America Act of 1867.

Edward McWhinney

Edward McWhinney, Q.C., barrister & solicitor, is a professor at Simon Fraser University and a member of l'Institut de Droit International. His two most recent books are Quebec and the Constitution (University of Toronto Press, 1979), and Constitution-Making (to be published by the University of Toronto Press in May, 1981).

Praise

Having just discovered your review, *Language and Society*, I should like to give you my comments. I have just completed a B.A. in translation and am currently enrolled at the University of Quebec in Montreal in a program leading to a certificate in terminology. Since, among other things, the program includes a course in language planning, I was very interested to read Mr. Christer Lauren's article “Bilingual Finland” in the Autumn 1980 issue of your review. I have done similar research on the arabisation process in Algeria and would like very much to see other articles dealing with language planning and its application in various countries.

I think your review could be useful to both teachers and students of linguistics. Perhaps you could also consider questions relating to the terminology field.

I would like to congratulate you on the quality of your review and I hope you will continue to publish intelligent and well-presented articles.

Joanne St-Denis
Montreal, Quebec

Un-praise

You asked for an opinion on what you have done so far. My answer is easy; wasted your time and spent large amounts of the tax payers money.

The seven-member advisory council would be well advised to do something better with their time and use the time and money spent on it to think of ways to bolster employment in Canada and forget what language is spoken to get it.

It seems too bad to me that such expensive paper and books used in your reports, along with postage to send them, probably in many cases, as mine does, goes directly to the waste paper basket.

The subject has been so rehashed over radio, T.V. and newspaper, it gives one a feeling of nausea for the lack of better things to hear. As far as “Should French and English rights be entrenched in the future Canadian Constitution” why ask anybody? I think Mr. Trudeau will do what he wants to anyway.

Mrs. Walter Somers
Moncton, New Brunswick