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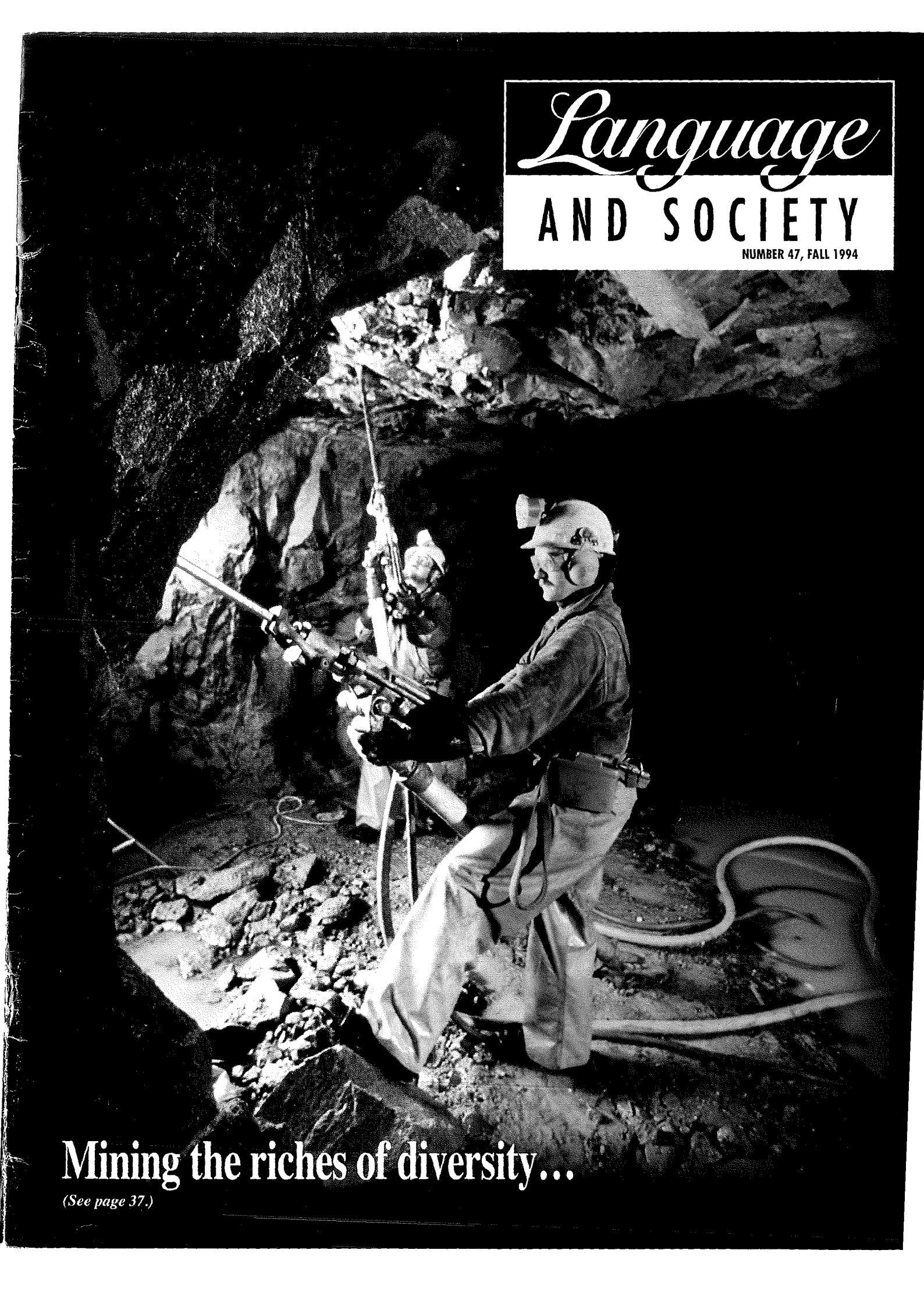

Mining the riches of diversity...

(See page 37.)

Language AND SOCIETY

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NOTICE

Language and Society analyses Canadians' concerns from the linguistic point of view and emphasizes the personal, national and international advantages of being a two-language country.
Letters to the Editor, with the writer's name, address and telephone number, are welcome.
The Editor reserves the right to publish letters, which may be condensed.

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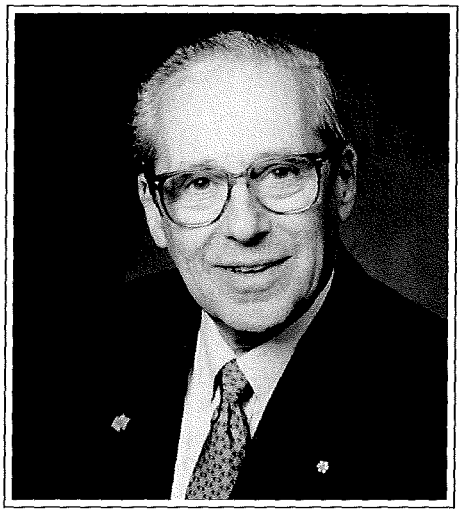
COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES — CANADA — COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

On golden ages...



The world is not a tidy place. It never has been.

In every age, many people perceive their world as afflicted with complications, less principled and less happy than it ought to be. They yearn for some earlier time — when they were young, or when life seemed simpler, or when chivalry was in flower — when choices were so straightforward that they were hardly choices at all. They idealize some golden age....

How golden were those earlier, idealized times?

How many of our ideas and perceptions, of yesterday and of today, are driven by myth?

For some people, the ideal country is one with a single culture and a single language — and some Canadians, disregarding and even denying our historic and present-day human realities, would like to force Canada into that mould.

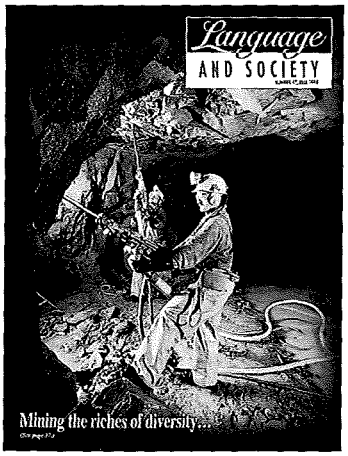
The Canadian-born historian William H. McNeill, giving the 1985 Donald G. Creighton Lectures at the University of Toronto, offered some interesting observations in that regard.

"The idea that a government rightly should rule only over citizens of a single ethnos took root haltingly in western Europe, beginning in the late middle ages; it got into high gear and eighteenth century and flourished vigorously until about 1920; since which time the ideal has unquestionably begun to weaken in western Europe, where it began...."

Noting the major impact of immigration over the last century and more on North American society, he went on to say, "Canadian and American experience gives North America something of a head start in the awkward matter of getting used to living side by side with people of differing ethnic heritage....Canadians and Americans can take some comfort in realizing that our domestic ethnic frictions are a cost of participating in the modern world from which no people or government... can long remain immune."

Whether or not there ever was a golden age, we have no choice but to live in this one — and to make it as golden as we possibly can. If there is ever to be a golden age, we must build it ourselves, using the human materials, the human skills and the other resources available to us. The world may not be a tidy place, but it is certainly an interesting one, and Canada is more microcosmically representative of it than just about any other country. What an opportunity we have to prove that peace and harmony are possible within human society....

Victor C. Goldbloom



COVER:
In Val-d'Or, more than gold is valued.
See page 37.

Photo: Natural Resources Canada

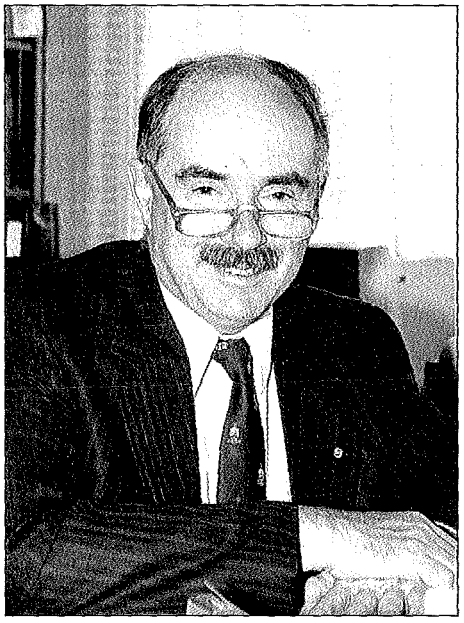
UNDERSTANDING A COUNTRY

SARAH HOOD*

Desmond Morton, Principal of the University of Toronto's Erindale College, seems happily settled in his spacious office, surrounded by his books (which fill six bookcases), his computer, and various personal belongings. These include a bust of General Brock, a Canadian Second World War helmet, an Elizabethan morion and, incongruously, a trio of hard hats that likely commemorate the groundbreaking ceremonies of various significant buildings.

But Morton, who has been Principal of Erindale since 1986, will soon be packing up the books and helmets — and possibly adding another hard hat to the collection. He has been named director of the newly-created McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, and will trade the greenery of Erindale's suburban campus for the more urban charms of McGill University in Montreal.

The project is to be funded jointly by McGill University and the CRB Foundation, established in 1986 by Charles R. Bronfman of The Seagram Company Ltd. and his wife Andrea. The Foundation sponsors a variety of projects and programs, most of which focus on Canadian youth, encouraging them to acquire a deeper knowledge and appreciation of their heritage.



DESMOND MORTON
Photo: P. Hartman, Medium II, Erindale College

A project as big as the country itself...

Goals and resources

The new Institute has five formal goals. It has been established to promote a better understanding of Canada, to contribute to lasting solutions to problems and challenges that inhibit Canada from achieving its fullest potential, to provide new understanding about our economic future, to identify and explore the benefits of a pluralistic society, and to breathe new life into the field of Canadian Studies. To date, the Board of Trustees consists of Rosalie Abella, Thomas Axworthy, Charles Bronfman, André Desmarais, Joe Ghiz, Alex Paterson, John Ripley, Mary Simon, Manon Vennat, Patrick Watson and Monique Jérôme-Forget, with two positions vacant.

Morton is at least as well known for his astute political commentary on CBC's "The Journal" as for his distinguished publications in the field of Canadian history, both of which qualifications will be called into play in his new situation. He says that people have jokingly taken the Institute's initials to read "McGill Institute to Save Canada", but, he maintains, "it is up to the Institute to do what McGill itself was supposed to do when it was called the Royal Institute for the Advancement of Learning: offer scholarly evaluations of problems and possibilities that confront Canadians, from Aboriginal-Canadian relations to western alienation, and to celebrate those things we have in common."

Innocence and ignorance

"What I see it doing," Morton continues, "is teaching courses to undergraduates, offering fellowships to graduate students at McGill, using some (but not much) of its money to sponsor events and activities, and providing space and encouragement for Canadians from around the country — to give them time in Montreal, and, while they're in Montreal, to contribute to the flow of ideas at the Institute." Morton also has hopes of bringing in people in Canadian Studies from around the world.

"It's important that people in all fields should have an understanding of this country," he says, adding as an afterthought, "We have the American example of the almost dysfunctional preoccupation with their own country. That may be appropriate for an imperial power, but not for Canada.

* **Sarah Hood is co-founder of Cadmus, a Toronto communications and public relations firm.**

"I was struck, when crossing the country, with the innocence and ignorance of ordinary, decent Canadians about Quebec/Canada issues and about First Nations issues — and that they seemed to be governed almost entirely by the emotions. I discovered that there was a kind of dialogue of the deaf going on."

Morton identifies "three remarkably different views" of the present and future states of this country in Quebec, Ontario and the West. "Anybody who predicts the future has a chance to be right," he says. "But people on all sides of the question should know what they're doing."

As a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford Morton studied slavery and secession. His research into the causes and consequences of the American Civil War have shown him that it is possible for the citizens of a country to misunderstand or grossly oversimplify their own political situation and to underestimate the possibilities of sudden change. In the American case the results were tragic. "History is complex. People don't do predictable things — or if they do, they do them for complex reasons," he asserts.

Morton has made a three-year commitment to seeing the Institute through its formation. In fact, it is already under way. A library grant and the director's salary have been established through the CRB Foundation. The university has committed itself to offering space, furnishings and equipment, as well as a certain amount of faculty time, to the project. The Institute has even taken in its first students; in the 1993-94 academic year it offered its first introductory survey course on Canadian Studies. The course included a series of guest lectures, most notably a debate between former prime minister Pierre Trudeau and philosopher Charles Taylor.

The limits of the project have yet to be fixed. "If the CRB is satisfied with the progress of the Institute," explains Morton, "it may make up to $10 million in capital funds available." In 1994-95 the planned courses include "Ethnicity in the Canadian Context" and "Nationalism in Canada". Morton himself will teach a course on Canada and the First World War.

As for the future, Morton says, "My view is that this will be as big as anybody who has an interest in the country wants to make it." ■

The WHYS and WHEREFORES of language laws

JOSEPH-G. TURI*

ANY LANGUAGE IS AN ECOLOGICAL RESOURCE BELONGING TO ALL HUMANITY.

The territorial political situations in which human beings find themselves are naturally characterized by many linguistic contacts among various languages.

Linguistic coexistence leads to notable cultural, individual and collective enrichment. In some cases this creates major linguistic problems and conflicts, when certain languages in contact in a given political territory are vulnerable because of the problematic situation of inequality, imbalance and insecurity in which they find themselves from the cultural, political, social or economic point of view.

States therefore regularly take action by establishing specifically linguistic legal standards with respect to the official or public use of languages (legislation, justice, public administration or education) and less often in areas of non-official, or private, use of language (culture, communications, labour, trade and business). Legislative intervention is equitable when the linguistic equality or hierarchy it creates does not disrupt linguistic peace, while it is inequitable when the linguistic hegemony it establishes results in linguistic war.

A language is the eminently cultural external tool, both individual and collective, that allows human beings to express themselves and communicate their inner thoughts in speech and writing. There are thousands of local, regional and national languages, all valuable in themselves, whose cultural vitality, however, is extremely variable.

* Joseph-G. Turi is Secretary-General of the International Academy of Language Law.

There are languages that temporarily become international. There is no universal language, either natural or artificial. Moreover, the more international a language becomes the more it fragments and the less the equation language = specific culture is true.

The basis of language legislation

The reasons for intervention by states and by public authorities in the use of languages are many. There is the expansion of fundamental rights and its increasingly explicit corollary, language rights, one of the most striking examples of the fundamental right to be different (it must be said, however, at the outset that the right to integration is also, under certain conditions, a fundamental right). There is the importance assigned to ecological and cultural policy initiatives according to which any language (especially if it is vulnerable or a minority one) is an ecological resource belonging to all humanity, of which it is the undying memory and faithful mirror, and which must be protected and promoted at all cost, as the apple of its eye. On the one hand, therefore, we must fight, whatever the cost, against excessive linguistic inequalities, imbalances and insecurity and, on the other, take significant measures to protect and enhance languages as natural products and basic elements of social cohesion, of the soul's heritage and of the distinctive cultural identity of different human cultures.

There is the renaissance of cultural idiosyncrasies, the activism of linguistic minorities, the upsurge of heightened and often vengeful nationalism and the awakening of linguistic majorities. The reality of linguistic minorities and majorities, however, is extremely fluid and complex in time and space.

Finally, it is often essential to ensure a degree of order and thereby assign priority to one or a few languages so as to guarantee a minimum of linguistic comprehensibility in the various territorial contexts of the immanent reality that constitutes the Tower of Babel.

The language policy of states (language planning or development policy), having as its goal the defence and promotion of one or more languages in order to ensure their legal security, may take the form of legislation containing language rights, obligations and constraints created for this purpose. The set of legal standards relating to this, in a given political

LANGUAGE LEGISLATORS ARE USUALLY CONCERNED WITH FORM, NOT WITH CONTENT.

division, objectively constitutes the language legislation, a law which is at once ancillary, relating to the future and meta-legal (to the extent that it concerns matters already subject to public or private law where language, the instrument of the law, becomes subject and object of the law and where it acknowledges the right to language). However, a language policy without specific language legislation is, in itself, quite conceivable.

The principles of language legislation

After a review of a considerable range of legislation specifically relating to language worldwide, it is possible to identify the following general principles:

1. The law takes over, in general, what is legally definable. A language, of course, is not easily definable; it is therefore difficult to come to terms with it legally. For example, when is or is not a word French, legally? Experience, moreover, teaches us that legal sanctions are not easy to apply in linguistic matters. That is why language legislators are quite prudent and reticent in this regard, except when, by way of exception, they standardize certain *technical* terms and expressions to give them a legally binding linguistic identity. What is more, they prefer the objective expression "language of use" (first language learned and still understood) to the subjective "mother tongue". They do not explicitly identify those to whom language rights and obligations apply. They will not say, subjectively, "The French must write work contracts in French," but, objectively, "Work contracts are written in French."

2. Language legislators take action either to protect and promote linguistic majorities (a relatively recent historical phenomenon) or to protect and promote linguistic minorities, usually when they constitute a certain percentage of the national population (a relatively constant historical phenomenon). They rarely identify linguistic minorities and their language(s) except for historic linguistic minorities. They generally do not impose a particular language on linguistic minorities. They let the persons concerned identify with the linguistic majority or minority of their choice except when a historic linguistic minority constitutes a singularly important cultural pole of attraction.

3. Language legislators legislate mainly with regard to the written language and rarely the spoken language, which is the realm of free choice *par excellence*, subject to any social constraints which may apply.

4. Most often, language legislators are concerned with the quantity or presence of languages (their "status" in sociolinguistic terms). They generally do not concern themselves with the quality or correctness of languages or their linguistic usages (the "corpus", in sociolinguistic terms, the "analogy" of the Ancients, synonym of linguistic orthodoxy). The quality of a language, especially the syntax, "watchdog of the language", or the grammar (and not so much the vocabulary or word stock of a language, which are not necessarily part of its "genius"), is the realm of the school, the media, of persuasion and example. In any event, it is impossible to thwart what the Ancients called the "anomaly" of a language, i.e., its freedom and spirit of creativity and its development. Language legislators, especially if they are democratic, who do not believe that language is a new religion, scrupulously avoid the pitfalls of linguistic fundamentalism and purification.

5. Language legislators are usually concerned only with form (language form) and not with content (language message). Linguistic messages are generally covered by laws that are *not specifically* linguistic. If a term is relatively understandable in a language, no matter whether it is linguistically "correct", "national" or "foreign", it is an integral part of that language, legally. The Peeters decision of the European Court of Justice of June 18, 1991, concerning language labelling on consumer products is very clear in this regard. If it is believed that a term is not an integral part of a given language it must be shown that it has a certain meaning in another language and that it is translatable into the particular language in question. Finally, everything that is linguistically absolutely or

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LANGUAGE LEGISLATORS ARE NOT CENSORS OR HEADS OF SCHOOLS.

relatively neutral or artificial is, naturally, beyond the realm of any language legislation

6. Legislation on the status of languages is known as *structural language legislation* (e.g., French is the official language), essentially declaratory and symbolic legislation. Legislation, solemn or non-solemn, concerned with the status and use of languages is called *functional language legislation* (e.g., instruction takes place in English).

7. There is an important classification of the various categories of functional linguistic legislation, solemn or non-solemn, depending on their areas of application and on their functions. *Official language legislation* (increasingly common) applies only to areas of the official usage of languages. It prescribes that one or more languages are national or official languages and essentially applies to so-called official texts and documents. When one language in particular is the only national or official language this does not necessarily mean that it is the only common language or the language of exclusive use.

As for *institutional language legislation*, it is concerned with the non-official area of language usage. Such legislation, which is not very common, prescribes that one or more languages are or should become "normal and usual" and essentially applies to so-called institutional texts and documents, usually of a multilateral nature.

Standardizing language legislation, quite rare, governs the official standardization of certain technical terms and expressions. But the vast majority of legislation, known as *non-standardizing language legislation*, is not concerned with this area.

There is *identifying language legislation*, which in some way identifies one or more languages, and other legislation which does not (*non-identifying language legislation*). An increasing category of legislation, known as *majority language legislation*, protects mainly or solely linguistic majorities and their languages. The crowded category of *minority language legislation* protects mainly or solely linguistic minorities and their languages, particularly historic linguistic minorities.

There is legislation without real sanctions (*declaratory* or *non-binding language legislation*) and legislation with sanctions (*enforceable* or *binding language legislation*).

Finally, some legislation, known as *liberal,* or *non-discriminatory, language legislation*, explicitly or implicitly recognizes the right to the language, while *non-liberal,* or *discriminatory, language legislation* does not do so. Legislation that wholly or partially performs the functions inherent in each category is known as *absolutely* or *relatively exhaustive language legislation*. There are very few examples. Other language legislation is generally not exhaustive.

8. There are grey areas between the various linguistic fields. Not all are equally important. Instruction and communications are the most important in the framework of any wide-ranging language policy.

9. Language legislators make the use of one or more languages mandatory while permitting the use of others. They rarely forbid, punish or reward, legally. They are not censors or heads of schools. Linguistic grammar (which does not always respect linguistic usages) is different from legal grammar (which usually respects, without a break, habits and customs). Language legislators apply to the domain of the official use of languages the principle of territoriality (synonym of exclusive unilingualism) or of personality (synonym of multilingualism, mandatory or optional, objective or subjective) or the mixed principle (the combination of the two), depending on cases and circumstances. In the area of the non-official use of languages they usually apply the principle of personality or the mixed principle, rarely the principle of territoriality. In some cases they forbid the use of "hostile" languages in the area of official usage, which latter is regarded as the most important or the most amenable to rigorous constraints. They rarely if ever forbid "hostile" languages in the area of unofficial use, which is regarded as the least important or the least amenable to rigorous constraints.

A DISTINCTION MUST BE MADE BETWEEN UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE RIGHTS AND HISTORICAL LANGUAGE RIGHTS.

10. In few cases does language legislation explicitly recognize or sanction the right to language (the right to use the language of one's choice freely) as a right that is fundamental and hence superior to others. A great many states, however, recognize the fundamental nature of freedom of expression. The Supreme Court of Canada (in the Devine and Ford cases, December 15, 1988), the United Nations Committee on Human Rights (in the Quebec case, March 31, 1993) and the French Constitutional Council (in its recent decision on linguistic matters of July 29, 1994) have stated that freedom of expression in principle, and implicitly, includes the right to use the language of one's choice freely, especially in certain non-official areas.

The right to language, an implicit and ancillary fundamental right rooted in human nature, ought to be enshrined more often in law to counter the possibly inequitable interventionist omnipotence of modern states in the area of language. This right is essentially individual to the extent that it becomes, from the legal point of view, implicitly or explicitly ancillary or explicitly primary. It pertains only to individuals or legal entities, as the case may be, who are directly concerned with the exercise of this right. It is rarely collective. Moreover, the right to language is not absolute, especially in the area of the official use of languages.

A state is not required to know all the languages of its citizens or indeed those of foreigners residing on its soil and may, if necessary, use only its national or official language or languages or certain languages, with allowances for exceptions. In return, in the non-official sphere, while the right to use any language is not restricted in principle, the right to require understanding, being understood and being served linguistically, is limited in a generally reasonable manner, taking into account the territorial cultural contexts and the bilateral or multilateral nature of linguistic situations.

A distinction must be made between universal language rights (the right to "language"), inspired by the principle of personality, which are necessarily fundamental since they are permanent, and historical language rights to one or more languages identified with and rooted in a given territory (the right to "a" language), which may be collective, inspired by the principle of territoriality, and which are not necessarily fundamental because they are not permanent. Historical language rights (which may coexist equitably with universal language rights) involve privileges that are sometimes important, especially in the area of the official use of languages.

11. The sanctions provided for in case of failure to comply with binding and enforceable language laws may be penal (fines, imprisonment) or civil (compensation). These laws are rarely public policy statutes (imperative or prohibitive norms enacted in the supreme interest of society or of individuals which cannot be overridden by specific conventions) because the consequences of a public policy statute (total invalidity, in particular) are too rigorous for the situation. In general, a language law applies both to one or more languages (linguization) and their speakers or users (linguaphonization). A linguistic public policy statute, generally enacted on behalf of one or more majority languages, which disregards the users concerned, is in reality respected only when it is a law of an "official" nature, except if the sanction foreseen is partial invalidity, which is less formidable than total invalidity.

12. In the field of international law, Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, which came into force in 1976, enshrines freedom of expression for everyone, whereas Article 27 enshrines for the members of linguistic minorities their right to use their own language. The recent Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on February 21, 1992, goes further than Article 27 of the Covenant. Moreover, the distinction between official languages and working languages is important from the international perspective. In the United Nations, for example, the official and working languages of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish, whereas the working languages of the International Court of Justice, the Trusteeship Council and the Secretariat are English and French. ■

(Our translation)

Safeguarding French in North America

MARIE-CHRISTINE BÉDARD*

When you speak to Esther Taillon, director general for the past three years of the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, and she enumerates, without taking a breath, a litany of her organization's achievements, you understand that it takes few resources but great determination to do great things. The Conseil has been in existence for more than fifty years, ready to cope, by dint of getting people together and promoting their solidarity, with any impediment to the survival of the French language in America. According to Esther Taillon, and this is also the belief of the Conseil, "French life in America is in danger." This private association, which has an office in Quebec City, serves as the watchdog of French life in America with an energy which is quite remarkable.

In the beginning...

Since July 1, 1937, when the Conseil was founded by thousands of representatives of Francophones in America attending the second congress of the French language, the organization's mandate has not changed: to ensure the unity and advancement of Francophones in America and to promote all aspects of French life, including the defence of rights. "Essentially," Taillon explained, "the mandate is to bring French-speaking people closer together."

When it was founded the Conseil, then known as the Comité de la survivance, served as a rallying point. Its mandate was unique. Until the 1970s it was the central organization safeguarding the French fact in North America. It contributed to the creation of most of the organizations promoting the interests of Francophones on this continent. With the aid of fruitful fund-raising campaigns for survival, when French Canadians gathered on the steps of churches all over Quebec opened their purses, the Conseil provided funds for the support of Francophones outside Quebec.

Late in the 1970s the Conseil experienced a period of decline. Esther Taillon lists a number of factors to explain this low period, which she regards as rather normal for an association as old as the Conseil is: the death of Msgr. Gosselin, the founding father of the Conseil, the founding of the Fédération des francophones hors Québec (now the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada), which is ideologically separate from the Conseil, the coming to power of the Parti Québécois in 1976 and the creation of the Secrétariat permanent des peuples francophones and increased federal funding for Francophones outside Quebec.

ESTHER TAILLON, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE CONSEIL DE LA VIE FRANÇAISE EN AMÉRIQUE

Harmful state control

As spokeswoman for the Conseil Esther Taillon does not hesitate to speak of "harmful state control". She feels with regret that ties between Quebecers and Francophones outside Quebec have become looser since Quebec, thanks to various government initiatives, has become the French-speaking territory in America. Relations between the two groups have come under government control, giving rise to a change in attitude and perception. "Franco-Manitobans really regard themselves as Franco-Manitobans and Acadians as Acadians; each group has developed its own outlook," Taillon

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explained, "but, as a result, ties with Quebec have changed. Quebecers are viewed as people who have linguistic security and the institutions and financial resources to ensure the future of French life within their borders, while Francophones outside Quebec have fewer resources. We believe," she adds, "that being united is the best guarantee of survival."

The Conseil today

The Conseil has been concerned for some years to restore the links between Quebecers and the other Francophones in America. Since the closing of the Secrétariat permanent des peuples francophones in 1992 as a result of budget cuts, the Conseil has taken responsibility for liaison and co-ordination with Francophone associations in North America. In March 1994 the Semaine de la francophonie took place. At that time the Conseil had organized a consultation session involving participants from all parts of the globe — South America, the United States, France, Belgium, Canada. On May 21, 1994, the Conseil, in co-operation with the Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord of Laval University, organized a study day on the theme of solidarity through culture and communications.

In addition to organizing various meetings and cultural activities the Conseil has for two years published *Franc-Contact*, an information and liaison bulletin, as well as the *Répertoire de la vie française en Amérique*, updated every year since 1967. The Conseil annually awards the Champlain Prize, worth $1,500, which is designed to encourage literary production by Francophones living outside Quebec, and the Bourse Lemieux ($500) for Franco-Americans who wish to pursue graduate studies in French with the aim of teaching. To ensure that the rights of Francophone minorities in Canada are defended in the courts the Conseil has joined forces with a lawyer specializing in official languages legislation. This lawyer, who is a member of the Conseil, is often assigned responsibility for the organization's legal affairs.

A number of future projects are in the offing and testify to the Conseil's untiring efforts to take tangible action to bring Francophones closer together. Esther Taillon spoke guardedly — nothing being formalized at the time of the interview — about a project to link French-language community radio stations (there are about sixteen of them in Canada outside Quebec and a few in the United States) by satellite.

"Being united is the best guarantee of survival."

The director general of the Conseil is enthusiastic. New projects have been appearing for the past three years or so and the Conseil is getting back up to speed after experiencing a certain slowing-down in the 1980s. Despite a very modest budget of $150,000 a year, which comes from the income of the Conseil's foundation and from symbolic government subsidies granted by the federal Department of Canadian Heritage and the Canadian Intergovernmental Affairs Secretariat of the government of Quebec, the Conseil manages to play an increasingly important role on the political and socio-cultural scene in French America.

Resource people

The Conseil has twenty-eight active members, mainly in Canada and New England. Paul Paré, headquartered in Manchester, New Hampshire, is the president of the Conseil and also director of the Association canado-américaine. The fact that the Conseil has members in all parts of French America and that its financial resources are limited requires a high degree of co-ordination. Esther Taillon, assisted by a secretary, ensures that the organization runs smoothly.

As with all associations of this type, success depends on the participation of dedicated people who believe in what they are doing and are not afraid of work. Esther Taillon fits this description. The position she has filled for three years gives her a great deal of satisfaction, but it also means very busy days.

When asked what her days are like, Taillon smiles: "I wouldn't venture to say. I do everything, from photocopying to holding consultation meetings. I have no choice." When she has the time, and if the Conseil budget allows, she visits the Francophone communities outside Quebec as a representative of the Conseil. It's a way of becoming better acquainted. But such occasions are few and far between; so far, her work has taken her to Ottawa and Manchester. At other times, local members represent the Conseil.

Esther Taillon regrets not being able to travel more: "I would like to become better acquainted with the Francophone communities elsewhere, to take their pulse; for now, I have to make do with a theoretical knowledge," she explains.

As for the future of French life in America, she is categorical. Language is no joking matter and French is threatened. "Paradoxically," she notes, "the Conseil is working to ensure the expansion of French and, at the same time, its survival." In this battle against linguistic and cultural homogenization Esther Taillon does not rule out drastic solutions; she is inclined to take a hard line. The measures recently proposed by the French government (enforcement of new laws and establishment of "language police") do not surprise her in the least. "I do not find that excessive. It is regrettable to have to take such measures but it is necessary, if only to make people think." ■

(Our translation)

CHANGES IN THE VOCABULARIES of young Acadians

RÉJEANNE LEBLANC*

Since the 1960s the Acadians of New Brunswick have seen profound changes in their institutions and their legal status. They have made the transition from a type of social organization largely modelled on that of the Church to a social and political structure that is increasingly independent of religion. The changes in Acadian society are reflected in developments in all areas of social life — politics, the economy, public administration, the law, education and culture.

Looking at a linguistic community in the midst of change, we wondered whether this change has a specific impact on the way people see their environment and speak about it. In other words, if a society changes does its vocabulary also necessarily change? If so, at what rate does this change take place? Is the vocabulary enriched? Does the word-stock tend to become more anglicized or more francisized? Are the lexical changes similar among all the members of a given linguistic community regardless of their degree of contact with the English-speaking population? In short, does the vocabulary of young Acadians in New Brunswick differ from one generation to another and from one region to another?

There are many ways of approaching the study of vocabulary. The method used in the present research consisted in making an inventory of the concrete and everyday vocabulary based on controlled association tests. These tests made it possible to evaluate the knowledge of the vocabulary proper to previously selected areas of interest representing the concrete and general reality of people's environment, such as parts of the body, clothing, food, the home and its furnishings, the school, the community, games and recreations and trades.

The research was conducted on two identical groups of students attending the French-language school system in New Brunswick. The two variables for comparison between the groups were difference in time (1963 and 1985) and the differences among the four major regions where Francophones live (the north, northwest, northeast and southeast of the province). The question was whether there were statistically significant differences in the occurrence of a word for two given populations of students in grades 4 to 12. These differences, shown in the form of gains or losses of availability, make it possible to draw up lists of words and form hypotheses about the factors responsible for the changes observed.

Vocabulary changes as the environment does.

The research summarized here presents the results of the analyses conducted and shows more specifically that vocabulary changes as the environment does.

The vocabulary is being enriched with words originating in the schools and in intellectual life, the media and modes of expression in general. Some new words express new concepts (*ordinateur*, *micro-ondes*, *vidéo*, *eau minérale*, *kiwi*, *yoghourt*), others no longer appear in the lists because the concepts they express are outmoded (*crinoline*, *gramophone*, *transistor*, *cireuse*, *buvard*, *encrier*), while other words are disappearing simply because usage prefers new terms (*vivoir*, *corbeille*, *capsule spatiale* and *colporteur*, replaced by *salon*, *poubelle*, *fusée* or *vaisseau spatial* and *vendeur*).

The results of the study show that the vocabulary is expanding both in individual and in collective terms. More words were recorded in all areas of interest and, on average, individual production in 1985 was greater than in 1963.

The political awakening of the Acadian population in the early 1960s resulted in the adoption of New Brunswick's Official Languages Act. This Act led to the establishment of a separate French-language school system and to the introduction of bilingualism in most sectors of the Public Service. In 1985 young peo-

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ple in New Brunswick generally had a better knowledge of French than did their counterparts in 1963, and this resulted in a significant reduction in the number of English words recorded in all the lists. On average, the percentage of English words found in the lists in 1963 varied from 10% to 20%, depending on the area of interest. A generation later this figure was less than 5%. The trend towards francization of the vocabulary is particularly striking in the area of interest concerned with the school and its furnishings, where French equivalents are systematically replacing English words such as *ball*, *bench*, *blackboard*, *bookcase*, *briefcase*, *brush*, *bulletin board*, *buzzer*, *cantèen*, *eraser*, *loudspeaker*, *paper clip*, *pencil sharpener*, *ruler*, *scribbler*, etc. Fewer English words were recorded in the second survey in all regions covered by the study; however, the regions of the province where the largest number of English words was found are also those where Francophones constitute a minority.

The 1963 vocabulary was characterized by regional differences in the words used to describe the same concept. Thus, depending on the region, we find *vestiaire*, *vestibule*, *portique* or *tambour*; *passage*, *hall* or *couloir*; *machine à laver*, *lessiveuse*, *moulin à laver* or *baille à laver*; *bouillotte*, *bombe*, *coquemar* or *kette*.

In 1985 the province's public schools adopted a uniform system of education teaching a more standardized vocabulary. The regional peculiarities referred to above are yielding to the universal use of the words *entrée*, *corridor*, *laveuse* and *bouilloire*.

Religion has for a long time played a very important role in the lives of New Brunswick Acadians, particularly in relation to education where, until the early 1960s, instruction was provided by male or female religious congregations. This influence is seen in the presence in the vocabulary of young people of the 1960s of many words proper to religion, such as *crucifix*, *statue*, *image*, *croix*, *chasuble*, *étole*, *amict*, *surplis*, *lampion*, *âme*, *noviciat* and *réfectoire*. A generation later, these words are completely absent from the lists, with the exception of a single word: *papemobile*, the presence of which is related to the Pope's visit to New Brunswick.

In addition to education and the secularization of structures, the change in society is reflected in the vocabulary proper to all areas of individual and social life. The changes apparent in vocabulary between the two generations reflect the social transformations that followed modernization and the rise of technology, urbanization, information, communications and increased mobility.

In short, the results of the research showed that the vocabulary is richer in 1985 than in 1963. This expansion is seen in all four regions studied. The vocabulary is more uniform and contains fewer English words.

The survey of 3,000 young Acadians was concerned with evaluating knowledge of the vocabulary. It reveals differences between the two generations and the regions where they live. This research does not, however, make it possible to draw conclusions about the use of words in people's daily lives. ■

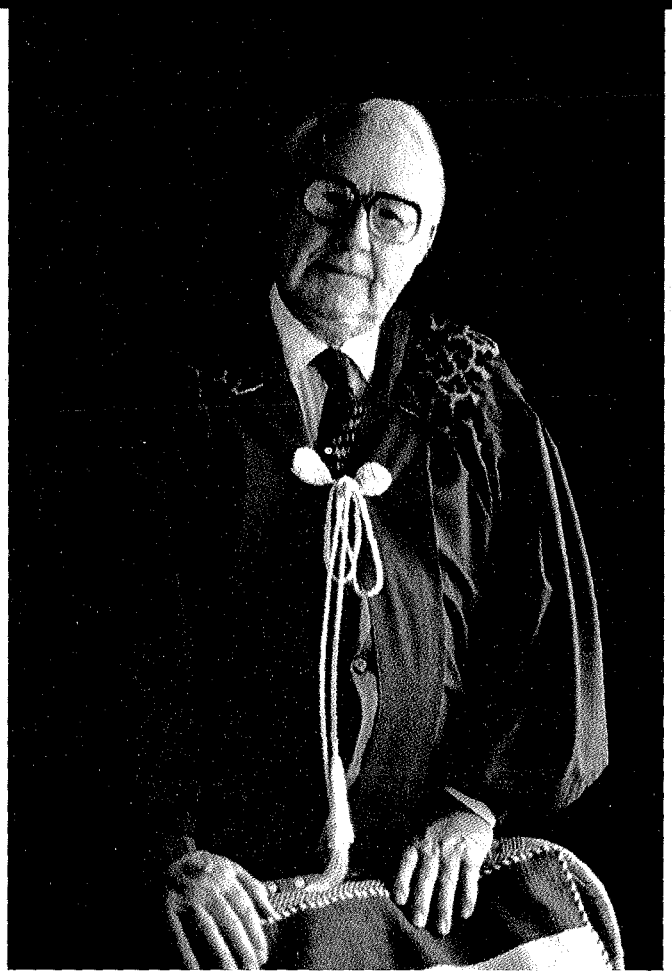
(Our translation)

A defender of freedom

ANDRÉE LACROIX*

To describe himself in a word Georges-Henri Lévesque has long used "battlefield". Why? Probably because his frankness and open-mindedness have repeatedly caused him to be attacked by politicians and denounced by certain clergymen — from as far away as Rome — as a heretic.

The purpose of this article, however, is not to recount his battles but rather to describe some of the major achievements of this figure who, according to Pierre Elliott Trudeau, did as much for Canada as Wilfrid Laurier.[1]



GEORGES-HENRI LÉVESQUE

Father Lévesque and Laval University

A member of the Dominican order, Georges-Henri Lévesque was born in 1903 in Roberval, Quebec. In 1932 he received a post-graduate degree in social sciences from the Université catholique de Lille in France. He holds thirteen honourary doctorates awarded by various Canadian universities. In addition, he was named a Companion of the Order of Canada and Chevalier of the Ordre national du Québec and has received such other decorations as the Ordre national des Mille Collines (Rwanda) and the Legion of Honour (France).

After teaching social philosophy in Ottawa from 1933 to 1938 Father Lévesque founded the School of Social Service (which later became the Faculty of Social Sciences) at Laval University, where he was a professor and dean for ten years. It was at this school that, with few exceptions, the most influential artisans of Quebec's famous Quiet Revolution were educated.

In *La Presse* of June 22, 1985, Pierre Godin listed the names of some of these "children of Father Lévesque": Michel Bélanger, former president of the National Bank of Canada and the prime mover in the nationalization of electricity; Jean Marchand, who was at the centre of every movement for change in addition to establishing the power of the unions; André Marier, planner, with Jacques Parizeau, of the Caisse de dépôt; his brother, Roger Marier, who was responsible for Quebec's substituting universal public assistance for Catholic charity; Claude Morin, mastermind of Quebec's self-assertion on the national and international scenes; Arthur Tremblay, architect of educational reform.

Quebec was not the only province to benefit from this faculty, which is still remarkable for its passion for scientific research and its concern for commitment to action. Many students from Quebec have become federal public servants and others, from other provinces, have returned home to give their fellow citizens the benefit of the unique training they received there.

"Louis J. Robichaud, the former premier of New Brunswick, was one of my students," Father Lévesque says proudly. "Another was Adélard Savoie, former rector of the University of Moncton, and Father Clément Cormier, an Acadian from Sainte-Croix, who founded that university."

The faculty's reputation spread beyond the boundaries of Quebec. As early as 1944 Everett C. Hughes of the University of Chicago applauded the "marriage between social movements and the social sciences" that he found at Laval. In 1985 John Meisel, a professor at Queen's University in Kingston, held the faculty up as a model. The Univer-

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Lévesque never forgot Canada's Francophones living outside Quebec.

sity of Salamanca in Spain, the University of Caracas in Venezuela and, closer to home, the University of Moncton, all have faculties of social sciences inspired by the one founded by Father Lévesque, who, moreover, was instrumental in their creation.

The Massey-Lévesque Commission

One day Prime Minister Louis Saint-Laurent telephoned Father Lévesque to ask him to be a member of the Royal Commission on the Arts, Letters and Sciences (chaired by Vincent Massey, who was later to become Governor General).

The initial meetings of the Commission, which consisted of three Anglophones and two Francophones, were held at the Château Laurier Hotel in Ottawa. At first Father Lévesque, when his work was over, would return to the local Dominican residence every night. Since some discussions continued into the evening, however, he obtained permission from his superiors to stay with his colleagues at the Château.

As he recalls in his reminiscences, "This time spent together eventually had another very valuable benefit: in the end we formed a sort of close-knit and happy family. The impact of this relationship on our work, where co-operation was made that much easier, where we took pleasure in working or relaxing together, where I felt better understood and respected in terms of my concerns as a Francophone, is plain to see."[2]

The members of the Commission would need this climate of understanding for, while continuing to perform their usual duties, they had to read 462 briefs and visit sixteen major cities in all ten provinces of Canada to listen to the advice and demands of the interested parties. This gargantuan work, begun in 1949, was completed in 1951.

While Georges-Henri Lévesque's original intention was principally to be a spokesman for Quebec, he never forgot the Francophones in the other provinces.

"At the first meeting of the Commission I asked that, in the final report, reference be made to the bilingual character of the country, from *coast to coast*," he notes.

The other members of the Commission responded favourably to this request. In addition, for the first time the Commission asked that the CBC, which was broadcasting its programs in French in Quebec only, broadcast them from coast to coast.

The greatest achievement of the Massey-Lévesque Commission was undoubtedly the creation of the Canada Council, a fully bilingual agency which, since 1957, has given an unprecedented impetus to Canadian culture. Today the Council funds, among other ventures, 197 theatre companies and assists 184 publishing houses and eighty non-profit art museums and galleries (see the Council's 35th Annual Report).

After this period when Georges-Henri Lévesque developed closer ties to the rest of Canada, he travelled to many other countries to give lectures on adult education and to conduct an inquiry into television.

Montmorency House

Father Lévesque, increasingly eager for a culture not restricted by borders, was to open the now sorely missed Montmorency House.

This historic monument, which was to serve as a Dominican residence and a centre for ecumenical and other conferences and meetings, was located above Montmorency Falls, where British and French troops first clashed on July 31, 1759.

"The edifice known as 'Kent House' located on this site had originally been the residence of the Duke of Kent, the first Governor of Quebec. This building, as well as the land on both sides of the Falls, was for sale. We managed to purchase it all for just $250,000. Naturally, costly renovations had to be done to make the building habitable year round," Father Lévesque recalls.

Accordingly, as he writes in his *Souvenances*, starting in 1955, the year he was appointed superior of Montmorency House, he was involved in raising funds as never before.

"I should receive a doctorate — in begging!"

"In all, fifty years of begging for intellectual, social and religious causes. I should some day receive another doctorate — in begging!"[3]

In just four of its nineteen years of existence, from 1955 to 1959, Montmorency House accommodated participants in 214 meetings and conferences, seventeen of them of national scope, including the meetings of the Fédération des collèges classiques.

The most notable events included the first conference of modern Canadian poets, the international meeting of

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MUNDO (Mouvement universitaire des ondes) and the first Quebec symposium on democracy, with Father Jacques Cousineau, Claude Ryan, Alfred Rouleau and Léon Dion. Numerous political meetings attracting members of all parties were also held there.

Unfortunately, in 1974, for want of funds, the Dominicans had to sell Montmorency House to the Quebec government. It was thereby saved until 1993, when, tragically, a fire destroyed it. Work has recently begun, however, to rebuild the original residence of the Duke of Kent.

Rwanda's National University

In 1963 another great mission awaited Georges-Henri Lévesque. With just $54,000 from the Canadian government and a $200,000 loan from the Dominicans he agreed to go to Rwanda to found a university.

This assistance, modest to begin with, would soon grow. Additional funds were provided by the Canada Council and the Canadian International Development Agency.

"It is one of the good deeds of the Canadian government," says Georges-Henri Lévesque, who served as rector of the university. "It was responsible for building the entire university complex."

Since Rwanda had just obtained its independence, President Kayibanda wanted to develop his country by opening an institution that included a school of education, as well as faculties of social sciences, medicine and science.

Canada took responsibility for the faculties of education, social sciences and science. In the first years some one hundred Canadians went to work there as professors, administrators or labourers. The Canadian people continued their involvement, regularly sending donations to the Canada-Rwanda Association founded by Pierre Valcourt. That, Georges-Henri Lévesque maintains, is why Canadians are very highly regarded by the people of Rwanda.

Since Canada could not take responsibility for the Faculty of Medicine as well, Father Lévesque convinced the University of Ghent, in Belgium, to do so. France took responsibility for the Faculty of Literature. Then, after being approached by Father Lévesque, the United States, England and Germany in turn provided support to a people eager to learn and communicate.

Canada was responsible for building the entire Rwandan national university complex.

The Rwandan students, who already spoke two languages, their mother tongue and French, expressed a desire to learn English, and the university responded to their wishes.

"This desire to learn several languages should serve as an example to more than one Quebec intellectual or to those who cling to their unilingualism," Father Lévesque has written.[4]

In the 1970s African universities felt the need to form an association and held a congress at which the issue of the proportion of Anglophones and Francophones was the subject of serious discussion. Father Lévesque proposed forming a small committee to seek a solution acceptable to everyone. In this way the impasse was broken, and so Georges-Henri Lévesque continued in every possible way to render service to Rwanda, which he still today considers his second home. His dedication was to be duly rewarded.

"Towards the end of the sixties," Father Lévesque recalls, "during the national holiday which brought together some 20,000 people, the president of the Republic said in his speech: 'Father Lévesque, who gave us our brain — the University — has received many decorations, but that is not enough. I would like to give him something that we have never given to anyone else....I would like him to be known as *Pater patriae*'.[5] There was thunderous applause and a drumroll began. The president took me by the arm to lead me to the podium beside him. My heart almost burst!"

Joy and heartbreak

Today Father Lévesque tries to enjoy a well-deserved rest. Unfortunately, his heart does not always find rest. Last April he was filled with sadness when celebrating in Quebec City the 50th anniversary of his School of Social Service, because, in Rwanda, some of his friends had just been murdered.

Let us hope, along with Father Lévesque, that the intolerance and fanaticism that prevent nations from enriching themselves culturally — if indeed they do not lead them to the brink of the abyss — may be stamped out everywhere. ■

(Our translation)

[1] Harbron, John, *This is Trudeau*, Longmans, 1968.

[2] Lévesque, Georges-Henri, *Souvenances*, Vol. 2, Les éditions La Presse, 1986, p. 242.

[3] Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 30.

[4] Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 310.

[5] "Father of the Country".

THE VOICE OF YOUTH

On May 27 the Commissioner held a reception for Canadian Parents for French, which was celebrating the tenth anniversary of its Festival national d'art oratoire. Fifty students, all winners of provincial/territorial and local "speak-offs", attended. *Language and Society* asked two of them, Nicole Montpetit of Pickering, Ontario, and Jeff Embleton of Fredericton, New Brunswick, some questions.

JAN FINLAY, NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF CPF AND DR. VICTOR C. GOLDBLOOM, COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

NICOLE MONPETIT

Photos: Photolux

L and S Tell us about your Ottawa trip.

Nicole Montpetit: I really enjoyed Ottawa. I met people there from all parts of the country. I made many friends and some of these friendships will be lasting. We visited the Parliament Buildings and met Mr. Parent, the Speaker of the House of Commons, who invited us into his office. I will always remember this meeting. I felt very proud when he told us that those of us who are bilingual are building bridges between Anglophones and Francophones.

L and S How has learning a second language affected you?

N.M.: Learning a second language has really enabled me to discover just how useful another tongue can be. In France I was able to communicate effectively, and my knowledge of French has doubtless helped me in all my contacts. That is why I have decided to pursue my studies in French next year in university.

L and S Were you nervous about giving a speech to the judges? How did you deal with it?

N.M.: I have been giving speeches for about six years, so I've learned to live with nervousness. I am a little nervous when I speak before a jury, but not otherwise. Not at all. I love to speak to groups of people and I like to command their full attention. I have gained a lot of self-confidence and that helps me a great deal.

L and S Do you think that Canadians really understand each other?

N.M.: No, I believe Canadians do not know one another at all. There are so many prejudices. It seems to me that, when communication takes place in two official languages, the message is often poorly translated in one of them. Being bilingual, I have an open mind. I can see both sides of the coin. It's really too bad that we do not know one another better.

L and S Your hopes and fears?...

N.M.: I hope, first and foremost, that all these false opinions that Canadians have will finally disappear. I believe that if a large majority of Canadians (75% to 100%) could speak English and French fluently we would understand one another better. If everyone were bilingual they would be more aware of the benefits of bilingualism, not only in terms of employment but also in communication

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— when travelling, for example. What disturbs me most are those Anglophones who hate Francophones and Francophones who hate Anglophones. It is attitudes like that that cause quarrels. I regret that we do not as often hear of harmonious relations between Anglophones and Francophones and of all those people whose hearts will be broken if Quebec separates. Because, believe me, there are many Anglophones and Francophones who love one another.

L and S What was the theme of your speech?

N.M.: The theme of my speech for the oratorical competition was "The Power of Being Optimistic".

L and S Why that?

N.M.: I chose that theme because I find that people are too pessimistic. Optimism can change everything. If we want to improve the world we must first of all get rid of our pessimism. We are always looking for happiness in life, but you could say that we prefer to complain about everything that is wrong.

L and S What contributions would you like to make to your fellow citizens?

N.M.: I absolutely insist that the French immersion programs should be continued. If I have children some day I want them to be able to take advantage of this fantastic program. I want everyone to realize the benefits that bilingualism offers. I want to convince them of the wonders of bilingualism.

L and S Do you think that public speaking will help you in your professional life?

N.M.: I want to become a psychologist — a bilingual one, of course! — and I will have to speak to people. Previously, I did not have enough self-confidence to speak in public, but now I know that I can do it. I feel that the ability to speak in public is essential in life. As for myself, I love it, and I am not shy. I believe that, thanks to this ability, I will always manage to communicate the message I want to convey.

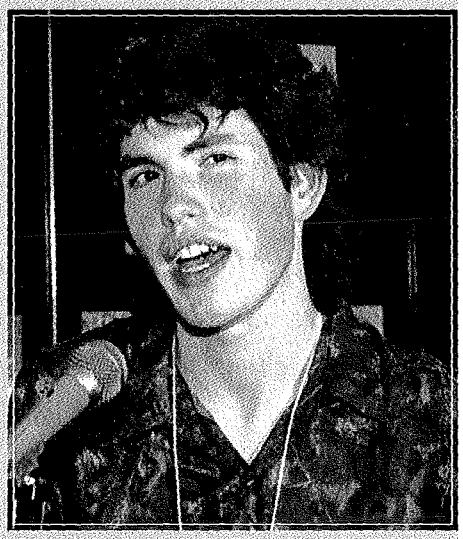
L and S What advice have you for your age group?

N.M.: I would like to tell people my own age that it is never too late to learn a second, third or even a fourth language. The results are worth the trouble. And I would add that, in both private and professional life, the effort must always be made to see both sides of the coin, to understand all aspects of a problem or conflict. There is nothing worse than people who present arguments without first being well informed.

L and S Would you like to add anything?

N.M.: Yes. I want to thank the whole system that gave me the chance to become bilingual. I am now bilingual and I have self-confidence. These are two qualities that I will always have, that cannot be taken away from me. I can always lose my material possessions, but never my self-confidence or my knowledge. Finally, I would like to thank Canadian Parents for French which, through its oratorical competition, allowed me to acquire the confidence required to speak in public. I would like to end by saying once again that if we eliminate pessimism, if we change our attitudes, we will help to change the world.

(Our translation)



JEFF EMBLETON

L and S Tell us about your Ottawa trip.

J.E.: It's very difficult to discuss my trip at length, because it only lasted two days. But I can easily say that it was some of the most fun I've had in a long time. Although this was my third time in Ottawa, I was treated to special trips which I would have never otherwise taken. I had the great pleasure of meeting Gilbert Parent, the Speaker of the House. I visited his private study and lunchroom on Parliament Hill, which are normally closed to tourists. I also took a gorgeous cruise down the Ottawa River. The plane ride over was especially exciting because it was only the second time I had travelled by plane. The views were spectacular, and the food was surprisingly palatable. I have to say, however, that my greatest enjoyment came not from the sightseeing, but from the people I met. Everyone was so open, friendly, and welcoming. Since this wasn't a competition, there wasn't a feeling of stress pervading the activities — at least not for me. I met at least a dozen people that I can now honestly call close friends. If any of you are reading this now, sorry I haven't written yet, but I'll get to you soon!

How has learning a second language affected you?

J.E.: The most obvious influence of learning a second language is the entirely new avenue of communication. Through the French immersion program I've been able to sample French music, French television and, being a New Brunswicker, or a Néo-Brunswickois, I've learned about Acadian culture and history. In a sense, I think it's also made me feel more Canadian. Since I can now speak in both official languages and can communicate to both peoples I feel that I am more able to understand their viewpoints, which is especially useful in this time of possible national fragmentation.

Were you nervous about giving a speech to the judges? How did you deal with it?

J.E.: I personally think that tension is a part of any type of public speaking, regardless of the presence of a panel of judges. With experience, most people get over this feeling of stage fright and it becomes almost second nature. The difficulty that I've had with judges is that I've always had a tendency to shift my attention towards them and away from the rest of the audience. Even though I don't recommend it, I think it's normal because when you're being judged you want to make sure that you're making an impression on those judging you. However, this situation can occur if you become too aware of any part of the audience and hence break your concentration. Speakers are generally attempting to produce a certain effect on the audience with their speeches and are constantly checking up on them to see if they've succeeded. One of the most helpful tricks I've ever employed when speaking is to become completely oblivious to the people that I'm speaking to. This requires a great deal of concentration, which I feel is the backbone of a good speech. If you're completely focused on what you're doing and saying then you should almost always perform well.

Do you think that Canadians really understand each other?

J.E.: I honestly don't know if there's a concrete yes or no answer to that question. Most of the experiences I've had with people from across the country involved youth. I found that we all had basically the same goals of success and happiness. There were some minor cultural differences, but nothing which would cause complete "culture shock". Although the youth of the nation seem to understand each other fairly well, I still find that this is a very regional country, and provinces, having been given the power of small nations, are consequently very protective of their interests. I'm not sure if these differences of opinion are always appreciated. Because of our system of representation by population many feel that the larger, richer provinces attempt to sway legislation in their favour. I don't profess to be a political expert and I really don't have the knowledge or even the desire to spout political reform. I do feel, though, that until we reach this complete understanding, which might not come until there have been political changes, we may never quite understand each other completely.

Your hopes and fears?...

J.E.: I think my biggest fear is of the future. At this point in my life I have yet to make any solid career plans and I have absolutely no idea what the job market will or will not bring. This fear, however, is less a "fear" than it is a mild anxiety. I'm the type of person who bores easily and I have no desire to schedule my life around one career which may take up less than half of my life. At this point I'm just trying my best to keep my eyes open for any opportunities which may come my way. All I really want is happiness and security and I intend to live life as fully as I can within whatever means I have.

What was the theme of your speech?

J.E.: The subject that I chose for my speech was my part-time job.

Why that?

J.E.: I like to make speeches which are entertaining yet topical. When I was searching for subjects I knew I wouldn't have time for intensive research, which meant I would have to take something from my own personal experience. I liked the idea of writing about my part-time job because I knew I could fill the criteria I listed above. I had dozens of funny stories from the summer and I learned an important lesson about not judging people by the choices they have had to make in life. Having had such a good idea of what I wanted and what I had, the speech was very easy and very entertaining to write.

What contributions would you like to make to your fellow citizens?

J.E.: To be honest, there isn't a specific contribution that I would like to make, but whatever I do, I want to do it to improve society, to help people and, being a Christian, I want to do it for the glory of God. I'm not sure in what capacity I'll be doing that but, as I've mentioned before, I haven't set out a

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specific blueprint for the rest of my life. I do hope, however, that I may be able to travel abroad to teach English as a second language sometime in the future.

L and S Do you think that public speaking will help you in your professional life?

J.E.: I believe that public speaking will be extremely helpful in my professional life, because it involves learning to communicate. In order to get points across to colleagues, to a business partner or a member of a jury, to pass on scientific data or even to sell washing powder, proper communication skills need to be employed. It is no surprise that many employers are now looking for people who are good communicators. This may help me in the search for employment, but in a market so volatile I have yet to make any predictions.

L and S What advice have you for your age group?

J.E.: There are so many things that I'd like to say, but I'll limit my response to two major statements. First of all, be sure to be the best you can be in everything you do. If you can't honestly put 100% into something, then it's not worth attempting. You have to be clear on your goals and dreams and how you can get them. I'll admit that I'm still learning how to do this, because it also takes great time management skills, which I'm far from mastering. Secondly, and this may sound strange, don't take life too seriously. I'm not promoting ambivalence, just saying that you should keep a good attitude about life and make sure you put everything in its proper perspective. Basically, don't agonize over your limited time here, just savour it and, most of all, cherish it. ■

Évelyne Billey-Lichon, Canada's FIRST IMMERSION TEACHER

ÉVELYNE BILLEY-LICHON

ANDRÉE LACROIX

It was in 1965, in the town of Saint-Lambert, Quebec, that French immersion instruction was born. After waging a two-year struggle (1963-65), a group called Saint-Lambert Parents for Bilingual Education received permission from the then Chambly County School Board to experiment with the first immersion class.

Their most difficult challenge had been to make school board members understand that immersion does not adversely affect the acquisition of competence in English. To do so had required, among other things, the testimony of specialists in linguistics and a favourable opinion of immersion from the celebrated Montreal neurosurgeon Wilder Penfield and from McGill University psychologist E. Anisfeld.

Publication of "Considerations Regarding a Bilingual School Curriculum in St. Lambert", which saw the light of day thanks to the untiring efforts of Muriel Parkes, Valerie Neales and Olga Melikoff, also helped to give the concept of immersion the necessary credibility to implement the program in the setting where Évelyne Billey-Lichon was going to work.

An ideal teacher

The young woman had taught in France for four years before coming to live in Pointe-aux-Trembles, Quebec, in 1961. When she arrived she already had all the qualities (and one possible shortcoming) then considered necessary to teach an immersion course: excellent spoken French, experience in teaching and an almost total ignorance of English.

"I suspect they hired me because my English was very limited. The parents of my future students did not want words translated for the children and the school board members must have told themselves that, with me, there was little chance of that happening," she says, laughing.

In the beginning she was asked to give courses in plastic arts in French on

Saturday mornings to English-speaking children (1964-65). The following year she taught kindergarten at Margaret Pendlebury School. This was the first French immersion class in Canada.

"The first immersion class was really enjoyable. Perhaps because of my innocence in the whole business, the parents had told me: 'Don't worry if you lose half of your class along the way, we know that it's experimental and we're not very sure it will work.' It turned out very well, no one at all wanted to drop out. I have the most wonderful memories of it!"

Évelyne Billey-Lichon says she taught the English-speaking children as she would have done in an ordinary kindergarten. The teaching methods used were not in the least special. "What was required was good common sense and the ability to improvise on the spot," she comments.

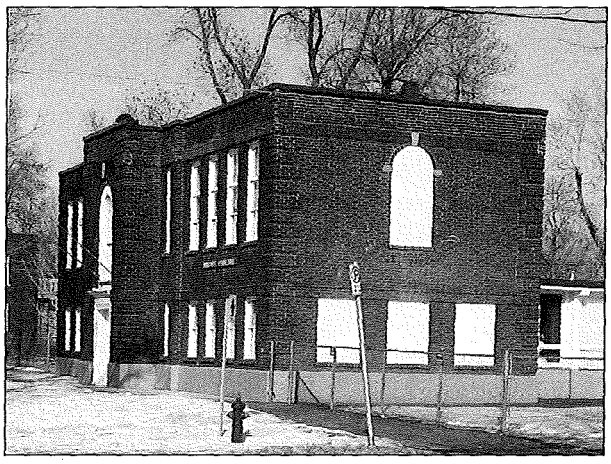
The parents, however, believe that Évelyne Billey-Lichon showed more than simple common sense. Betty-Anne Saunders, one of the first people to fight for introduction of a French immersion program, has said of her: "No one could have done a better job. She was absolutely superb!"

Many people, thinking no doubt of participating in the immersion experiment, consulted the teacher. "I was considered an expert in the field. It must be said that I was, as they say, a one-eyed person in the country of the blind, being the only one at the time teaching in immersion."

Beginning in 1966-67, other teachers were hired so that a growing number of English-speaking children could benefit from immersion.

Any parents who wished to do so could enrol their children in this type of course. Those who experienced learning difficulties coped as best they could and the teacher did the same.

For Évelyne Billey-Lichon the first years of immersion represent the "high fashion" period of this type of education. "We tried to provide 'tailor-made' answers to the needs of the pupils.



IN 1965-55 THIS SMALL SCHOOL, MARGARET PENDLEBURY SCHOOL, HOUSED CANADA'S FIRST FRENCH IMMERSION CLASS.

We were always on the lookout for something that could improve our teaching and, in addition, we had a sort of zeal that was fed by the incredible number of visitors who came from various parts of Canada, the United States or other countries to observe our classes. One year we had 165 of them!"

Immersion, which had at first aroused so much controversy, quickly became very much in style.

"In Saint-Lambert, for example, where immersion classes were never mandatory, the fact that a majority of the parents chose this option clearly indicated that it had acquired a good reputation," Billey-Lichon observes.

She taught for six years. In 1971 she became pedagogical assistant for immersion classes for the whole South Shore School Board. From 1973 to 1981 she was Assistant Principal of Saint-Lambert Primary School and, from 1981 to 1986, Assistant Principal of Harold Napper School in Brossard, a primary school that has many new Canadians.

For many years Évelyne Billey-Lichon helped Asian children to adapt to Quebec schools and some members of their families have become her friends. Her interest in Asians prompted her, in her free time, to make efforts, along with a friend, to bring a family of Cambodian refugees out of a camp in Thailand. They then sponsored the family for a year after their arrival in Quebec.

In the mid-1980s Évelyne Billey-Lichon had only one wish: to end her career with a flourish by becoming a teacher again. Her wish was a command for her superiors, who assigned her to a grade 2 immersion class in 1986. She retired in November 1993.

Her insights

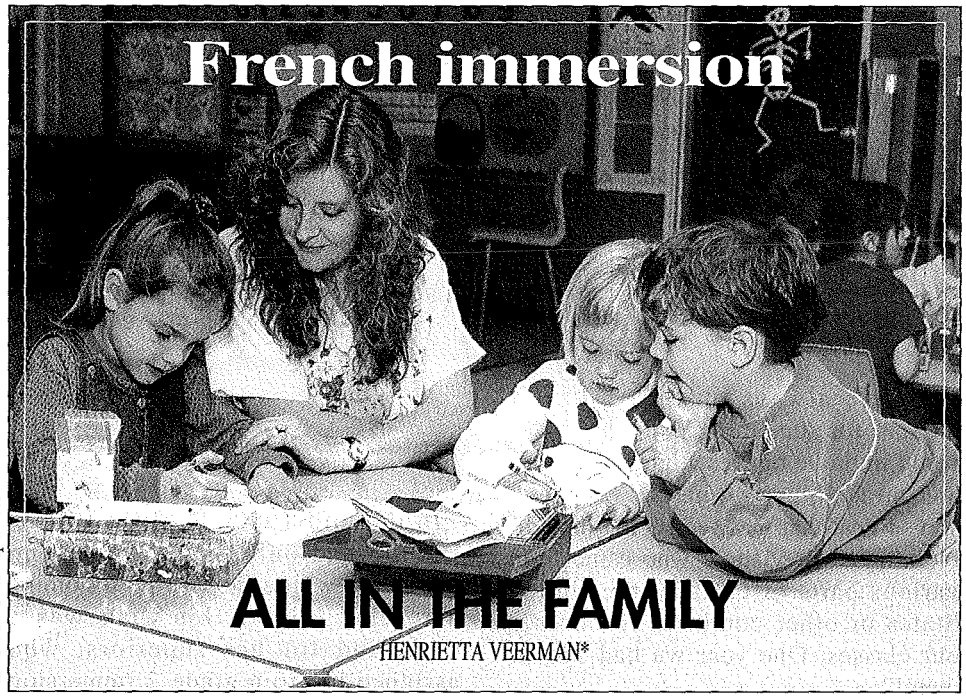
Évelyne Billey-Lichon hopes above all that the importance of basic skills for immersion teachers is not overlooked.

She believes that French should be the mother tongue of the teachers hired, or that they should at least have a fingertip command of the language.

"Unfortunately, I have encountered French immersion teachers who did not speak understandable French," she notes. "If the human resources directors of educational institutions do not understand French well, they should be accompanied by someone who does when it comes to evaluating French immersion teaching candidates."

After twenty-eight years devoted to immersion teaching Évelyne Billey-Lichon is finally able to make use of her free time to engage in a variety of pursuits. She says she is very happy to have made a career in French immersion in Quebec. ■

(Our translation)



Photos: Preston Yip Photo

ALL IN THE FAMILY

HENRIETTA VEERMAN*

FOR ANITA BELL-BOUVIER, THE PATH OF LIFE WAS CLEAR FROM AN EARLY AGE. "I ALWAYS KNEW I WANTED TO BE A TEACHER," THE KINDERGARTEN TEACHER SAYS, "AND A FRENCH IMMERSION ONE."

HOW DID SHE FIGURE OUT ONE OF LIFE'S BIGGEST QUESTIONS AT SUCH AN EARLY AGE?

"My Dad's a teacher, and my Mom's a teacher, and I was good with kids," Bell-Bouvier explains. To be a teacher herself was almost inevitable.

Teaching French as a second language was another natural step. A Franco-Columbian, she grew up speaking French at home. Her parents are Franco-Ontarian by origin and she was a student in the very first class of the program she now teaches. "I was in the pilot program of the French immersion program, in the 1968-69 school year," she recalls.

Bell-Bouvier is able to bring twenty-five years of history to her role and a special insight into the needs of her mostly English-speaking students at Hillcrest Elementary School in Coquitlam, British Columbia. From the French immersion program she went on to get her B.A. at Simon Fraser University, with a French major and education minor and her teacher's college equivalent. She was able to go directly into third-year French.

Bell-Bouvier teaches two kindergarten classes daily, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. There is no restriction except that of size. Classes are limited to twenty-one students and are usually full.

Children entering the program tend to be very excited and very interested in learning a second language. "The children are extremely keen about learning French," Bell-Bouvier says. "Often, they've heard it before, through television programs such as 'Sesame Street.' As well, parents are very excited about the program. They really want their children to learn a second language. A lot of children are driven to school by their parents." Some parents, she says, face an hour's drive to bring their children to her school.

Most of the students are Anglophones, although sometimes a student will have one parent who is French. Most are at about the same level, although quite often parents have started teaching them basic words. Bell-Bouvier starts off each new year with a gradual introduction to French, in order to ease the children into a new language and school.

"The children are extremely keen about learning French."

She has a personal understanding of the anxieties of beginning second-language students from observing the

* Henrietta Veerman is an Ottawa freelance writer.

"Teaching in general is a tough profession."

Anglophones in her class when she was going to school. For them, she recalls, the immersion process was very difficult. Children do not understand why, all of a sudden, everything is being presented to them in a second language. She takes her personal experience and applies it to her role at Hillcrest.

"To go 100% French is too scary for them, so at the beginning of the school year I translate a lot. I'll say something in French and then repeat it in English," she says.

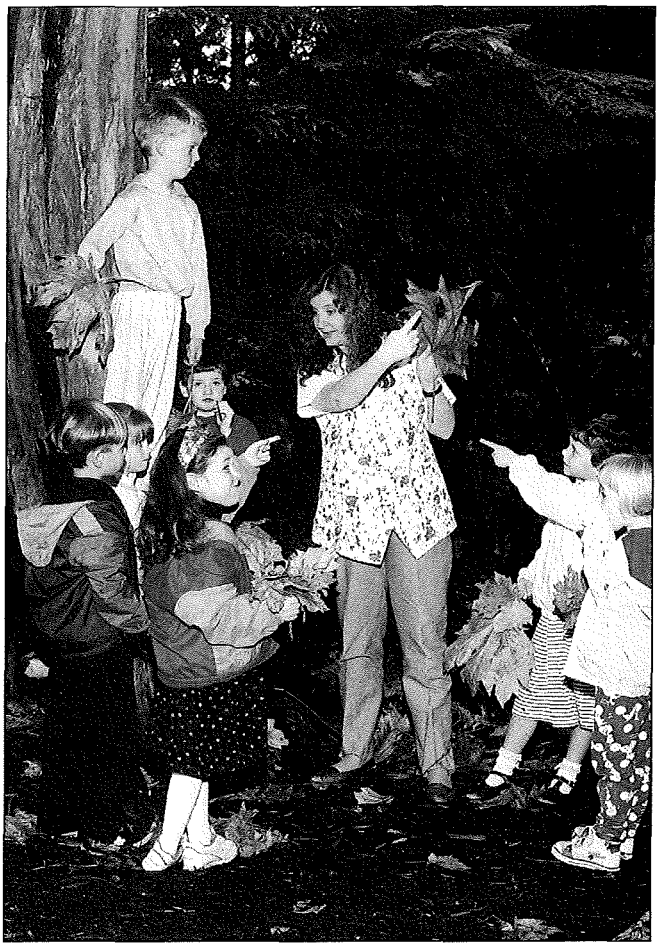
Her method seems to produce excellent results. Confidence quickly replaces the jitters. By November the teacher speaks entirely in French. Every child in the class is following and understanding with ease.

A typical morning includes talking about the weather and the date and doing number concepts. She introduces new vocabulary by discussing themes or events such as holidays, transportation or various professions.

Art projects, singing and storytime are some of the other educational tools Bell-Bouvier uses, as well as her own special touch, a friendly, motherly approach.

"Teaching in general is a tough profession," Bell-Bouvier says ruefully of the lively bunch she faces each day. "In kindergarten that energy level is way up there. I try to have fun in the classroom as much as possible."

Her goal for the end of the year is to have each child create a sentence in French, such as "Est-ce que je peux jouer avec les blocs?" Fairly early on, the children also begin using standard classroom phrases, such as "Puis-je aller aux toilettes?"



"Most of the interaction during free play is in English, but by the end of grade 1 it is in French," says Bell-Bouvier.

Classes are given in French until grade 3, when the first English course is introduced. From grades 4 to 7 students are taught in a 60-40 French-English ratio. Their English does not suffer at all, Anita Bell-Bouvier says firmly. Spelling does get confused at times in grades 3 to 5 as English is being introduced, but that is self-correcting. By the end of grade 7 a French immersion student is able to communicate very well.

Many students go on to French immersion in high school and even on to studying the language at university and a lot of them consider becoming French immersion teachers — just like their kindergarten teacher. ■

The challenge of the classroom

HENRIETTA VEERMAN

JESSE HUNTER

FOR JESSE HUNTER THE CHALLENGE OF THE CLASSROOM IS THE LURE THAT KEEPS HIM THERE. A TEACHER AT BISHOP'S UNIVERSITY ENGLISH LANGUAGE SCHOOL IN LENNOXVILLE, QUEBEC, FOR THE PAST SIX YEARS, HE SAYS THAT TEACHING FOR HIM IS A CHANCE TO STAND UP THERE AND CRACK JOKES.

His academic background contradicts him. Currently a Ph.D. candidate at McGill University, Hunter also has a M.A. in Applied Linguistics from Concordia University. A review of his work experience — teaching English to immigrants at Willis Business College, teaching English in Japan, teaching English at Concordia — is also full testimony to his dedication and pursuit of his vocation.

Having learned a second and a third language (French and Japanese) himself, Hunter is well-positioned for his role as teacher and academic co-ordinator at Bishop's University. Under the guiding hand of director Maria Bandrauk the English Language School usually runs for six weeks each year — May to June — and attracts two hundred students, which is capacity. The only entrance qualification is that students must be eighteen or older. Most are in the later years of CEGEP or the first years of university and are Francophones, very determined to learn a second language.

"There has been a real change in the attitude of students over the years," Hunter says. "We talk about Generation X being slackers, but these students are serious, a lot more demanding and into academics. There is a lot less partying."

The English Language School, with Hunter as academic co-ordinator, is working to meet students' needs. Hunter uses his Ph.D. work as a filter through which to view the second-language classroom. His Ph.D. dissertation, which he hopes to have completed by the end of the year, focuses on how "virtual reality" has affected communication.

"Virtual reality, in most people's minds, is someone wearing a helmet and a data glove," Hunter says. "Essentially, virtual reality is a world simulated through discourse. I am examining what it has taught us about what we already have and know."

The second-language classroom is one such simulated world — one of language and culture — and it is up to the teachers to provide the discourse. Jesse Hunter says Bishop's really works as a team in deciding course content and direction and gives much credit to the director of the school, Maria Bandrauk. The approach at Bishop's is best described as a blend of communicative language teaching and the more traditional structured approach.

"In our program, where we have people day and night, with a chance to practise what they've learned, we teach structures, although not as an end in itself," Hunter says.

A typical day at Bishop's includes five hours of classroom time and a daily activity period. Classtime is divided into a variety of events, including grammar instruction and reading as part of the traditional approach. Hunter says he often uses grammar games such as a sentence auction, where students bid on the sentence they think they can correct, to lighten up the process of learning grammar. He keeps theme files on topical issues such as gun control and uses them to stage debates, which has the effect of sparking interest and getting the students talking. The jigsaw structure is another of Jesse's tools: an arti-

cle is cut up, each student receives a portion as reading homework, and the next day in class students have to reconstruct the original story. After a movie night students can opt to do a movie review, or they can read a book over the term and then summarize it for the class. Evening activities include movies, workshops, casino nights, skit nights and dances. Weekends include trips to nearby English-speaking towns, including Knowlton, Orford, and Stowe, Vermont.

Students sign a contract to speak only English.

Not only did 1994 mark Hunter's first year as academic co-ordinator, it also saw the Bishop's academic team get together for a brainstorming session and establish new objectives.

One focus of Bishop's revised approach is linking what was learned inside the classroom to the outside activities. For example, in the week before a weekend trip to Stowe, Hunter held a marketing brainstorming session with his class, comparing businesses such as Ben and Jerry's and Benetton. That weekend in Stowe students did the actual study, going around to businesses, talking to people and establishing community contact.

"To stimulate an experience you need to facilitate students. If left alone, they tend to gravitate towards the same things. We try to provide some direction," Hunter says.

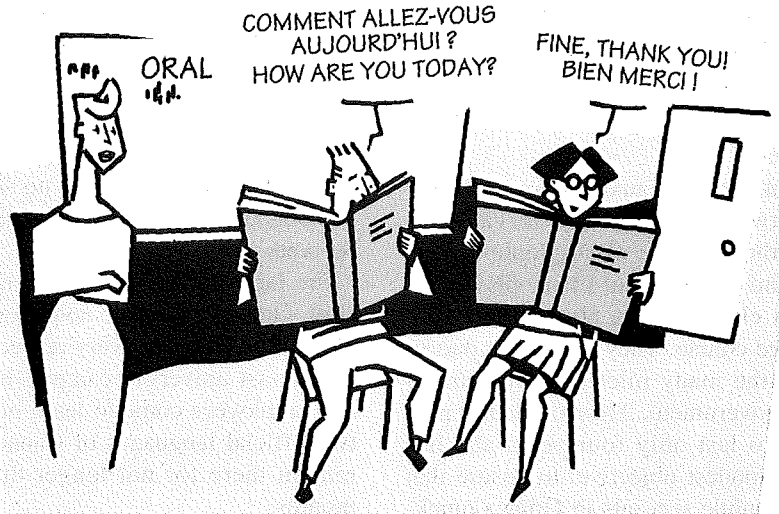
A key part of the simulated world begins with students signing a contract, at the very start of the program, to speak only English. For many students this promise is hard to keep, because often they feel lonely and isolated outside of their usual familiar environment. After two or three weeks, though, Hunter says, these feelings pass, to be replaced by confidence and the excitement of the new language.

"When our students arrive they have a lot of fears and anxieties about speaking in a second language. Our biggest accomplishment is to break down those barriers and to build confidence."

The newly found confidence is apparent in the words of Annie Laliberté, one of Hunter's students. She wrote a poem for Bishop's wrap-up night, expressing her initial feelings of confusion and her final feelings of pride and achievement:

New friends, a lot of friends
New words, more vocabulary
I'm proud of myself
The fight between my thoughts has stopped
Each one has its place
And me, I can express myself
with anyone.... ■

DID YOU KNOW THAT...



In 1993 some two million English-speaking students in Canada were learning French, approximately 290,000 of them in French immersion programs. In Quebec the teaching of English as a second language is mandatory from grade 4 on and about 596,000 students are studying it.

Language Training Canada *turns thirty*

GILLES LAFRAMBOISE*

Photo: Michel Tessier

On a cold January morning forty-two federal public servants — three groups of Anglophone students and one group of Francophones — enter a classroom to attend their first language course. They are taking part in one of the many pilot projects carried out in government. Their particular project is to last only four years and has quite a modest objective: to ensure that 20,000 public servants in Ottawa quickly learn 2,000 "basic words" in the other official language. The year is 1964.

Thirty years and a thousand reorganizations later the project is still in existence. It has survived all the changes of government, all the rationalizations, and even the agreements and accords piled high on the shelves. It now bears the name Language Training Canada (LTC), employs some 300 persons and can boast of having provided no less than 300,000 courses to nearly 90,000 public servants.

The largest LTC training centre is in Hull, Ottawa's Quebec neighbour. In an environment that in every respect resembles a vast university campus, managers and employees come to learn one of the two official languages of Canada. They remain there for not longer than eight months.

Over the years LTC has not only succeeded in developing its own learning materials, but has become a world leader in its field. According to its director general, Marie-Josée Mercier-Savoie, the organization has gradually put aside tools such as "Voix et images de France" and developed material that better reflects Canadian reality and the language of work used in North America.

The material developed fills such a need that it is now sold in forty-six countries. It is used in Ukraine, Mexico and China. It consists of complete learning programs as well as cassette recordings, books, measurement and evaluation tools and computer software.

While LTC has its greatest presence in the National Capital Region, it operates six training centres in Canada and serves over fifty cities located in all ten provinces and the two territories. When clients have special needs the staff develops a tailor-made program. "The ultimate objective is that all our clients, whether it be the Coast Guard, the RCMP or the Department of Foreign Affairs, receive the language training they really need," Mercier-Savoie explains.

Clients

All the students enrolled in LTC have good reasons for being there. Some of them, for example, fill managerial positions that have been re-evaluated and declared "bilingual". If the current incumbent does not meet the new language requirements, he or she is given a two-year period to satisfy them. The same motivation obtains in the case of a unilingual public servant promoted to a bilingual position. Such a person is also given a grace period to learn the other language, French (in most cases) or English.

Finally, there is a third important class of client: so-called "surplus" public servants. The adjective says it all. If these employees are not already bilingual the services of Language Training Canada are made available to them to increase their chances of finding another position in the Public Service or in the private sector.

*Gilles Laframboise is a freelance writer living in Hull, Quebec.

Motivation

Since their professional future depends heavily on their "academic" performance, the public servants turned students show a high level of motivation.

According to one of the instructors, Jean-Guy Paquin, "When they come here people want to learn and are prepared to make great sacrifices in order to pass the final examination." In the opinion of another instructor, Marie-Claude Demers, "The students are also very receptive to learning another language. With all the talk about free trade and the globalization of markets, public servants are increasingly called upon to deal with their counterparts in other countries. They are therefore aware that it will be all to their advantage to learn another language and be able to use it."

She adds that even before beginning their studies with LTC, "most Anglophone students were so convinced of the importance of having a good knowledge of French that they had enrolled their children in French immersion. It's an unfailing sign."

Ready for the 21st century

Language Training Canada itself has experienced many changes in its thirty years of existence. The number of employees has fluctuated. In 1978 it had nearly 1,300 employees. Today there are barely three hundred.

According to LTC director general, Marie-Josée Mercier-Savoie, "The budget cuts are now forcing us to operate more efficiently and to turn over more of our responsibilities to the private sector, especially in the regions."

This partnership can only increase in the years to come, she adds. "We will not abandon our obligation to be the driving force of language training in Canada. We will continue to develop programs and ensure that this teaching sector remains on the leading edge of technology. We have integrated informatics into our instruction and will turn next to distance education to fully discharge our responsibilities." ■

(Our translation)

THE LATEST EDITION OF

L'année francophone internationale

ANDRÉ LA ROSE*

The 1994 edition of *L'Année francophone internationale* contains, in its some 300 pages, a wealth of information of interest to both the French-speaking general public and the specialist. Michel Tétu, professor in the Faculty of Literature of Laval University, supervised the preparation of this third edition of the work, published under the auspices of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation (ACCT) and of the Association des facultés et établissements de lettres et sciences humaines and in co-operation with many other large international Francophone organizations. At the outset, the editors make a useful distinction between the terms "francophonie," "Francophonie" and "francophone sphere [espace francophone]". These terms, while they sometimes overlap, refer to separate but complementary realities:

- **francophonie**, without an initial capital, "generally refers to all the peoples or groups of speakers who use the French language, partly or exclusively, in their daily life or communications."
- **Francophonie**, with an initial capital, "refers to all the governments, countries or official jurisdictions that have in common the use of French in their work or interactions."
- **Francophone sphere** "represents a reality that is not exclusively geographical or even linguistic but cultural as well. It includes all those who, to a greater or lesser extent, experience or express a sense of identification with the French language or Francophone cultures — whether they be of Slavic, Latin or Creole background, for example. This concept of a Francophone sphere is the vaguest, but also perhaps the most fruitful one."

The work has three major divisions.

The first, a thematic one entitled "Events and ideas", deals in depth with specific international topics of interest to the entire Francophone world. In addition to an exhaustive report on the Francophone Summit in Mauritius, with the text of the various resolutions adopted there and the final declaration, this part has informative articles on literacy and la francophonie, on sub-Saharan Africa and the choices it faces between its needs for political democracy and for economic development, on Cambodia and la francophonie and on the transition from a Europe of homelands to a Europe of nations. It also contains much information about the conclusion of the GATT negotiations — with excerpts from an interview with Marcel Bluwal, president of the Société des compositeurs et auteurs dramatiques (France)

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* The author is director of André La Rose, Conseiller en édition, Inc., in Luskville, Quebec.

and Serge Turgeon, president of the Union des artistes (Quebec), as well as on French-language song, with a list of the winners of the Prix de la chanson francophone 1993, of the 1993 Francovision prize (Marie-Denise Pelletier) and of the Octaves de la Francophonie 1993.

The second part, under the heading "Countries and regions", offers a review

Louisiana, New England, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyana, Haiti, to...

of significant events in the political, social, economic and cultural life of la francophonie in 1993, accompanied, for each country or region, by a bibliography listing the major titles published during the year.

The section on Canada reports the results of the 1993 federal election and the composition of the new House of Commons, as well as the awarding of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry to Michael Smith and of the Governor General's Literary Award for French-language fiction to Nancy Huston, a native of Alberta.

Orford, in Quebec's Eastern Townships, hosted the first Rencontres internationales de la chanson francophone, which enabled contestants "from many parts of the world (56% from Quebec, 11% from other parts of Canada and 33% from elsewhere) to learn to use words and music, as well as to become acquainted with stage work."

Toronto held its first exhibition of French-language books and many Ontarians took advantage of this international event to become acquainted with some fifty-five publishing houses, distinguished guests, writers and works from Canada and the Francophone world." The exhibition prize, offered by the government of Quebec, was awarded to Daniel Poliquin.

In western Canada the volume notes that, on the political front, Francophones have been seeking for years to obtain governance of their schools and that the federal government has taken certain steps to encourage recalcitrant provinces to comply with the provisions of Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Finally, the section on Acadia notes that Bill 88 (which recognizes the equality of the two linguistic communities of New Brunswick) was entrenched in the Canadian Constitution and mentions the publication of *Acadiens des Maritimes*, a major collective work of nearly 1,000 pages on which no less than twenty-three authors collaborated.

Looking beyond the Francophone communities of Canada and Europe, this geographical section reports the achievements of other members of the Francophone sphere from the United States (including Louisiana and New England) and the West Indies (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyana and Haiti) to the Indian Ocean (Mauritius, Réunion and Madagascar) and Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam) by way of the Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia), other countries of Africa (Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Côte-d'Ivoire, Guinea, Togo, Chad, Cameroon, the Congo Republic, Gabon, the Central African Republic, Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda, etc.) and the Mashriq (Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Palestine).

This section concludes with an excellent article entitled "La francophonie without borders", in which writer Naïm Kattan tells about certain major authors of various ethnic or national origins who have chosen to write in French and recalls some of the major literary events of the year for la francophonie.

Finally, the third part, entitled "Associations and information", provides descriptive and background material on, as well as addresses for, the ACCT, the Association des universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française and the Université des réseaux d'expression française, and information on various other organizations working within the international Francophone community.

There are also articles on the Francophone sphere, a list of general works on the Francophone world, data on the

Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and many other countries on the way.

geography of each country or region of la francophonie and a list of the members of the publication's board of directors and of its chief contributors.

An inset colour map, 28 x 43 cm, completes the volume and shows at a glance the size of the "Francophone world", countries that attend the Francophone Summit, countries that are partially French-speaking that do not attend and Romance-language countries.

Readers who wish to obtain the 1994 edition of *L'Année francophone internationale* can do so at their bookstore or by sending an order, accompanied by a cheque or money order for $19 ($15 plus $4 postage) plus applicable taxes to:

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(Our translation)

Official languages: Two are too few

BERNARD ASSINIWI*

Two official languages in a country as big as Canada are few enough. Switzerland, which would fit 241 times into our territory, has four official languages.

When Canada was conquered by England there were fifty-three different languages, belonging to eleven major language families, spoken in the territory that would later become this country, which I still consider ours.

While the Aboriginal peoples of Canada now have to speak English or French, the discussions, negotiations and conferences held at the time when powers were transferred in the 18th century were conducted in Aboriginal languages. In the Great Lakes region alone, where the Ottawa, the Ojibwa, the Potawatomi, the Sauk, the Fox, the Wendat (Huron), the Shawnee, the Seneca, the Mingo, the Mohawk, the Cayuga, the Oneida, the Wea, the Mascouten and the Onondaga lived, there were more than three hundred interpreters employed by the British and the French. This often resulted in conflicting interpretations, for none of them had a diploma from a translation school! In fact, the Aboriginal languages were based on the creation of images rather than words, as in the European languages. Creating images was part of the art of oratory among all the peoples of North America, but when resort to translation was necessary words were used, distorting the images and often producing conflicting results. The way of thinking of the Aboriginal peoples was often so different from that of the Europeans that it could not be rendered properly to a listener in words.

The conquest by the British did not solve the problem of communications, despite the greater discipline imposed by the regime. Because General Amherst, the commander in chief of His Majesty's armies in North America, regarded all the Aboriginal nations as "villains who deserve to be destroyed and even pursued by packs of dogs", there was no question of training specialists in their languages, since, in his

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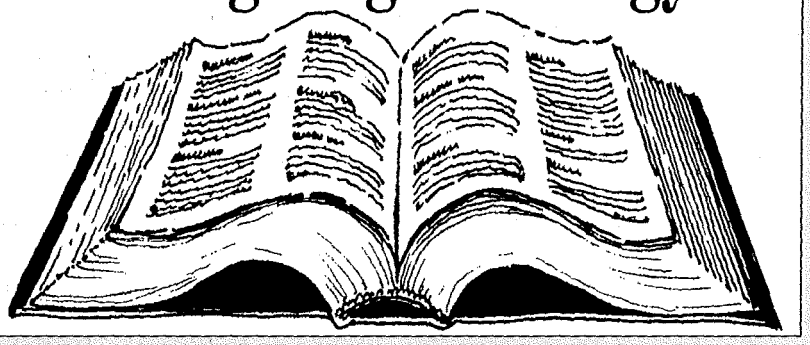
* **An Aboriginal history researcher in the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Bernard Assiniwi is also the author of novels and of the *Histoire des Indiens du Haut et du Bas Canada*, published by Leméac in 1974.**

Bilingual gerontology



A Montreal research team compiling a bilingual thesaurus dealing with gerontology and geriatrics hopes to have the work completed by the end of 1995. The thesaurus will facilitate information retrieval and indexing of documents in this rapidly expanding field of medical practice.

The first priority has been the development of parallel vocabularies in English and French to avoid ambiguity when the same concepts are presented in each language.

The project, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Fonds de la recherche en santé du Québec, includes professors from the McGill University Graduate School of Library and Information Studies and a physician and a librarian from the Centre hospitalier Côte-des-Neiges.

Interested members of the medical community may make comments or suggestions by contacting Professor John Leide of McGill University at (514) 398-4204.

— from information in The Canadian Medical Association Journal, November 15, 1993.

view, they should all one day disappear from the face of the earth.

The French, who had been in contact with the Aboriginal peoples since the 16th century, had mingled with them, learning their languages and often living more easily in the "wild" than in the civilized state. Thus, interpreters were mainly Métis for over two centuries. They had names like Langlade, Chêsne, Martin, Baby, Chapoton, Cuillerier, Dusette, Godfroy, Jonquaire, de Chabert (Tahaidoris, a Seneca chief) and seemed to be accepted by the Aboriginal peoples as well as by the French. They enjoyed a special status that enabled them to live in the trading forts as well as in the villages and towns of the Aboriginal nations. In most cases they were also merchants, traders and, sometimes, mercenaries and spies, with a good knowledge of the habits of each side. Under the British regime, after 1760, their credibility waned. The British feared them because of their French blood and the Aboriginal peoples no longer trusted them with their secrets for fear that they would disclose them to the commanders of the forts where they lived. The Métis then had to identify with one party or the other and in most cases they chose the British, the new lords of the land.

The French living in the vicinity of the trading forts adapted quite easily to the British way of life and learned English to survive without any great friction arising socially. While at the time nearly all the British officers spoke French (in the Great Lakes region a number of Swiss mercenaries formed part of the British military staff — Colonel Bouquet, Lieutenant Monrésor, Captain Écuyer, etc.), they preferred to use the services of interpreters to deal with the "savages".

Pontiac, who understood French very well, used a French-speaking secretary to write all his letters and another to read the letters he received. The two secretaries did not know one another and neither was aware of the other. It was also in French that Pontiac had his letter surrendering Fort Detroit to Major Gladwin written in 1763.

When the British took possession of the French forts it was the Aboriginal peoples who suffered, since the French adapted easily enough to the laws and practices of the British. The Aboriginal peoples often had to use English in their dealings when these took place at the fort. When merchants visited the Aboriginal communities they had to use the languages of the latter. Little by little, relations between the users of the various languages changed. Influenced by the practices of the military, merchants and colonists adopted a condescending attitude towards the Aboriginal peoples. In fact, while the various nations had supported either the British or the French, the commanders in chief of the two great powers both harboured prejudices against the Aboriginal peoples. Amherst underestimated and despised them; Montcalm found them undisciplined and traitorous. The former maintained no contact with them and the latter forgot them as soon as he no longer needed them. Neither of them ever learned to communicate with the Aboriginal peoples. Among the British, only the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Sir William Johnston, learned an Aboriginal language, Mohawk, because he had ties of friendship with that nation and its then chief, Hendrick, and also because his principal mistress was the sister of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk war chief.

Switzerland, small as it is compared to Canada, uses four languages.

It is natural, therefore, to find that, today, all the Aboriginal peoples who speak French live in Quebec, while everywhere else they speak English. The Montagnais, Micmac, Malecite, Abenaki, Wendat (Huron), Algonquian of Abitibi and Atikamek have French as their first or second language, while the Mohawk have spoken English since they had to leave their homes to work in the United States after the Second World War.

The Great Lakes Region has been Anglicized, even if the French-sounding names some families bear might indicate the contrary.

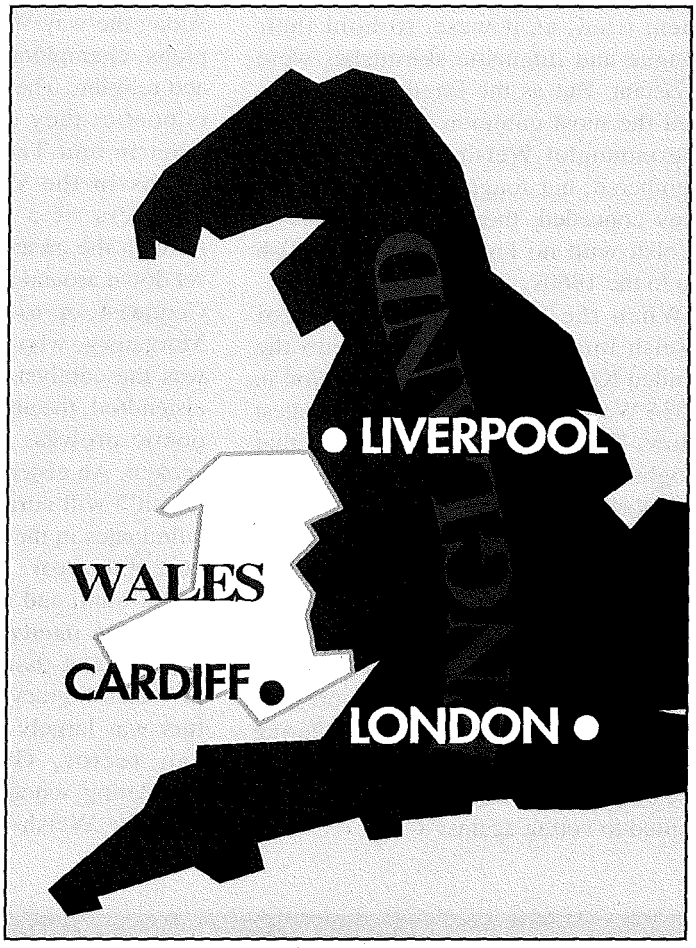
In fact, linguistic relations were quite good between all the groups occupying the country. Political relations became poisoned, however, because of the utter dependence of the Aboriginal peoples on the new tools such as rifles and gunpowder, as well as on the woollen blankets and alcohol — cognac, wine and rum — of the Whites.

I myself am Algo-Cree by my father and Québécois by my mother. Family conflicts were always about language. If my father addressed me in Cree or Algonquian my mother thought that we were speaking against her. She never understood my father's language despite living with him for forty-seven years. If the Aboriginal languages are still alive it is thanks in part to the reserve system, which was established to isolate the Aboriginal peoples, where a handful of diehards retained their ways of expressing themselves while inventing new words or adapting European words to their language. While many of the fifty-three Aboriginal languages of Canada are practically extinct, those that survive will never die. Cree, Montagnais, Ojibwa and Dene will remain, for these cultures are established strongly enough to survive alongside Canada's two official languages, English and French. ■

(Our translation)

The rebirth of Welsh

PHIL JENKINS*



The English, gazing out of the windows of their holiday homes, are prone to admire the undulating beauty of what they call "Welsh Wales". By this they mean the present parts of Wales where Welsh is freely spoken. It is a pet name, for the English are both amused and bemused by the melodic tongue they hear in corner stores, country lanes, and on the radio and television.

The melody that is spoken Welsh is an ancient tune, perhaps even a reflection of the rise and fall of the topography. Certainly Welsh has had an undulating history. Its roots go back 1,000 years deeper that any other language spoken in Britain; J.R.R. Tolkien called it "the senior language of Britain." But Welsh has, like so many other languages, been "Englished". It has suffered the slings and arrows of outrageous proximity and assimilation. However, and particularly in the last thirty years, it has found ways to replenish itself, and the decline in the number of young Welsh speakers has achieved a barometric reversal. Welsh Wales is growing.

Being Englished

Making a verb of the noun "English" may seem grammatically gauche, but it has a precedent. In 1682, in a satirical volume called *Wallography*, a William Richards of Helmdon wrote, "The Lingua will be Englished out of Wales."Richards was describing his own wishful thinking. Three centuries have proved him wrong, although, particularly during the rapid industrialisation of the nineteenth century, the seam of Welsh was almost mined out.

When the Anglo-Saxons began to invade Britain in the late fifth century the Romans had already swept the Celtic peoples into the corners of western Europe. The incoming Germanic-speaking Saxons pushed them further back and dubbed them the "Wealas" — the strangers. (The Celts continued to think of themselves as "Y Cymry" — the compatriots. Wales in Welsh is Cymru, as in "Plaid Cymru", the Welsh political party that has put several MPs in the British parliament.)

Offa, a Mercian king, put the lid on the Wealas with the building of the earthwork known as Offa's Dyke in the latter part of the eighth century. Though Welsh spilled over Offa's stones, and Welsh farmers remained true to their tongue east of the wall, the dyke served its purpose; the ancient trace of it that runs from north to south down the belly of the British mainland remains the border of Welsh today.

Over the next thousand years Welsh was assailed by the twin battalions of landowners and the law. The Anglo-Norman landowners moved in gradually (there is a town in Wales called Beaupre, another called Beaumaris), nibbling at the edges and along the valley floors. It became an aspiration of the upwardly mobile Middle Ages Welsh to become fluent in the language of the conquering gentry; there was a flux of boarding-school sons back and forth across the border.

⇨

* **Phil Jenkins makes a living selling English, in non-fiction books, writing a weekly column on books for the *Ottawa Citizen* and as a songwriter. He lives in Chelsea, Quebec.**

Meanwhile the peasantry that served them tried, as it were, to hold their tongue and linguistic skirmishes were constant. But as the Englishing continued the most common casualties were the monoglot Welsh. They were outnumbered, but fought for every tongue they conceded: there were speakers of Welsh with no knowledge of English up to the 1960s.

When the loose confederation of Welsh lordships was herded into the United Kingdom by the Act of Union in 1536 Welsh suffered perhaps its greatest blow. The Act specifically stated that English would be the letter of the law and that no Welsh speaker could hold public office. This tight-lipped state of affairs remained until 1942 when it was relaxed and the Welsh counties could offer some bilingual services — but Wales still lacks even the provincial linguistic rights of Quebec. A bill presently before Parliament is again tinkering with the four-hundred year-old act, but the majority of the Welsh MPs are committed to voting against it.

The power of culture

Along the way Welsh has had its champions, champions of culture, education and religion. The heart of Welsh culture is poetic; they claim the early poets Aneirin and Taliesin, singers of the myths in the sixth century, as the founders of a tradition that leads through the great book the *Mabinogion*, set down around the time of the Norman Conquest, up to the great fabulist Iolo Morganwg, who died in 1826 and who was the catalyst for the revival of the eisteddfod, the annual druidic festival of poetic prowess where only Welsh is spoken. An eisteddfod ("eistead" means "to sit") will attract 150,000 people and culminates in the "chairing" of a bard as poet of the year.

Education and religion in Wales have long been intertwined; there have been flowers and thorns. The great revival in Welsh literacy in the eighteenth century was largely the work of an Anglican rector, Griffiths Jones. The circulating schools he set up, designed to make Welsh Bible readers of farm children and usually held in winter when agriculture was resting, were eventually attended by one out of two Welsh children.

Running counter to Jones's crusade was the drive to universal elementary education — in English — in the mid-nineteenth century. The Welsh fought back, camouflaging their campaign with the virtues of bilingualism, and gains were made in the rural, poorer areas where English was often as foreign to the teachers as it was to the children. I recall my mother telling me that when she was evacuated to a rural Welsh school in 1939, a mere hour's drive from Liverpool, the language of the classroom was Welsh.

It is in its conversations with God and the singing of its hymns that Welsh has remained strongest. The very first book published in Welsh, in 1547, was composed of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments. The first complete Welsh Bible was published twenty years later.

Non-conformity is an enduring hallmark of Welsh religion, a trait that has been exploited by incoming religions such as Methodism. The non-conformists, eager to make converts, were willing to preach to congregations in Welsh whereas the Anglicans considered English the proper mode of address when talking to God. The strong identification of the Welsh with the Methodist "chapel" arose from this.

When the wheels of industrialization began turning they were both a blessing and a curse. The population doubled in two generations and the cities filled with the country Welsh and the English urban poor. For quite a while Welsh held its own, rising in numbers as it swallowed some of the tide of immigrants and even as it dropped as a percentage of the overall population.

As late as the first two decades of this century, when Wales was second only to the United States as a magnet

Welsh and Breton

Welsh and Breton belong to the Celtic subgroup of the Indo-European family of languages. Celtic speech once reached from present day Spain and Britain as far east as Asia Minor, but was overwhelmed by Latin after the Roman conquests.

By the fifth century A.D. Celtic had for the most part disappeared from continental Europe.

The surviving Celtic languages are found mostly in Britain, Ireland and Brittany. Breton is not descended from Gaulish but from the speech of Welsh and Cornish immigrants fleeing the Germanic invasions of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries.

More than a million people in Brittany, most of them bilingual, speak Breton today.

for migratory factory workers, Welsh was at least treading water; but the First World War (20,000 young Welsh speakers silenced) and the ensuing Depression (390,000 people moved out between 1925 and 1939) all but submerged it.

Welsh dipped below English as the majority language. The percentage of Welsh speakers began dropping by an average of eight per cent with each census — 37% in 1931 to 21% in 1971. The language was a lot closer to the bottom than the top.

The resurgence

The advent of wireless radio and of television enabled the advocates of Welsh eventually to take their case into every Welsh living room. It was no longer necessary to travel to hear the mother tongue. It could fill the home with the flick of a switch. Radio Cymru now carries ninety hours a week in Welsh.

An example of the power of radio was the broadcast by Saunders Lewis in the winter of 1962. Lewis was a nationalist who had helped found the National Party of Wales in the 1920s and who had spent time in an English jail. The lecture he gave on the BBC called for a revolution to revive the Welsh language. It led almost immediately to the setting up of the Welsh Language Society, which moved the contest up a notch by being prepared to use uncivil disobedience.

Radio's sighted cousin, television, has had a much greater impact. After a long, boisterous struggle through the seventies, including hunger fasts, a branch plant of the well-known Channel Four began broadcasting on November 1, 1982. It is called Sianel Pedwar Cymru, or S4C, and it presently offers thirty hours of shows in Welsh, including a very popular soap opera called "Pobl Y Cym" ("People of the Valley").

This year a film in Welsh, *Hedd Wyn* (the *dd* is pronounced *th*), was nominated for an Academy Award in the best foreign picture category. Fittingly, it tells the real-life story of Ellis Evans, a rural poet who signed himself Hedd Wyn and who died on the battlefield in the First World War, a month before he would have been chaired at the National Eisteddfod.

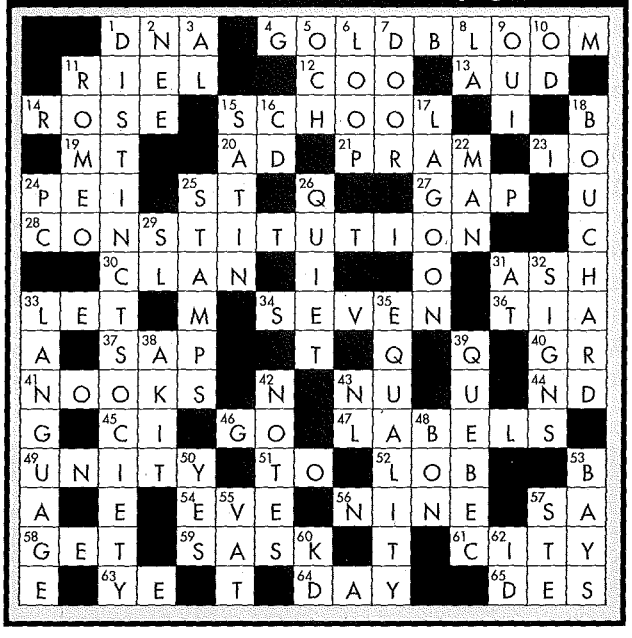
My own experience with Welsh has involved ancestors, holidays, university and work. My paternal great-grandparents were part of the flow of the northern Welsh into Liverpool, a flow that made the Welsh community there the largest outside Wales. My childhood holidays were spent on the Isle of Anglesey (Ynys Môn), a Welsh stronghold and ancestral home of the Tudor family, and it was here I first stood alongside the Welsh as they were in casual conversation.

Later I attended a Welsh university and learned to sing rugby songs in Welsh, bystanding as the activists began spraying out street signs with green paint. As a graduate I worked in Cardiff, the Welsh capital, one of a loose group of Anglophone artists losing out to the Welsh speakers at funding time. In some sense my biography parallels the history of Welsh, and when I return there I take the pulse of the culture. The signs are good. I and 30,000 others have already bought our copies of *Welsh is Fun.*

My most recent holiday in Wales was in 1991. The census that year revealed that I would be visiting a country where half a million people spoke Welsh — almost 19% of the population. A decline from 1931, yes, but inside those half a million, flickering like a miner's lantern at the far end of a long coal mine, was an intriguing sub-group. The percentage of Welsh speakers in the age group three to fifteen had, probably for the first time in centuries, certainly since the first census in 1891, increased.

An incident from that holiday reinforces my hopes for Welsh. The first night there was spent at a farm bed and breakfast in the Monmouth Valley. It was a working farm, and I heard Mr. Parry talking to his cows in Welsh at milking time. In the television lounge after dinner the hosts joined the several guests, all of them non-Welsh, and asked to watch "Pobl y Cym". We Anglos listened to the melodic rhythm of the incomprehensible script for half an hour, and no one suggested changing the channel. ■

Solution to Crossword Puzzle on page 35

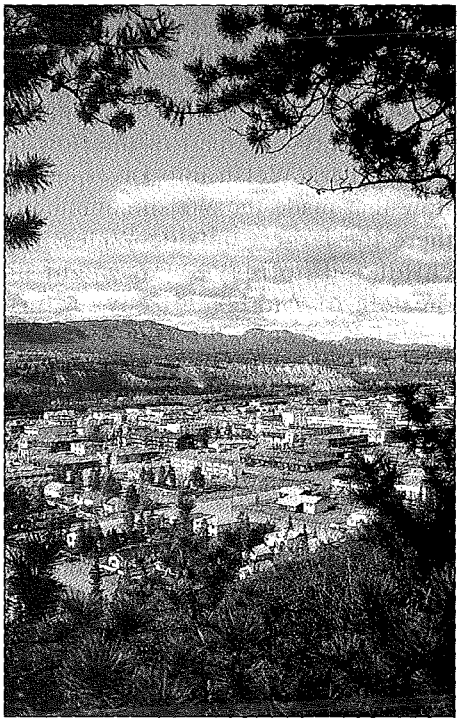


Correction

The photo caption and the reference on page 5 of *Language and Society* 46 should have referred to the Montreal office of Revenue Canada, Taxation, not Customs.

Yukon
CELEBRATING RICHNESS

*PHILIPPE DUMONT**



The existence and the identity of the Yukon Francophone community are now well-established. The Association franco-yukonnaise, the Garderie du petit cheval blanc, Émilie-Tremblay school (although in poor condition and needing to be replaced), the Bureau of Francophone Parents, the community hall, are all physical realities which testify to the presence and the vitality of our community, the majority of whom live in Whitehorse.

These examples of success within our community are the results of very hard work on the part of Yukon Francophones and of the recognition by the federal and territorial governments of the legitimacy of our community aspirations. This legitimacy evolves from the presence of Francophones in Yukon for over a century and from our desire to grow in harmony with Yukon and with its other communities.

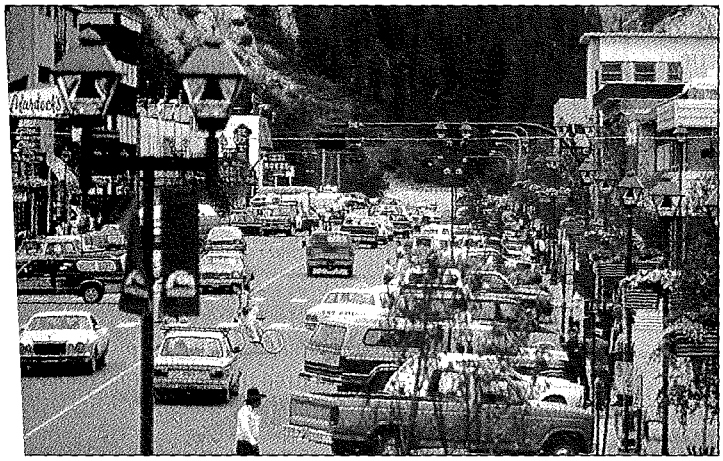
Like the other communities in Yukon, the Francophone community is young and expanding. Our school, our daycare centre and the community centre (in other words, our basic infrastructure) were set up for our young ones, to answer to their needs and their aspirations, and the next phase of our progress — economic development — will also be planned for the benefit of the next generation and of its future.

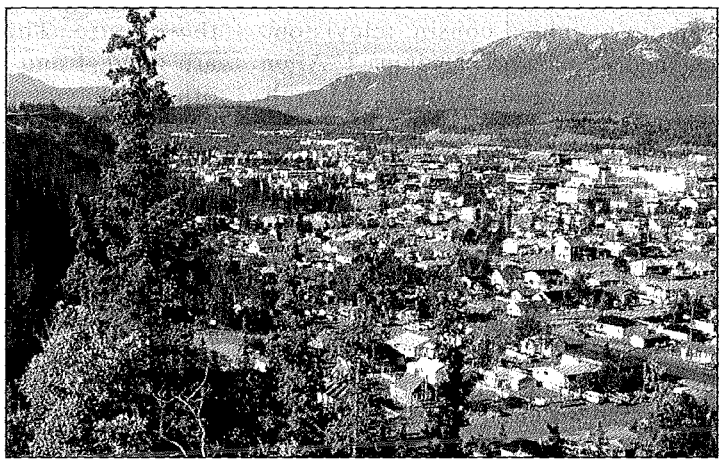
In the next few months our community will be releasing its new development plan, which will include an economic growth strategy. We intend to establish for our community an economic position from which we will be able to continue to contribute to the quality of life in Yukon, while enhancing the exceptional qualities of our community. At present, tourism seems to be an important option for development in Yukon. The presence of a dynamic Francophone community is without a doubt an asset in this respect. The potential of cultural tourism is stupendous.

The anniversaries of the discovery of gold and the Gold Rush will mean "golden" opportunities for us to take part in the economic development of Yukon and to establish economic proof that our community is an added value to Yukon.

By proving to our youngsters that the traditional Francophone "joie de vivre" also means jobs and prosperity, we will be handing them the tools they will need to act as leaders in the world of tomorrow.

*** Philippe Dumont is president of the Association franco-yukonnaise.**

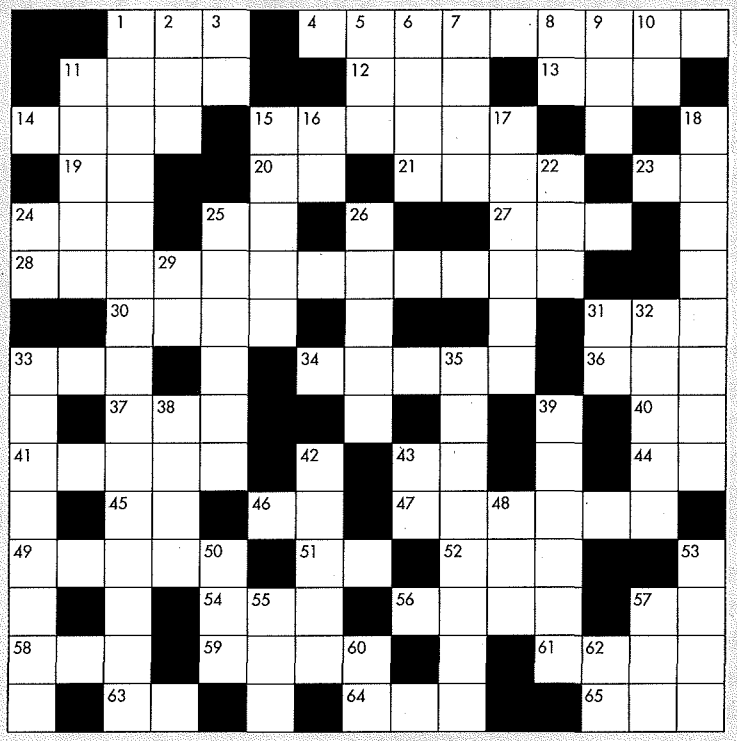




Photos: Industry Canada

CROSSWORD

by PETER CRONSBERRY



ACROSS

1 Molecular basis of heredity
4 Commissioner of Official Languages
11 In 1869 ____ prepared a list of bilingual rights for Manitoba
12 Dove's sound
13 Public hall (abbr.)
14 Trudeau's flower?
15 1990: Supreme Court of Canada rules for parents in Alberta _____ governance case
19 _____ Royal, Quebec (abbr.)
20 Magazine's lifeblood
21 Baby carriage
23 Moon of Jupiter
24 _____ amended its School Act in 1980 to provide for a French-language program (abbr.)
25 Kin of rd.
27 Space
28 The _____ Acts of 1867 and 1982
30 Scottish group
31 Tree of olive family
33 Allow
34 Since 186__ English and French have had equal status in Parliament
36 _____-Maria
37 Maple product
40 Gravity (abbr.)
41 Cosy corners
43 13th Greek letter
44 Chem. symb: Neodymium
45 101, the Roman way
46 Proceed
47 Language requirements for _____ are minimal
49 Togetherness
51 From coast ____ coast
52 Hit a tennis ball
54 Before a special day
56 In 196__ Parliament adopted the Official Languages Act
57 Salvation Army (abbr.)
58 Obtain
59 _____ adopts legislation on use of English and French (abbr.)
61 Quebec _____
63 _____ Olde Gifte Shoppe
64 July 1st: Canada _____
65 Some, French

DOWN

1 Quebec is a _____ (2 words)
2 Originally called
3 Chem. symb: Aluminum
5 Scottish exclamation
6 Aircraft manoeuvre
7 Open the _____ to negotiations
8 French feminine article
9 Yes, French
10 Overdo (abbr.)
11 Shakespearean loverboy
15 Lustrous fabric
16 90s musical disk
17 Shallow pond
18 Parliament's Leader of the Opposition
22 1967: _____ amended its Public Schools Act allowing French to be used as language of instruction for up to half of the school day (abbr.)
24 Tory's party (abbr.)
25 1927: These everyday items became bilingual
26 Quebec's _____ Revolution
29 Sea level (abbr.)
31 In a place
32 Bill 86 amends law governing languages on _____
33 1974: Quebec's Official _____ Act
35 An important element, regarding status and rights and privileges, as used in government institutions
38 Packaged collection (2 words)
39 1774: _____ Act
42 1934: Bank of Canada Amendment Act provides for bilingual bank-_____
43 The Montreal Expos belong to the _____ East
48 Good, French
50 Affirmative
53 James, Hudson
55 Cistern
57 Saint (abbr.)
60 ____ lang
62 Driver's licence, e.g. (abbr.)

Solution on page 33.

THE ASSOCIATION DE LA PRESSE FRANCOPHONE

The Association de la presse francophone hors Quebec, founded in 1976, dropped the last two words from its name in 1989 to become the Association de la presse francophone.

From its headquarters in Ottawa APF provides its twenty-six member newspapers in nine provinces and the two territories with advertising and communications services through OPSCOM (Opérations publicitaires et services de communications) and, since 1988, with its news service, which was known as the Agence de presse francophone until 1993.

In 1980 the APF set up the Fondation Donatien Frémont (named after a journalist who worked in Saskatchewan and Manitoba in the first half of this century) to encourage members of the Francophone minorities in Canada to pursue a career in communications and other areas specifically related to journalism.

The Association de la presse francophone
325 Dalhousie Street, Room 900
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 7G2

Telephone: (613) 241-1017 **Fax: (613) 241-6193**

THE NEWSPAPERS, BY LOCATION, ARE:

Yukon	*L'Aurore boréale*
Northwest Territories	*L'Aquilon*
British Columbia	*Le Soleil de la Colombie*
Alberta	*Le Franco*
Saskatchewan	*L'Eau vive*
Manitoba	*La Liberté*
Nova Scotia	*Le Courrier de la Nouvelle-Écosse*
Prince Edward Island	*La Voix Acadienne*
Newfoundland	*Le Gaboteur*
New Brunswick	*L'Action Régionale* *Le Madawaska, L'Aviron* *Pro-Kent* and *Le Moniteur Acadien*
Ontario	*Le Journal de Cornwall* *Bonjour chez nous* *Le Reflet* *Agricom* *L'Express (Orléans)* *Le Métropolitain* *Le Rempart* *Le Goût de vivre* *La Boîte à nouvelles* *Le Voyageur* *Le Nord-Hearst* and *Le Nord-Kapuskasing*

A new English-language newspaper in Rouyn-Noranda

SINCE THE LAST edition of the *Noranda Press* in the spring of 1990 the English-speaking community of Rouyn-Noranda, and the Abitibi-Témiscamingue area in general, has hoped for another English-language newspaper to keep them informed on matters of local concern.

The Pulse was the answer.

In its premier issue, published on July 1, *The Pulse*'s editorial said:

> We are all people who can speak French, although, naturally, our mother tongue is English. We can and do read *La Frontière, Le Citoyen* and the *Rouanda Express.* One would think that this is enough community news for any individual. However, the question does not rest there.
>
> Although the Anglophone community in the region is not large, we want to create a focal point, a way of reuniting which is communicative. To want a voice is normal, and any large community which encourages the voice of smaller groups shows that there are healthy attitudes in that community.

It was decided to publish three trial issues, which would act as a survey of interest in the English-language community.

Since publication of the first issue on July 1, 1994, response has been highly positive. It is now hoped that *The Pulse* will continue beyond the trial issues. A *Pulse* press release says, "The only problem is funding. We need to be self-sufficient as soon as possible, which means selling advertising space for the fourth and future editions."

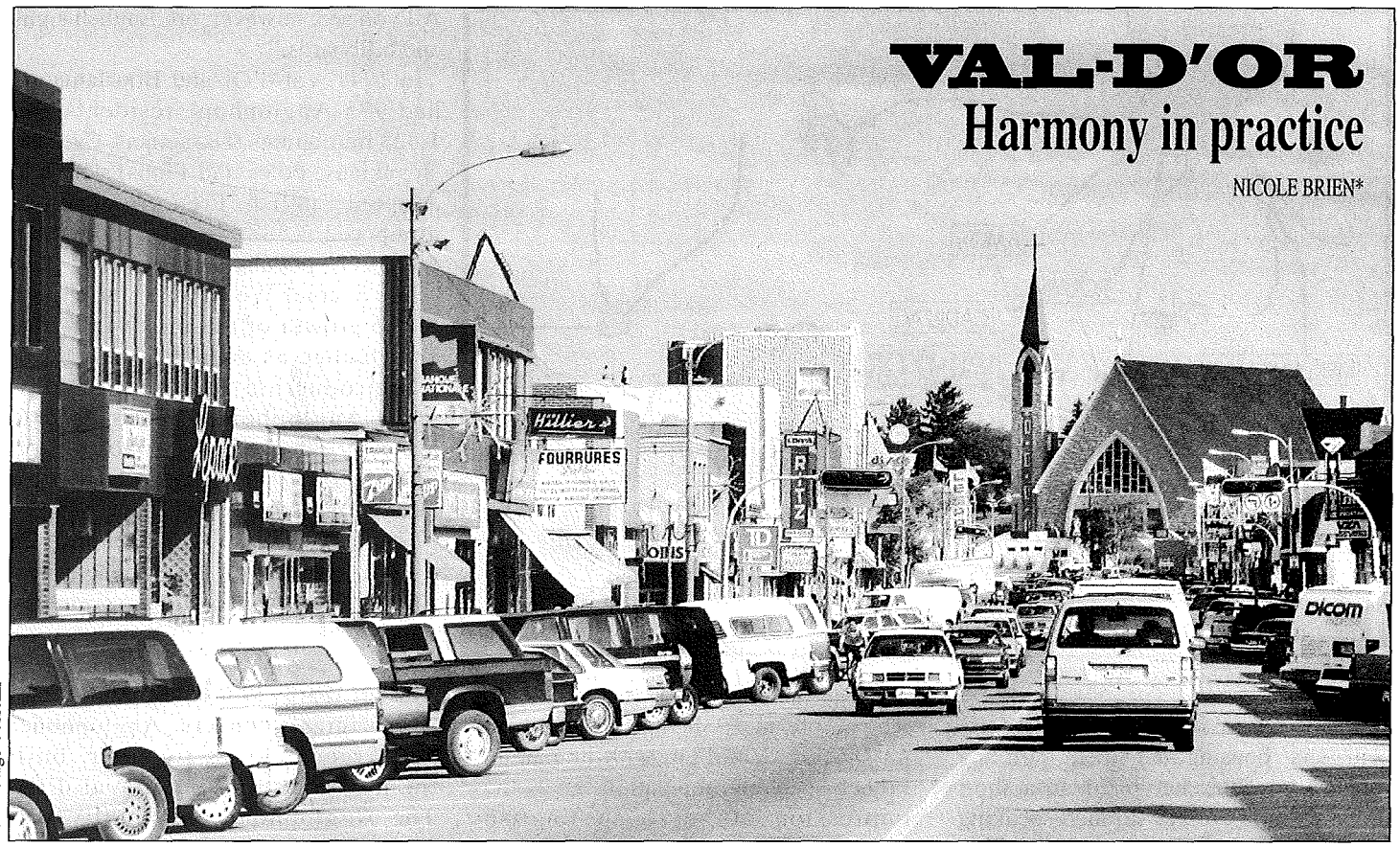


Photo: Serge Gosselin

VAL-D'OR
Harmony in practice

NICOLE BRIEN*

Val-d'Or, a city of 35,000 that was originally cosmopolitan, is today essentially French-speaking. Poles, Ukrainians, Italians and Irish have integrated very well and, while retaining some of their communal institutions, are practically indistinguishable from the rest of the community.

The famous gold rush

Like other mining towns in northwestern Quebec, such as Rouyn-Noranda, Cadillac and Malartic, Val-d'Or owes its existence to the intense wave of exploration that swept through northern Ontario in the early part of this century. The discovery of a fault in the earth's crust in this region, as well as of major gold-bearing deposits (Cobalt, Porcupine, Kirkland Lake), prompted groups of Ontario and American miners to explore and stake out the Abitibi.

It was around the beginning of the 1930s, however, that the region experienced exceptional growth, beginning with the start of production of the Horne Copper Corporation of Noranda Mines in 1927. With this impetus, a host of small mines opened one after another, until there were about fifty in the early 1950s.

The Val-d'Or region opened its first gold mine in 1929. There was talk then of a real gold rush in the area between Louvicourt and Cadillac. Nearly all of the deposits discovered overlapped a geomorphological axis crossing northern Ontario and Quebec that was named the Cadillac Fault late in the 1930s, when fourteen mines were opened in the area.

This mining activity went hand in hand with explosive demographic growth. The newcomers consisted in the early 1930s almost exclusively of Anglophones from Ontario or the United States and European immigrants. The two chief mining centres of the Abitibi region, Noranda and Bourlamaque, were administered by Noranda Mines and Lamaque Gold Mine. These first towns were attractive, well-organized little settlements of the Abitibi Anglophone community. Businessmen, professionals and adventurers of all kinds peopled nearby Rouyn and Val-d'Or. They came from all over, but mainly from the various settlements in Abitibi located along the Transcontinental Railway: La Sarre, Macamic, Amos, Barraute, Senneterre. All were drawn by the new economic activity.

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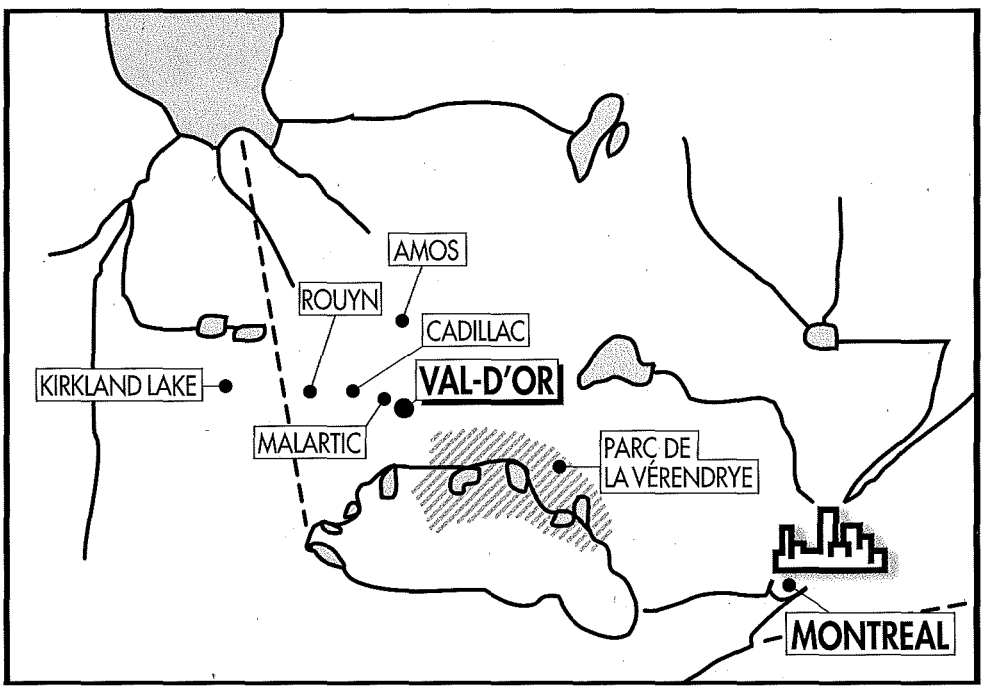
* Nicole Bien is a journalist working for *Échos Abitibiens.*



Val-d'Or, a boomtown, with its squatters' housing and stores built any old way, was archetypical. In a short time the influx of new French-speaking workers and business people made them a majority of the population. English remained the language of work and of signs, however, to the great surprise of Émile Benoist, a reporter, who wrote in 1938 in his column in *Le Devoir*: "Val-d'Or, with its mainly French-speaking population, gives the impression of being an English town....The people are not all English-speaking, far from it. Nearly all the English live in Bourlamaque....French-Canadians own most of the businesses and industries and nearly all the hotels. All you see, however, are English signs and billboards."

In 1941 Val-d'Or and Bourlamaque had 975 Anglophone residents and 1,323 immigrants (Ukrainians, Czechoslovakians, Poles and Finns) who had adopted English. French-Canadians numbered 3,588, already more than 60% of the population.

The Second World War put an end to the growth of the mines in northern Quebec as emphasis shifted to war production in the south. For some Anglophones it was time to leave for other parts. Ten years later, in the early 1950s, they accounted for 20% of the population. Today Anglophones in Abitibi-Témiscamingue form a minority of some 2% out of a total population of approximately 150,000.

Vibrant traces of a lively past

The original pioneers, Anglophones and Francophones together, built the major institutions in Val-d'Or. The Anglophone community was culturally vigorous from the beginning. It founded various social clubs and the first painters' guild, opened movie theatres and organized colourful shows. Today some still recall "the

Photo: Société d'histoire de Val-d'Or, Lauraine Barbeau

A PERFORMANCE GIVEN AT THE CHATEAU INN IN THE EARLY 1940s.

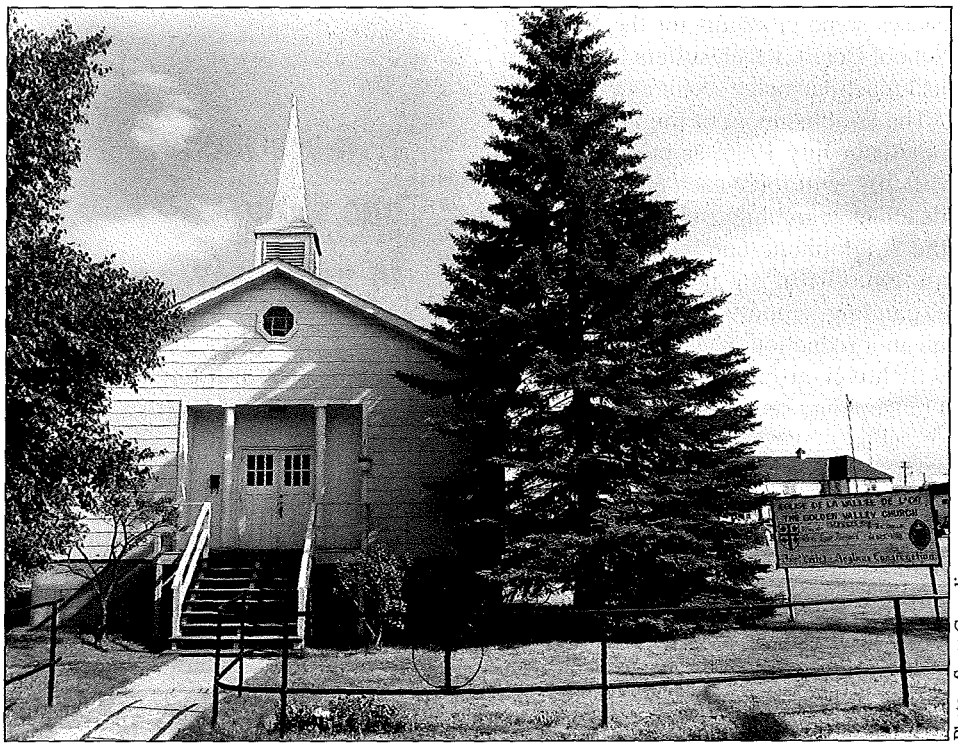
THE UKRAINIAN CHURCH, WHOSE PASTOR IS FATHER LEV TCHAÏKA, IS REGULARLY ATTENDED BY SEVERAL DOZEN OF THE FAITHFUL.

good old days" when the Siscoe and Morocco nightclubs hosted the Marx Brothers, Joe Louis, Maurice Chevalier and Fernandel. Even the Val-d'Or municipal library owes its founding to a pioneer, Ben Self, who, through the Kiwanis Clubs, obtained significant collections from all over Canada and the United States.

English and French appear to have lived in Val-d'Or harmoniously since its founding. Today this harmony takes the form of a desire on both sides to speak both languages well. The expression "having more than one string to your bow" is often used by advocates of bilingualism.

To meet insistent demands from various Francophone parents the Val-d'Or School Board has offered an intensive English program for seven years. Starting in grade 6, students can attend an accelerated academic program for the first half of the school year and then complete the other half exclusively in English. They can then continue on the secondary level, with the option of adding six to eight periods of English to their schedule.

In addition, the French-language section of the Western Quebec School Board is experiencing growth, while the English-language section has just under 200 students. The pre-school program at Queen Elizabeth School offers pupils a full day, half of which is devoted to kindergarten and the other half to an English-language program. Primary school classes also have an extra 30-minute period devoted to English each day. The secondary program, provided at Percival School, an institution with some 400 students, 100 of whom are Anglophones, is very highly regarded because of its small size. "Small is beautiful" is a good descrip-



THE ANGLICAN AND UNITED CHURCHES HAVE JOINED TOGETHER TO FORM THE GOLDEN VALLEY CHURCH, MAKING THEIR INSTITUTIONS MORE VIABLE.

Photos: Serge Gosselin

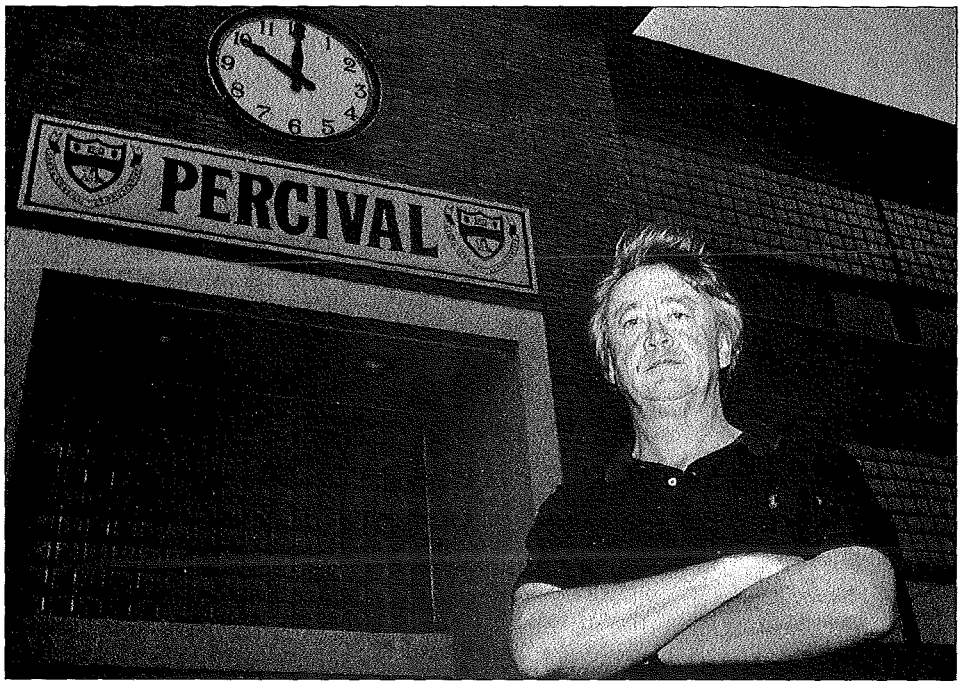


Photo: Serge Gosselin

MICHAEL HENDERSON, PRINCIPAL OF PERCIVAL SCHOOL SINCE 1983.

tion of the atmosphere that the administration, the parents and the students have created there.

Because of the popularity of its programs, the Western Quebec School Board has had to expand its primary school and add three new classes to its French-language sector. This situation causes some problems for the Val-d'Or School Board, which suffers losses from its French-language sector as a result.

The establishment of linguistic school boards in July 1996, as provided for in Bill 107, will force each board to group its clientele by linguistic affiliation. For the Anglophone community, which is an exception in maintaining two expanding schools, this new law will mean a reduction in its strength, which will hover around 400 students. The Francophone sector will have over 600 students.

The English-speaking community is not particularly concerned about this new policy, except that it will have to plan exchanges of services, sports and recreational activities in the interest of maintaining relationships between the two institutions, in accordance with the wishes of representatives of the Val-d'Or chapter of Alliance Quebec.

The harmonious integration of the two communities is also reflected in health services. A recent update of social and health services for the preparation of a bilingual directory showed that bilingual resources are officially identified in practically all Val-d'Or institutions. In 1976 a number of Cree from James Bay settled in Val-d'Or, which, since they are essentially English-speaking, accentuated this trend.

...more than one string to your bow.

The media, mirror of society

If the notion of bilingualism seems firmly rooted in Val-d'Or today, the lack of a critical mass of Anglophones nevertheless results in the disappearance of certain services. That is what happened to the *Val-d'Or Star*, a weekly paper published since 1934 which had to close its doors in March 1990, no longer being profitable.

Research done by the Val-d'Or historical society showed that the predecessors of the *Val-d'Or Star* were responsible for the development of printing and publishing in the community. The arrival of the first press in 1936 was quite a feat, involving the shipping of eighteen tonnes of equipment from Toronto to Amos by train and then by boat to the wharf at Sullivan.

The *Val-d'Or Star*, after seeing a host of publishers and owners give it various names and missions, passed in 1953 into the hands of the Groupe Lebonfon, now Québécor. Various journalists left their mark on it, including Winnifred Zieman, recipient of the prize for best editorial in an English-language weekly in Canada in 1962, and Glenn Morton, who was awarded the Paul Dumont-Fréchette Prize in 1985. Mr. Morton edited the *Val-d'Or Star* until its demise.

However, whether a sign of the times or legitimate nostalgia, an English-language monthly, *The Pulse* (previous story), began publishing in July in Rouyn-Noranda and expects to find a place in the regional market. In the past two years six new English-language newspapers have been started in Quebec.

When asked about the renaissance of the English-language press, Glenn Morton, the former editor of the *Val-d'Or Star*, showed great enthusiasm. At the same time, he expressed some reservations about the survival of the new paper. As a correspondent for the CBC, however, he pointed out in a bi-monthly report of regional news that, like the report itself, it is an initiative that helps sustain the Anglophone minority's feeling of belonging to Quebec and to Canada as a whole. ■

(Our translation)