

LANGUAGE and society

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Editor's Note

Our lead article this issue is by Professor Petar Guberina of Zagreb University, Yugoslavia. Professor Guberina, a world authority on second language teaching, is the father of the "St. Cloud" method which is based on the belief that a second language is best acquired the same way as the first. He also argues that a foreign tongue is best taught to the very young - to those under six - who have learnt to handle their mother tongue but whose approach to language is still flexible enough to allow them to catch the subtle rhythms and intonations of another. He says it is our duty to give young children the unique chance their age offers them of learning a second tongue to perfection.

Our second article takes us to Africa and a study by African linguistics specialist, David Dalby. Mr. Dalby says that African governments must decide whether they want to continue the widespread custom of using the languages of former colonial powers or whether they want to replace imported European languages with selected major African tongues. He suggests that Hausa and Swahili could be as much forces for national unity as English or French.

The internationally preferred languages for publishing scientific research work are English, Russian, German and French, in that order. This means that the researcher reaches his or her widest audience when he or she writes in English. In our third article, Laval University assistant vice-rector, Yves Giroux discusses ways in which scientists who are not English-speaking can reconcile their wish to be widely read with their wish to work in their own language.

In our last article, Brian Moore touches a lighter note talking about his personal struggle learning French. His article is offset in the French section by Jean Pelletier's recollection of his struggle with English. We invite our readers to enjoy the experiences of both Moore and Pelletier who appear to have spent their youth unaware of Professor Guberina's charmed path to linguistic enlightenment.

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The best time to begin learning a second language is between 4 and 5 years of age when a child has already learned to master his or her mother tongue. The child should then learn the new language, says the author, the same way as the first, i.e. orally, in his or her daily life.



Petar Guberina is director of the Zagreb SUVAG Centre, which applies and researches his verbo-tonal method of speech training, and is Professor of psycholinguistics at Zagreb University in Yugoslavia. His verbo-tonal method is now used in about 500 similar centres throughout the world and can be applied to second language learning.

An insight into language learning

PETAR GUBERINA

The St. Cloud-Zagreb method of language learning treats language, or, to be more precise, verbal communication, as a complex process involving linguistic, paralinguistic and situational factors. Language, therefore involves hearing, sight and the body as a whole: it is a biological phenomenon. Hence this method is also known as the *audio-visual and structuro-global* (AVSG) method. The AVSG method, perceiving language as an overall entity, makes use of all elements of the total language environment: a) situations; b) intonation, rhythm, sentence tempo, pauses; c) gestures and mimicry (body language); d) feelings and emotions. By placing particular emphasis on the spoken language, AVSG encourages students to absorb these elements by using audio-visual equipment in simulated communication situations.

Accordingly, AVSG courses must be prepared in such a way that situations, intonations, rhythms and pauses explain the many meanings of a single word. For example, depending on whether irony is used, the statement "That was a wise move", may mean that the move was a) wise or b) rather foolish. Similarly, a single syntactical structure determines whether the sentence, "He worked and he succeeded," is simply composed of two independent clauses or whether there is a causal relationship between the two. When using the AVSG method, the teacher, therefore, must use different situations to teach the same words; these will then be understood in their context or as a result of

significant variations in intonation, rhythm, pauses and body language.

Putting words in their place

Teaching by the AVSG method does not consist in the repetition of lessons but in the use of a small number of words and grammatical structures found in each lesson in a theoretically infinite number of new situations. These in fact increase in number as the students progress through the course.

Particularly in the first lessons, repetition is used as a means of teaching proper pronunciation and the meanings of a certain number of words and grammatical structures found in situations in which these words, grammatical forms and, later on, syntactical structures are used.

Rather than learning vocabulary by rote, the student learns through the repeated use of words and grammatical structures in a variety of contexts. As the student improves, this variety is increased. Some repetition is, however, used, especially in the early stages, because it helps establish good pronunciation, broad vocabulary and an awareness of grammatical and syntactical structures. Repetition plays a major role in the verbo-tonal system, a technique used to correct pronunciation and an integral part of the AVSG method. This system helps to produce correct pronunciation in students by influencing their psycho-physiological behaviour when speaking and by discouraging any intellectual activity that

might interfere with their perception of the subject. For this reason, the AVSG method can be used in speech and speech comprehension therapy, as well as in second-language instruction. Thus, it is partially – though not entirely – accurate to say that the AVSG method is based on the same general conditions that lead to acquisition of the mother tongue.

It is obvious that, once students have learned their mother tongue, the task of learning a second is made easier by the intellectual maturity they gain, partly as a result of their acquisition of the first language, and partly by their acquired hearing ability and experience with first-language structures. Although the extent of this influence varies (and it may fail to touch some age groups entirely), on the whole, it is an important factor in determining a student's progress in the new language.

With these points in mind, we shall now discuss the influence that age plays on the ability to learn a second language.

A golden age

The best conditions for foreign language learning are found in the minds and lives of children under 5 and 6 years of age. Social conditions permitting, at this age, the brain of the average child is able to handle the mother tongue spontaneously and almost completely. The child may still have trouble with the consonant /r/ but this problem will soon correct itself.

Once the child is 6 or 7 years old, age becomes a limiting factor in the quick and spontaneous acquisition of a second language. This conclusion is based on an examination of the positive and negative aspects of a child's use of phonemes. Children over 6 years of age begin to perceive the phonemes of the second language in terms of their mother tongue and they therefore make corresponding language transfers. In human terms, this is a positive as well as a negative element, because the child demonstrates his or her high level of intelligence and skill in his or her mother tongue by making these language transfer "mistakes".

For example, a 6 year old Yugoslav, will learn to pronounce the French /y/ correctly as an /i/, which older Yugoslavs find difficult, because, in Yugoslav, /y/ is pronounced differently to /i/. In a similar manner, an American 6 year old will be able to learn the difference between the French /y/ and the American /y/, as in the word "yank", which an older American would find more difficult.

Children under 6 are best able to learn a second language because, at that stage of their development, the phonetic and phonological system is not yet completely dependent on the psycholinguistic structures of their mother tongue. This mechanism begins to function, *in a tentative manner*, around the age of 6 and becomes firmly established after the age of 9.

However, this statement must be qualified in the sense that this

age (under 6) is ideal for second language learning only if children learn the second language *orally* in real-life situations, in exactly the same manner in which they learned their first language. If parents or teachers, no matter how adept, try to teach writing skills in the second language immediately, or do so before the children have acquired perfect pronunciation (including, of course, the rhythm and intonation of the language), then nothing will master the second language perfectly. (This often happens nowadays because the current fashion is to teach children to write at 3 or even earlier.)

For each age level (3, 4, 5, 6 or 6-1/2 years of age), teachers must use the same situations, teaching materials and techniques as those suitable for teaching the first language to the age group in question. This is the way to achieve first class results.

Pronunciation difficulties

Once beyond the golden age for second language learning, the child begins to stumble over the pronunciation and grammar of the second language. The mother tongue begins to interfere to some extent in the phonetic, phonological and grammatical (particularly syntactical) structures of that language. However, such mistakes are quickly corrected and, in most cases, will disappear after the child has listened to the model a second or third time. Since the mother tongue does not cause any systematic language transfer, such "mistakes" are not deeply rooted and the psycholinguistic

influence of the mother tongue may be counteracted by simple exposure to the correct sound.

For example, an older child who has never pronounced the French sound /y/ or the English /th/ will not be able to reproduce them immediately on hearing them for the first time, or even after listening to them a second time. But such relative imperfections of pronunciation in the early stages will not prevent children of 6 or 7 from acquiring a perfect knowledge of a second language. Factors influencing the process are the environment in which children learn a language and their stage of intellectual development. From the beginning, the child of 6 or 7 captures the rhythm and intonation of the second language perfectly, a fact which accelerates the process of correcting his or her hearing and pronunciation of that second language.

In identical circumstances, a child older than 7 has the same chance of learning a second language as a younger child. This goes for 9 and 10 year-olds too, though they may find themselves listening to the model several times before they are able to pronounce it correctly. Rhythm and intonation, however, are learnt immediately, and therefore, as in the case of younger children, pronunciation is quickly brought to a pitch of perfection.¹

The child who learns a second language for the first time at this

age will be able to acquire it without the use of any technical procedures or particular methods for speech correction. However, the process is slower than in the case of children who begin to learn a second language before the age of 6 or 7. Although the older child may have language transfer problems as a result of the interference of the mother tongue, these are corrected or improved by the children themselves and the mistakes (transfers) are not permanent since they are not made systematically. Between the ages of 7 and 10, children need more time to acquire perfect pronunciation than they do between the ages of 6 or 7. However, perfection is always attained. Especially if the child lives in an environment where the second language he or she is learning is spoken as a mother tongue.

Intellectual learning

Around the ages of 9 or 10, the child begins to perceive the phonetic and phonological system of the second language in terms of the linguistic system of his mother tongue. Because of the role the mother tongue plays in the child's internal language, in the development and expression of his or her intelligence, emotions and behaviour, it may be said that, from the age of 9, psycholinguistic as well as linguistic and phonological forces have a permanent impact on the brain's selective processes whereby it reacts to sound stimuli produced by the phonemes of the second language and transmitted to the brain in the form of nerve impulses.

We are not trying to imply that children between the ages of 9

and 14 are unable to pronounce a second language phoneme correctly after they hear it for the first time. Children within the upper and lower limits of this age group are capable of correctly imitating a second language model either after hearing it for the first time, or else they are able to correct themselves very quickly. They almost always imitate the rhythm and intonation of this second language as soon as they hear the correct mode. In this age group, however, the child is controlled by the psycholinguistic forces of his or her mother tongue and reacts according to a system of substitution that is based on that language. This happens when the brain is no longer able to make the right perceptive selection and the child is unable to repeat a group of second language phonemes correctly.

This characteristic is the hallmark of the *adult period* when the ability to hear the second language is totally conditioned by the linguistic system of the mother tongue. It is, therefore, at this stage that the acquisition of a second language demands relentless application and first class teaching methods.

Bilingual environments

Essentially, there are two types of bilingual environments in which children may learn a second language.

- The first is found in children whose parents each speak different mother tongues or in children who are born in a foreign country and remain in permanent contact with the children of that country.

1. Again it should be noted that the environment must be one in which the child's second language is spoken as a mother tongue and that, if this condition cannot be met, the teacher knows and speaks the language perfectly.

When the parents speak different languages, their children become bilingual more easily if both adults always speak to their child in their respective mother tongue. Since language is a biological phenomenon, the child will learn to speak to each of his parents in the appropriate language. Such children will not even realize they are jumping from one language to the other because they do so unconsciously. Since young children use language mainly for practical purposes, they quickly pick up practical expressions in the appropriate language.

Such children become perfectly bilingual because both languages are being acquired while the brain is in a period of intense growth and developing a broad variety of neurological connections. The languages are absorbed by the growing brain which categorizes the different linguistic structures so that the child learns to speak both languages in a spontaneous and natural manner.

The same phenomenon occurs in children born in foreign countries, although the sources of stimulation are different. In the first case, those sources were the two parents; in the second, the child's environment in the foreign country provides the source for one language and the parents the source for the other.

On the basis of experiments conducted primarily with the children of migrants, it has been observed that children born in a foreign country make more rapid progress in that

country's language as a result of their contact with the children of that country. However, if parents make special efforts to teach their children their own mother tongue immediately, the children will not as a rule make the same progress in the language of the foreign country. In any case, children in such circumstances should be given every opportunity to become perfectly bilingual.

There is absolutely no doubt that a child born in a foreign country is capable of learning the language of that country as well as the children of expatriates who are using as their mother tongue, the language of their adopted country.

- The second kind of bilingualism is circumstantial. This category includes a number of possibilities, but we shall here restrict ourselves to two examples.
 1. A child of 4 or 5 who already knows his or her mother tongue when the parents leave their native country either permanently or for a period of time.
 2. Children who remain in their country of origin, have acquired a thorough knowledge of their mother tongue at an early age and who, for one reason or another, have to learn a second language. If this is learnt in the way suggested in this article for those under 6, such children can become perfectly bilingual by the time they reach their sixth birthday.

As we have already discussed, the best time to learn a second

language is at the ages of 4 or 5; at this age, children already have a sound knowledge of their mother tongue. In addition, a child of 6 is at the threshold of his or her school years and is best served by having acquired bilingual skills before he or she tackles a regular educational career.

Developing potential

I have discussed the ideal age for second language learning and tried to underline the need for specially favourable teaching conditions to achieve, if not perfect bilingualism, then, at least, linguistic excellence in a second language. I have explained, therefore, the St. Cloud-Zagreb teaching method to help the reader understand the learning circumstances essential for language students.

Although some educators and psychologists insist that bilingualism has its dangers, I think it is possible to become bilingual without any danger to the individual concerned provided the language is learnt in the way I have just described.

It is, therefore the duty of interested and concerned people, and especially the duty of teachers, to allow children to exploit the unique opportunity their age gives them to become bilingual in the appropriate way. It would be unforgivable if we neglected or ignored the exceptional linguistic potential of our children.

(Adapted from French)

Despite efforts in official circles to encourage the use of French in the scientific world, Francophone researchers seem to prefer publishing in English. The author explains the phenomenon.



Yves M. Giroux, a scientist who learnt English as a second language, knows about the problems of choosing a language for publishing research work. He has written prolifically for Canadian and United States scientific journals. He studied at Laval University and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is assistant vice-rector for education and research at the University of Laval, Quebec.

On publishing research work in French

YVES M. GIROUX

French has been the language of international diplomacy for several centuries. But when it comes to modern international scientific exchanges, does it still have a role to play? Can it make a useful contribution to the important technology transfers which mark the growth and development of nations today? This question is vital to all Francophone communities but it is especially important to Quebec.

Sociolinguists tell us that contact among languages is generally accompanied by linguistic rivalry which, in most cases, results in the dominance of the language spoken by the prevailing power, whether political, commercial, cultural or technological. Consequently, in recent centuries, the vehicle for science has in turn been Latin, French, German, and now, English. As early as 1963, a UNESCO study reported that 60 per cent of scientific documentation was written in English and that French was in fourth place with nine per cent, which left it behind Russian and German, each with 11 per cent. Given the world-wide reach of the communications network and the ease of overseas travel, the predominance of English is greater than ever and leaves very little room for other languages.

Today, all a scientist needs in order to attend major international meetings and mix with the world's leading scientific minds is a plane ticket, a passport, a few days at his disposal — and a knowledge of English. Scientists, whether they be from Japan, Scandinavia, Quebec or from elsewhere are all too aware of this fact.

Such is the framework of our examination of the role of the French language. It is also the subject of much current discussion in Quebec. French is the principal language of many communities and is spoken by 230 million people in the four corners of the earth. It is the unifying factor of a large French-speaking population scattered throughout the world, a population which is increasingly self-aware and which is now organising itself better than ever before. Can French, competing as it does with English, still serve as a useful vehicle for international scientific exchanges? If so, what stand should Francophone scientists take on this issue?

The writing on the wall

People in Quebec and in France have for some time realized that the omnipresence of English threatens to reduce the use of French as a scientific language. As early as 1972, Baroux¹ noted that French as a language of science was threatened with impoverishment and proposed the development of standardized terminology in this field.

Since most technical terms are coined and defined in English, scientists who speak other languages have to adopt translations of these expressions. However, the dynamics governing the circulation of scientific information often result in the new expression being translated simultaneously in Ottawa, Quebec and Paris with each translation differing slightly from the others. Hence the frequent need to refer to the original English neologism in order to understand the French term. An international terminology bank would help a great deal in this area.

1. Baroux, J., *Le Soleil*, September, 1972.

Recently, Arnold Drapeau¹ sounded the linguistic alarm in Quebec. Armed with supporting statistics, he argues that French is not playing its proper role as a language of international currency and that Francophone research scientists are themselves responsible for this situation. After analysing language use in scientific publications and papers delivered by researchers from various Francophone institutions and bodies in Quebec, he found that 83 per cent of 4,000 published articles and 65 per cent of 800 papers delivered at scientific conferences were written in English.

This phenomenon is not peculiar to Quebec. In France public officials are also aware of the problem and recognize the need to struggle for change. Other countries with other languages face the same difficulty. For example, in 1972, 50 per cent of Germany's scientific output was published in English while that same year, in Italy, the most prestigious physics journal in the country was composed entirely of English-language articles.

More recently, the French journal *Biologie Cellulaire*, which already publishes many articles in English, announced it is changing its title to *Biology of the Cell*, its specific goal being to "increase the periodical's international audience".

This result cannot, of course, be attributed to any lack of French language periodicals. The Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC)

1. Drapeau, A.J., "Publions en français, langue scientifique internationale", *Eau du Québec*, Vol. 12 No. 4, November 1979.

awards grants to about 50 Canadian scientific journals of which 36 are officially bilingual. A review of these bilingual publications revealed that, in 1979, only 12 per cent of their pages were printed in French. If the five periodicals with French names and originating in Quebec are excluded, this percentage drops to five. The same is true for research journals published by The National Research Council (NRC). In both cases, English is not used by Anglophones alone but also by Francophone researchers who seem to prefer publishing in English, even in Canadian bilingual journals.

It should be noted that those who are here labelled, for simplicity's sake, as "Francophone researchers" would be more correctly referred to as scientists working in Francophone institutions. They include a good number of scientists who came to Canada during a wave of immigration in the sixties. Many of them do not have French as their mother tongue even though they may have subsequently become Francophones. For some others, French is a third, or even a fourth language.

Setting wheels in motion

For many years now, the Quebec government has expressed its firm intention to intervene and pass legislation to protect French wherever it is threatened by English. Such a situation is inevitable in multilingual societies but it is particularly acute in Quebec because of the imbalance of the opposing forces.

The adoption of Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language, was a major turning point and is now well on the way to producing significant changes in Quebec's linguistic complexion. It is important to remember however, that, despite the law's clearly coercive approach, the government acknowledges that industrial research laboratories are exceptions and therefore provides for special agreements regarding their francization programs. The *Association des directeurs de recherche industrielle du Québec* (ADRIQ) pointed out the disastrous consequences that a regulation would have on economic development if it prevented researchers from working at maximum efficiency. Quebec cabinet minister, Camille Laurin, who is outspoken on the francization issue, has nevertheless admitted that one "cannot force researchers to publish their scientific articles in French". It is worth noting, however, that in March 1981, 66 per cent of the laboratories in question had not deemed it necessary to request a special agreement and had thus implicitly agreed to "francitize" their activities by the established deadlines.

The Quebec government has also placed the definition of a scientific policy at the top of its list of priorities. Its thoughts and proposals on this issue took shape in a Green Paper² and a White Paper³ which contain critical comments about Quebec's dependency on English-language

2. *Towards a Scientific Research Policy for Quebec*, Government of Quebec, 1979.

3. *A Collective Project*, Government of Quebec, 1980.

documentary and data base systems, even for results obtained in Quebec. The government also draws attention to the dilemma facing the Francophone researcher who would like to publish in his own language and, at the same time, reach as large an audience as possible. At present there is no solution to this problem. The White Paper recognizes the relatively modest role that French plays in the international scientific community. It also, however, considers it inconceivable that Quebec should fail to concern itself with the issue. The government considers the use of French in scientific publications as "a basic question of dignity and an affirmation of cultural coherence". In careful and restrained language, the government states that it is ready to support efforts to defend French which scientific associations might propose. It also raises the possibility of creating a Quebec scientific and technical journal of interest to the general public which would be similar to the American journal *Science*. In addition, the government is considering making French obligatory for the publication of research subsidized by public funds (this would apparently, however, not prevent simultaneous publication in English, a fact which would make all the difference).

Attention should also be drawn to the establishment in Montreal in December 1979 of the *Ligue internationale des scientifiques pour l'usage de la langue française* (LISULF). The objectives of this organization are "to study, analyse and disseminate

all information relating to the use of French by scientists" and to promote the use of French.

Considerable efforts are being made in a variety of areas to surmount some of the difficulties. Federal funding agencies provide grants for scientific publications and the parallel program of Quebec's *Fonds FCAC* enables several Quebec scientific periodicals to survive financially from year to year. The *Fonds*, which also includes a research reports program and a program designed to assist in the publication of scientific works in French, allocated \$320,000 for the latter in 1980-81 and, in May 1981, was hoping to increase the budget for the following year.

Finally, Quebec universities, which are also very concerned about the problem, are attempting to facilitate publication in French despite the current austerity program. At Laval University, \$150,000 is allocated annually to assist scholarly publications with the purpose of facilitating the dissemination of professors' works, chiefly in French. The wheels are turning. Change is on its way. We must, therefore, look, elsewhere to find out why Francophones are slow to use their own language.

Let's be practical

When a researcher is ready to release the results of his work and select the journal he intends to approach for publication, he has a double objective in mind. Firstly, he wants to publish quickly in a reputable journal and secondly, he wants to reach the largest possible number of his

colleagues. While he is sensitive to the effect his decision may have on his reputation and to possible repercussions on his career, the researcher generally has a deeper and more practical motivation at heart in deciding on a language for publication. Acceptance of his articles in high-calibre, and therefore highly selective, journals is, both for himself and for others, confirmation of correct methodology, rigorous scientific procedure and, usually, of a certain originality. It also enables him to submit to what is at times the very severe criticism of editorial committees, whose advice is often invaluable. In addition, he is certain that his results are quickly made known to other researchers likely to use them to advance their own work. In short, what researchers want is to make an effective contribution to the scientific system.

However, the journals in question are usually neither Québécois nor Canadian but "international", and edited, it goes without saying, almost exclusively in English. This international nature of the journals is also a problem for Anglophone Canadian researchers because it means they too will often prefer to publish in international (which generally means American) journals to the detriment of Canadian publications.

Nor should the "invisible colleges" be forgotten. These rather loose groups are generally composed of a hundred or so individuals conducting research in a given discipline. Writing in the same journals, they consult one another on the interpretation of

their results, hold scientific meetings, participate in committees, exchange students and correspond regularly. Any active researcher would like eventually to belong to such a circle and to benefit from such contacts. Since English is obviously the working language of such groups, any individual hoping to join in must do so in English.

Frequently, the Francophone or Anglophone Canadian participating in a scientific conference in the United States becomes aware that the person to whom he is speaking is not familiar with the work he has published in a Canadian journal. He may be vaguely aware of the journal but it is not one he regularly reads. This is especially true when the article in question was written in French. Hence, our scientists often experience an understandable feeling of frustration and may decide to change languages or journals next time round.

A problem of conscience

For this reason, many Francophones decide to publish in

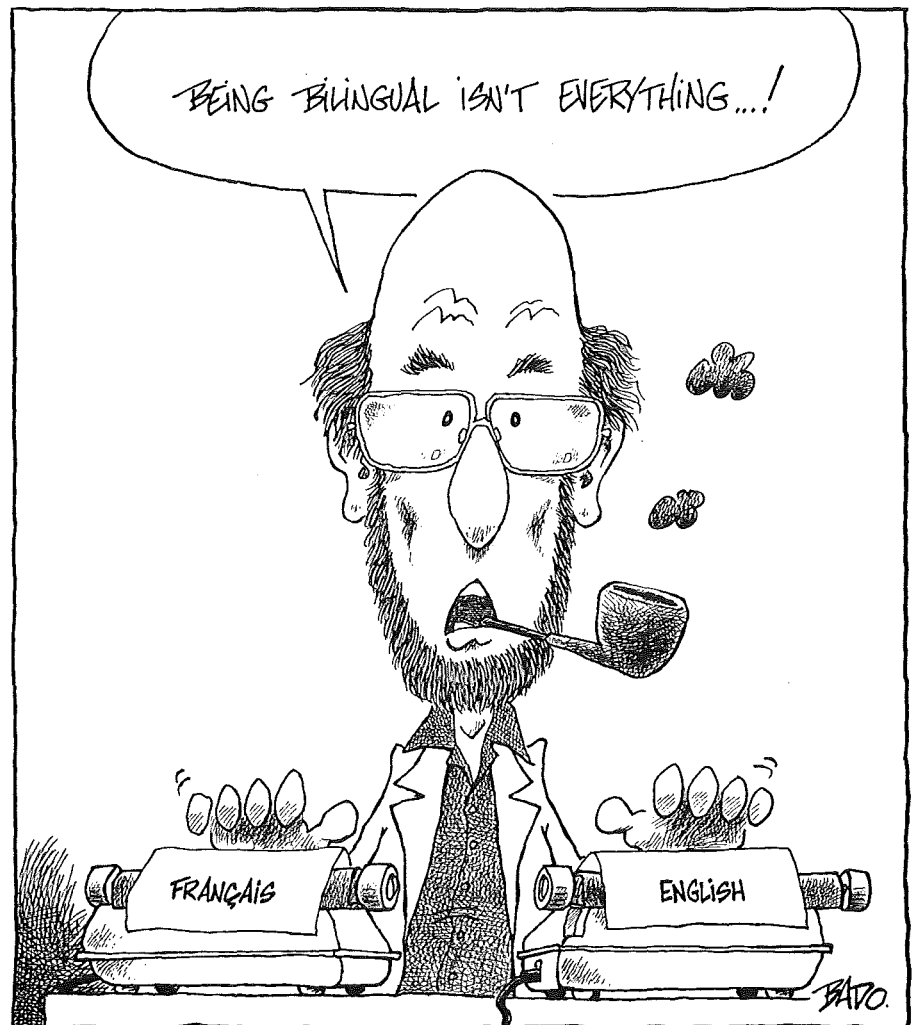


At 32, Guy Badaux is one of the younger editorial page cartoonists in Canada. He currently

works for *Le Droit* in Ottawa, signing his cartoons simply as Bado. He studied applied art first in his home town of Montreal and then in Paris and Aix-en-Provence. He then worked for *The Gazette*, *Le Devoir* and the now defunct weekly *Le Jour*. He draws a comic strip for the Quebec monthly review, *Croc*. A collection of these cartoons is soon to be published.

English in international journals, even if Francophone or bilingual journals are available. Most are conscious of the consequences such action may have on the status of French as an international language of science but they feel that, being so few in number, there is little likelihood that individually or even collectively, they will be able to effect much change. Some, aware of the pull in both directions, make a point of publishing some of their papers in French or at least in a Canadian journal. But which of their papers should they

choose? On such occasions it is a very serious matter if these symbolic gestures are reserved for works of secondary importance or, worse still, of a poorer quality. Unfortunately, this could be the case. Others make it a point to publish only in French, thereby accepting a considerable professional risk. Their papers will not become known and their discoveries may on occasion be attributed to other researchers who will inevitably reach the same conclusions. Scientific research is at times very competitive.



The application for research grants from federal agencies poses the same problem. In all cases, such requests may be drafted in either of the two official languages and therefore the agencies ensure that when grant selection committees are established, they include Francophone or bilingual members to enable all requests to be examined fairly. However, many Francophone researchers still prefer to write their applications in English, often because they feel they will be better understood by all committee members or by certain key members whom they know to be unilingual Anglophones. Another reason, however, is that they already draft most of their articles in English, prepare bibliographies primarily in this language and are themselves sometimes better acquainted with English terminology in their discipline than with the French. As a result, they often feel more at ease in English and find it quicker and more effective to use that language.

This attitude is prevalent in verbal exchanges as well. At various meetings, many Francophones ignore the simultaneous interpretation system and express themselves in English to be certain of being properly understood and to avoid forcing colleagues and friends to use individual headphones. On such occasions, Francophones frequently say a few words in French "out of principle" and quickly shift to English. In this way, of course, they are attempting to please both sides.

However, this is not true of all Francophones, many, if not most Francophone scientists are more at ease speaking French than English.

Where do we go from here?

In this situation and with the continuing invasion of English, there are few straightforward, inexpensive solutions to the problem. Francophones alone are certainly unable to impose French at the international level or to make the language as efficient a vehicle of communication as English. The current evolution of science and technology and the relationship of the various forces involved prevent one from harbouring such hopes for the foreseeable future.

In the quest for solutions, the issues must be analysed and dealt with one by one, examining the situation in the various scientific disciplines and considering the different kinds of scientific papers which may be prepared for publication.

Certain research papers are, by their very nature, of interest mainly to Francophones and Quebecers. This category would, of course, include linguistic and literary works dealing with the French language in Quebec and with the history of French Canada, as well as many sociological, economic or anthropological studies which concentrate on Francophone-related issues. In the natural sciences, surveys of plant and animal populations as well as ecological studies are works whose detail and conclusions might usefully be published in French. In the engineering field, studies dealing

with particular situations could be presented in French. One example might be a study concerning transportation plans for a given region or an analysis of the effects of local climatic conditions. Most of these types of works can be published in existing journals, while in other cases new journals may have to be established.

However, these examples represent only a fraction of all scientific publications. Particular attention should perhaps be given to basic research and to fields which are not covered by existing French-language journals. On the other hand, the researcher must be allowed to maintain his freedom of choice, which may cause him to prefer, for the reasons already mentioned, to have his works published in English.

The role of translation

The idea of launching a major scientific journal in Quebec is a good one but it does not represent a satisfactory solution to the problem in the short and medium term.

Consequently, efforts must first be made to provide for the translation of papers and to publish them simultaneously in French and English. When a scientist succeeds in having an article in English accepted by a major international journal, a French version should be made available to the Francophone scientific community. There could be a requirement to this effect but, at the very least, some means should be provided for facilitating the production of the translated version. On the other

hand, when an article appears in French, large-scale distribution of the English version would guarantee a large international readership. Whatever the case, efforts must be made to solve not only the issue of translation costs but also the distribution problem.

In the case of an English article translated into French an inexpensive form of publication could be used such as that available in almost all university departments. The publication could then be more or less systematically distributed in Francophone departments and laboratories. The latter could also have a policy of distributing, in French, papers prepared by their researchers and could establish a periodical for this purpose. Certain articles could then be reprinted in French in newly created Quebec journals which would become — to some extent at least — collections of translations. Using offprints, the author would be able to respond to any requests for the French version of his article.

Virtually the same could be said for crucial English versions of original French articles. But in this case distribution is the most difficult question. The author may, if he has access to them, send offprints of his article and its translation to members of the "invisible college" in his discipline. But in order to reach the international community effectively he might have to take additional steps. The key point is to have papers listed in the specialized abstracting and cross-referencing systems. Journals could be established with the purpose of distributing these English versions and offered perhaps at a reduced cost to

scientific libraries throughout the world. In this way, periodicals such as *Organic Chemistry in Quebec* or *Energy Research in French Canada* could be established.

Many difficulties will have to be ironed out before some of these programs are established and can operate satisfactorily. The copyright problem will involve special arrangements, especially for articles, originally English and quoted in their French version. In such cases, the necessary reference would have to be made to the journal in which the earlier English text first appeared. An evaluation of costs which would include translation costs and the special costs incurred by printing in small quantities will probably show that parallel publication programs are not economical. Who would pay the bill? Authors and readers cannot realistically be expected to bear all of the burden. It is in the best interests of both the federal and Quebec governments to promote the use of French in scientific communications and to make the dissemination of the work of French language researchers easier. Governments should be prepared either to establish some of the necessary means for distribution themselves or to provide adequate funding to organizations that would undertake to do so.

Such measures would facilitate considerable progress five to ten years from now and would help counter the decline in the use of French as a language of science. Lastly, they would guarantee the researcher writing in French a variety of ways or reaching his public thereby reducing the need to publish in English. But we should not deceive ourselves.

English will remain the universal scientific language for a long time and many Francophone researchers throughout the world will continue to use English rather than their own language.

An electronic miracle?

Paradoxically, the long term looks better than the short. Electronic journals in which texts would first be stored in a computer memory and then printed only on request, one copy at a time, open up a wide range of possibilities even though the required technology is not yet perfected and recent experiments have been disappointing. This approach would make it easy to store translations as well as offering the article to the user in the official language of his choice. The method could be extended to include languages other than English and French so that large international journals would no longer be constrained to publish in only one language but would become multilingual and truly international.

All methods outlined above, including the distribution of translations and electronic publication, suggest new approaches that, if supported by a sustained political will, may restore French to a place more compatible with its stature in the international scientific community, at least in terms of the written word. The spoken word presents an entirely different problem and it is much more difficult to think of satisfactory solutions other than that provided by simultaneous interpretation. In this regard, English will probably remain the *lingua franca* for many years to come.

(Adapted from French)

Greater stability, equality and prosperity in Africa cannot be expected until the languages of the peoples of Africa have been integrated into the modern network of world-wide education and communication.



David Dalby has taught African languages for almost 20 years at the School of

African and Oriental Studies, University of London. He has published the *Language Map of Africa* and is currently working on a map of home languages of the world. He has served as director of the International African Institute in London and taught at the University of Sierra Leone and at Indiana University in the United States.

Dynamics of language in Africa

DAVID DALBY

African languages were for long regarded as an "exotic" subject of study in Europe and North America, of interest to succeeding generations of missionaries, to a dwindling band of colonial administrators and to a growing corps of academic linguists. From its shadowy role on the world stage, however, Africa has been restored — under the spotlight of modern communication — to the central role which its geography demands. In language, as in so many other fields, Africa presents a series of severe paradoxes. An appreciation of these linguistic paradoxes contributes to a better understanding of the problems facing African peoples themselves and provides deeper insight into the dynamics of language in the modern world.

Children of the urbanised élite in, say, Nigeria or the Ivory Coast, may today consider themselves deprived if their homes are not equipped with video equipment for the viewing of English or French language films. Meanwhile, the rural and urban poor throughout Africa may consider themselves fortunate to enjoy a place in a primary school for a few years, even though their access to literacy in any language may be hampered by the lack of trained teachers, schoolbooks or even paper.

The majority of Africa's population remains preliterate, knowledge of their own country's affairs, or of the continental or international scene, being confined to what they may hear in their own or in a second African language. Depending on the demographic importance of the African languages

understood by each individual, he or she may be able to hear a limited amount of news by radio, transistors now becoming widely available in even the remotest areas. Only a small minority of the total number of languages in Africa are spoken by more than a million speakers each, however, and many national radio stations in Black Africa still devote less *combined* transmission time to all the mother tongues of their own country than to broadcasts in their official European language, sometimes relayed from Europe itself.

Such distorted patterns of language, education and communication have three underlying causes. The first is the multiplicity of human languages, never more various than in Africa, which necessarily raises barriers to communication and encourages ethnic and cultural hostility. The second is the accelerating but uneven development of modern means of linguistic communication, from printing to telephones, to radio and to the transmission of TV by satellite. The third is the unequal distribution of opportunity and privilege.

The linguistic kaleidoscope

Africa's size, obscured on most map projections of the world, is equal to the *combined* areas of the Soviet Union and the United States (excluding Alaska). More importantly, the estimated population of Africa has by 1981 drawn level with the combined populations of the USSR and the USA and is increasing several times more rapidly. The population of no other continent is as fragmented, however, with some 500 million people divided

among more than 50 continental and adjacent island nations. Apart from its northern periphery, where Arabic and Berber are spoken, the language map of the continent is of even greater complexity than its political map, with a total of between 1,250 and 2,000 languages, the figure varying according to the criteria used for distinguishing individual languages. Although over three-quarters of these languages belong to one or other of two vast "areas of wider affinity" (the so-called "Niger-Congo" and "Hamito-Semitic" families), such historical relationships do not necessarily involve any closer degree of present-day similarity than, say, between English and Hindi within the Indo-European family. The geographical distribution and fragmentation of African languages reflect many millenia of isolation and migration so that languages at opposite ends of the continent sometimes have closer affinity with each other than with neighbouring languages within the same country.

The linguistic and ethnic divisions of Africa facilitated its conquest and relatively brief rule by the major powers of Western Europe and led to the longer-lived introduction of European languages as means of wider communication, administration and education. The continent's complex network of African languages has been overlaid with an arbitrary patchwork of political states, most using a European language as a fragile means of national unity. Countries administered in French, English, Portuguese, Spanish or

Afrikaans (and formerly also in German and Italian) are divided by boundaries which nowhere correspond with the boundaries between major African languages.

Along the coast of tropical Africa, contact with European languages began with the arrival of the Portuguese in West Africa 500 years ago. Social and demographic upheavals caused by the Atlantic slave-trade and by European settlement in Southern Africa, created a context in which new "creole" languages arose, using largely European-derived vocabulary within a grammatical, semantic and phonological framework derived largely from African languages. These "Afro-maritime" languages include those related to Portuguese, spoken in Guinea-Bissau and on islands off the western African coast; those related to English, spoken along the west African coast and in the Caribbean; those related to French, spoken on the Indian Ocean islands of the Seychelles, Mauritius and Réunion, as well as in the Caribbean and those related to Dutch, spoken by the Afro-European or so-called "coloured" population at the south-western corner of the continent (the Kaaps or "Afrikaans" language of Cape Province, extending also into Namibia), as well as by the Afrikaaner rural and urban minorities in Southern Africa (Afrikaans).

West Africa

In the space available, one can provide only a few examples of the divergent national linguistic

situations and current policies created by the linguistic kaleidoscope of Africa. In West Africa, for example, one may view the moderate linguistic complexity of the two adjacent states of Guinea, ruled by France until 1958, and Sierra Leone, ruled by Britain until 1961. For respective populations of around five million and over three million, the two countries have between 15 and 20 indigenous languages each, six of these being spoken on both sides of their common border. The official languages are French and English respectively, but since independence the national linguistic policies of the two countries have in practice moved in opposite directions. Like many other so-called "francophone" states in Africa, Guinea has departed from previous French colonial and educational policy, with its exclusive emphasis on metropolitan language and civilisation, and has designated a limited number of "national" African languages for development as media of formal and adult education. Sierra Leone, on the other hand, where its two major languages (Mende and Temne) had been taught as subjects in primary schools during the British colonial period, has now established an exclusively English-based school system (although a reversal of this policy is now being discussed). The situation in Sierra Leone is further complicated by the fact that the most widespread *lingua franca* in the country is Krio, the English-related creole mother tongue spoken originally by emancipated slaves of widely divergent linguistic origins.

Further east is the example of **Cameroon** (population around eight million), forming with Nigeria one of the most complex linguistic areas in Africa and, indeed, the world. In the central Cameroon grasslands, for example, each village frequently has its own language, but an English-related creole language, improperly known as "Pidgin", is often used as a second language of wider communication. The original official language was German but, between the defeat of the German forces in 1916 and independence in 1960-61, the country was divided between French and British administered areas. As a result, French and English are now jointly designated official languages of a so-called "bilingual" Cameroon, to the exclusion of any of the languages spoken as mother tongues within the country's artificial borders.

South Africa

Moving south to the **Republic of South Africa**, we find a further example of a so-called "bilingual" state, with the official languages of English and Afrikaans spoken as mother tongues by up to ten per cent and 20 per cent respectively of a population of around 26 million. Emphasis has been laid on the great ethnolinguistic diversity of the Bantu-speaking majority in South Africa but in fact this is much less marked than in many countries further north. Some 92 per cent of Black South Africans speak one of only two major African languages: Sotho/Tswana and Nguni (the latter including Zulu and Xhosa). If dialectal divergences within each of these were to be covered

by harmonised written forms, then Sotho/Tswana and Nguni, spoken as mother tongues by over 40 per cent and 20 per cent respectively of the national population, could be logically advanced as an alternative pair of official languages for South Africa. These two languages have the advantage of being spoken also as mother tongues in four adjacent countries in southern Africa. African languages have for long been used, however, as a means to "divide and rule" in South Africa and thus a different African language, or a variant of an African language, has been designated by the South African government, alongside English and Afrikaans, as the "official" language in each of the fragmented puppet republics or "Bantustans" within South Africa's borders. As a result, there is a reaction by Black South Africans in favour of English as a language of their own national unity. English is for them a unifying second language which provides access to the outside world and serves as a symbol of the rejection of Afrikaans, a language associated so strongly with repression.

East Africa

Moving around the East African coast to **Tanzania**, one reaches one of the few countries in Africa (all in the eastern and southern part of the continent) which have already designated an African language as a sole official language or as a joint official language alongside the former European colonial language. Tanzania, with a population of over 16 million

and over 100 indigenous languages (the majority within the Bantu group of the "Niger-Congo" family), has selected one of these as its official language and as the sole African language to be taught in schools or encouraged as a written medium of communication. Swahili was chosen for this role because of its established use as a *lingua franca* throughout Tanzania, as well as in several other states in eastern Africa. It has a written literature dating from the 18th century and its vocabulary is being extended to cover modern scientific and administrative terminology.

Further north, and as our last example, is **Somalia** (population three and half million, excluding refugees), a country unusual outside Arabic-speaking north Africa in being an almost monolingual African nation. After independence in 1960, Italian and English served as joint official languages but were replaced in 1973 by Somali, the mother tongue of over 95 per cent of the population of Somalia and also an important language in the neighbouring states of Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti. In what has proved to be a remarkable linguistic revolution, a largely unwritten language spoken by a nomadic people has in only eight years become the sole official and administrative language of a modern state and the sole medium of instruction in both primary and secondary schools. This revolution has been facilitated by the identification of the entire nation with a single language, but it has involved also the same kind of demands for a unified nation-state based

African States



on language which has led to the redrawing of the map of central Europe after the First World War. The recent war in the Somali-speaking Ogaden of Ethiopia was an inevitable result and has brought the Somali nation to the point of economic collapse, including the need to support over one and a half million of largely Somali-speaking refugees from Ethiopia.

Dilemmas and paradoxes

The linguistic dilemmas and paradoxes of Africa are the outcome of long periods of historical divergences, migrations and conquests. Their effects have become rapidly magnified, however, by recent extraordinary acceleration in the development of human communication. The origins of

human language are lost but, throughout most of the lifetime of the human race, individual languages were evolved and spoken by small hunting, fishing and gathering groups, gradually occupying wider and more separated areas of the earth. Only relatively recently, with the establishment of sedentary communities, was writing invented as a second – and the first permanent – vehicle of human communication. This happened in the Fertile Crescent of the Tigris and the Euphrates and in north-east Africa only 5,000 years ago. Since that period, the elaboration of Egyptian hieroglyphs has led ultimately to the present-day alphabets of the Middle East and Europe, from whence the Arabic and Roman scripts have since

“returned” to Africa. Less than 2,000 years ago, the invention of printing in the Far East marked the third great advance in human communication, although it was only five centuries ago that the invention began to be fully exploited and to make its own contribution to the acceleration of human knowledge and material achievement. The fourth advance has been the explosive development, since the last century, of magnetic recording and telecommunications. Speech can now be recorded permanently, without passing through writing, and can be transmitted instantly to all parts of the earth.

Distance and time, formerly the two great natural barriers to human communication, have been overcome and yet two great man-made barriers remain. These are the barrier of opportunity and privilege and the barrier of language and culture: barriers never more divisive than in Africa today. Inter-African conferences have been frequently held in recent years to discuss the social, cultural and linguistic problems of the continent and to pass noble resolutions in English and French. Although published and read in Paris, London and New York, such resolutions never reach the ears of the majority of Africa’s population through the medium of their own languages and in practice have little impact on the real problems of the continent. The cost of each such conference would normally be sufficient to fund the initial stages of the written and educational development of a particular African language and to provide training and material

for the local production of literature in that language. Yet perhaps much of the élite – of any nationality – is more at ease when discussing, rather than acting to remove, the barriers of opportunity and privilege which separate them from those less fortunate than themselves.

It is unlikely that either the economic or the linguistic problems of Africa will be reduced until means can be found to unite the continent more effectively and to reduce the barriers between the urban élite and the rural poor – not to speak of the semi-urbanised populations caught between the two extremes. A major goal of

developmental funding should be the written, educational and telecommunicational development of major African languages, including all those spoken by a million individuals or more, and the use of *all* African languages as media for adult and initial primary education, wherever so desired by local communities. African states must themselves resolve the question of whether they should forever communicate among themselves in their former colonial languages, or whether they should select a limited number of major African languages – such as Hausa and Swahili – for development as languages of African unity. Knowledge of, and contact with,

the remainder of the world will always require a knowledge of non-African languages by part of any African population, but progress towards greater stability, equality and prosperity in Africa cannot be expected until the languages of the peoples of Africa have been integrated into the modern network of worldwide education and communication. If the approach to such integration is essentially practical, based above all on the involvement of the peoples concerned, then the financial investments needed will be surprisingly small – not only when compared to investments in other fields but also when measured against the social dividends to be obtained.

Dreaming in French

In the days when my commitment to learning the language would buckle as I considered the many *maux de tête* involved, I used to ask myself the inevitable question: why bother with French? One language is all you really need, and English is clearly the international front runner. My answer – the thing that kept me soldiering on through *Bonheur d'occasion*, *la Petite Patrie*, *Un homme et son péché* and other landmarks of French Canada's literature – was the realization that without French I would never be able to tap into

the essence of the Canadian experience, to dream a piece of that bicultural Canadian Dream/*Rêve canadien*.

Sure, I make a point of saying prohcess instead of prahcess, zed instead of zee. I always insert a "u" in colour, favour and so on and make it "re" instead of "er," as in theatre, centre, etc. I inflate my tires in kilopascals and pretend to U.S. friends that I can't relate to 65°F unless it's put into Celsius. I listen to at least half of God Save the Queen before switching off my television set at the end of my viewing day. But the

resulting maple leaf high can't compare with the feeling of Canadian authenticity that comes from chatting in French at Toronto's *Centre francophone* or catching up on *les nouvelles* on Radio-Canada or savouring the noble prose of a *Le Devoir* article.

Another French bonus: you can appreciate the mangled *mots* inflicted on readers by writers who seem to think that a wrong spelling adds charm to a Gallic term, like dregs in a vintage wine. After a while you ignore the *de rigeurs* and other garden-variety gaffes in favour of more offbeat creations.

My current favourite, which twinkled in a Toronto newspaper, is *Promenade des Gouvernors*, an interesting version of *Promenade des Gouverneurs*, that charming boardwalk in Quebec City. The piece also referred to an historic church in the town, Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, as Notre-Dame-des-Victories, which nicely captures our French-English heritage.



Lynn Johnston, creator of the popular comic strip, *For Better or For Worse*, lives in northern

Manitoba 60 miles from the nearest settlement and 300 miles from the "nearest place where you can buy anything". Married to a dentist and bush plane enthusiast, Johnston stays home drawing her syndicated cartoons which are published in over 200 newspapers in Canada, the United States, Australia, Europe and Japan. She has published three books of cartoons and a fourth is due out soon.

A journalist at another Toronto daily, writing from *la Ville Lumière* itself, mentioned his fondness for "*croissantes tout beurrés*." However, he also acknowledged his "flawed French," so perhaps he merely was illustrating his point.

Bilingual gamesmanship

And, of course, knowing French yields a goodly number of prestige points. You happily shed the stodgy, monolingual, single-culture you and blossom into a suave cosmopolitan able to dispense telling observations and snappy *traits d'esprit* in both languages.

You soon make it a habit to peruse your well-thumbed copy of *À la recherche du temps perdu* on bus and subway, book positioned for optimum title visibility. No longer does your heart sink when you hear "*Oui, allô?*" on the other end of a telephone line. No longer do you court disaster when friends ask what this sign says or how that word is pronounced. ("*Défense de stationner devant cette porte?*" That's one of those Parti Québécois slogans. They'll put them anywhere" – that kind of thing is behind you.) You delight in asking hopelessly unilingual acquaintances if they've seen the

latest Tennessee Williams production at the local French-language theatre. "*Quel dommage,*" you snicker when they confess they haven't. Then the *coup de grâce*: "Personally, I've always found *le français* more sympathetic to Williams' style," you say, coolly blowing a shaft of Gauloise smoke past his/her ear. And naturally you're obliged to season your conversation with references to culture heroes of the French persuasion. ("Well, gentlemen, I think Napoleon had this sort of situation in mind when he said, '*On s'engage et on attend*'") The status mileage to be gained from comments like "Granted there's nothing wrong with Marakesh, but for me Rabat has a certain *je-ne-sais-quoi* that puts it right up there with Tunis" is obvious.

Cuvée des patriotes

Yet another plus: you can read *l'Actualité*. This sprightly written counterpart of *Maclean's* offers not only insightful articles on the Quebec scene but also on the rest of Canada and elsewhere. For example, a story on the *Société des alcools du Québec*, the provincial liquor board, tells about the best-selling wine in Quebec, *Cuvée des Patriotes*, named in honour of those who waged Lower Canada's abortive 1837 Rebellion.

The wine, it turns out, until recently was bottled in a SAQ Montreal plant located in the former prison of *Pied du Courant*, the very spot where the British hanged many of the Patriote leaders. That strikes me as a distinctly Canadian way to commemorate the past.

Canada's history, they say, is boring. But it gives off new resonances when read in the language in which much of it happened. Who can be unmoved by the epic of La Vérendrye's long march through the wilds beyond Lake Superior? Only death ended his drive into the unknown.

Ponder the drama of the last military act of the French empire in North America. In September, 1760, a year after the decisive encounter on the Plains of Abraham, the marquis de Lévis, commander of the French forces, was ordered to surrender to the British by Governor Vaudreuil. Refusing, the marquis paraded his officers on Montreal's île Ste-Hélène. There they burned their battle flags; then, in a *beau geste* that symbolized the end of the 200-year-old dream of an *Amérique française*, Lévis broke his sword. Could George Washington have done it any better?

Letters to the Editor

Castonguay comments on Henripin's article

Jacques Henripin's résumé, "Two solitudes in 2,001?", *Language and Society*, No. 4, Winter 1981, of his book co-authored with R. Rachapelle is a bit hasty on a couple of points. For instance, he claims (p. 16) that the relative importance of Quebec's French language population has increased slightly since 1951. This is false. In his book (p. 20), he states correctly that the percentage of French mother tongue population in Quebec dropped from 82.5 per cent in 1951 to 80.7 per cent in 1971 (81.1 per cent in 1976). This is one reason Quebec's French language population has generally supported the Bourassa and Levesque governments' language legislation. Professor Henripin further states in his summary (p. 17) that the degree of language transfer to English "is particularly low among Acadians (about ten per cent)". This also is not quite correct. His book shows (table 5.3) that this statement is true of New Brunswick's French population, but not of the Acadian minorities in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, where the degree of transfer to English is about fifty per cent.

Charles Castonguay
Associate Professor
University of Ottawa

Editor's note: The comments made by Mr. Charles Castonguay were sent to the author of the article in question, Mr. Jacques Henripin.

*Because he was about to leave for a two-month assignment, Mr. Henripin was unable to respond in detail to Mr. Castonguay's remarks. However, in a letter to the editor of *Language and Society*, he did observe that the criticism about the state of the French language in Quebec would have been without foundation if his text had been left in its original form.*

In accordance with our editorial policy and for technical reasons, the editorial staff of this magazine made some minor changes to Mr. Henripin's article. This we do, incidentally, to all the articles we publish. However, as always, we made every effort to respect to the full the ideas and statements expressed by the author.

For the information of the critic, the author, and any other interested reader, we are reproducing Mr. Henripin's original French text with the English version we published, which was adjusted from the edited French text.

Mr. Henripin's text

La position du français dans l'ensemble du pays a fluctué autour de 29 % jusqu'en 1951; depuis cette date, elle régresse

nettement. Cette position s'est quelque peu renforcée au Québec, mais dans le reste du pays, la perte de poids est relativement considérable, surtout si l'on considère la langue d'usage : en 1971, il n'y avait plus que 4.4 % de la population du reste du Canada qui parlait le plus souvent français à la maison.

Language and Society Version

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

With respect to Mr. Castonguay's second remark, about the degree of language transfer to English among Acadians, Mr. Henripin has informed us that when he established the percentage at ten per cent, he was thinking particularly of Acadians in north-eastern New Brunswick; the assimilation figure would be 20 per cent if one considered as Acadian all persons in the Atlantic provinces whose mother tongue is French.

*The editorial staff of *Language and Society* wish to express their thanks to Messrs. Castonguay and Henripin for their interest and involvement in our magazine.*

A report on papers dealing with official languages in education, presented during the 1981 Learned Societies of Canada meeting.

Four papers dealing with French minority or second language education were presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Society for Studies in Education as part of the meeting of the Learned Societies in Halifax, Nova Scotia this summer. These papers were the result of a cooperative effort initiated by Professor Heather Lysons of the University of Alberta.

The four presentations clearly showed that a number of researchers are monitoring the expectations of both French and English speaking Canadians to be educated in their first language and to have increased opportunities to learn their second language.

- Professor Lysons led off the series with a session sponsored by the Canadian Association of Foundations of Education. Her paper, *The Policy and Politics of Languages of Instruction*, presented a theoretical model which places policy formulation processes in a socio-linguistic environment. The model links policy processes to theories of social interaction. It was explained by using diagrams and examples drawn from various language policy processes at the federal and provincial levels in Canada.
- Professors James Cummins of the Ontario Institute for Studies (OISE) in Education and Rodrigue Landry of the Université de Moncton shared a session under the auspices of the Canadian Association for Educational Psychology. In his *Bilingualism and Cognition*, Professor Cummins presented further evidence on the value of French immersion programs in teaching French to English-speaking students. In addition, he discussed findings that older immigrants learning a second language pick it up more quickly than younger immigrant students. He suggested that the ability of these older students to draw on more highly developed cognitive skills in learning a second language contributed to their more rapid development. Professor Cummins' paper can be obtained by writing to him at OISE, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario. M5S 1V6
- Professor Landry's *Le bilinguisme additif est-il possible chez les Francophones minoritaires du Canada?* explored the concept, developed by Professor Wallace Lambert and Professor Cummins, of "additive" and "subtractive" bilingualism as it applies to French-speaking children in a minority situation. As the terms suggest, additive bilingualism describes a state in which the acquisition of a second language in no way undermines the first; with subtractive bilingualism, on the

other hand, the first loses ground to the second. Professor Landry presented a model showing the social, ethnological and demographic factors which would have to be considered before answering "yes" to his title question.

- Finally, Professor J.-B. Haché, l'Université de Montréal, presented a paper entitled *Bilingual Education Policies in Canada: Political and Administrative Dimensions* for the Canadian Association for the Study of Educational Administration. Referring to several variables, Professor Haché demonstrated why there are considerable differences in the actual delivery of French minority language education in Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba, despite the fact that all three provinces have legislation guaranteeing the right to education in French. Included among these variables are geographic or psychological proximity to the French-speaking population of Quebec and the geography, demography and infrastructure of the minority groups of the three provinces in question. Finally, Professor Haché credits federal language legislation and policies of the past decade with helping change attitudes towards minority language education from one of aspiration to expectation. Professor Haché's paper is obtainable by writing to him at the University of Montreal, P.O. Box 6203, Station "A", Montreal, Quebec. H3C 3T3

Report compiled by Eileen Sarkar of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages