

LANGUAGE and society

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The new Constitution and the Official Languages Act

Robert J. Buchan

3

Canada's indigenous languages: present and future

Michael K. Foster

7

National groups and linguistic rights

Albert Verdoodt

17

Canadian Studies programmes: both languages essential?

James Page

24

Letters to the Editor

28

Editor's Note

The Canada Act, with its Charter of Rights and Freedoms, has just become part of Canada's legal and constitutional framework. In our lead article, author Robert J. Buchan discusses the impact these constitutional changes may have on Canada's Official Languages Act and the Office of the Commissioner. Certain of the language rights provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms contain wording which has not been the subject of judicial interpretation and it is therefore a matter of some speculation how those provisions will be interpreted by the courts. The views expressed in this article are those of an interested observer of the process of constitutional amendment: readers of *Language and Society* may hold different opinions about some of the issues addressed. We would be pleased to publish those views in future issues.

In our second article, Iroquoian ethnologist Dr. Michael K. Foster probes the state of Canada's native languages. In his article, he takes us through the geographic and demographic indicators of a linguistically and culturally diversified civilization that is an integral part of our heritage. The accompanying insert shows where the various native language groups are located. This is the first of a series of articles on languages spoken in Canada.

An international viewpoint is provided by Albert Verdoodt of the Centre de recherches sociologiques, Université catholique de Louvain, who explores the relationship between language and nationality. Linguistic rights, he says, derive from the fundamental rights and freedoms contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Our fourth article deals with the role of languages in Canadian studies programmes. Author James Page examines university programmes devoted to these studies and suggests various ways in which Canadian studies programmes could become more effective.

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The author, legal advisor to the Commissioner of Official Languages, attempts in broad terms to assess the impact patriation and amendment of the Constitution, and all it entails, will have on the Official Languages Act.



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Johnston & Buchan. He has been legal advisor to the Commissioner of Official Languages since September, 1977. A graduate of the Universities of Toronto, Oxford and British Columbia, Mr. Buchan served for ten years as a Foreign Service Officer and for two years as Special Policy Advisor to the federal Deputy Minister of Communications. His practice is focussed in the areas of constitutional and administrative law.

The Canada Act and linguistic rights

ROBERT J. BUCHAN

At the time of writing, the Court of Appeal in England had just rejected the challenge by the Indian Associations of Alberta, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to the Resolution respecting the Constitution of Canada which was adopted by the Canadian Parliament in December 1981. It was uncertain whether an appeal of that decision would be heard by the House of Lords, but the Quebec Court of Appeal had announced its intention to hear a separate appeal by the Government of Quebec against the proposed patriation and amendment of our Constitution.

It would be inappropriate to prejudge the final outcome of either a further appeal by the Indian Associations, which believe that their members are entitled to look to representatives of the Crown in Great Britain for protection of their pre-Confederation treaty rights, or that of the Government of Quebec, which appears to be based upon the historical "pacte confédératif" theory of the Canadian constitution.

Time to assess

For contingency planning purposes, however, it is appropriate to look ahead and attempt to predict and to assess, in broad brush terms, what some of the major implications may be for the Official Languages Act and for the Commissioner of Official Languages should the constitutional proposals before the British Parliament be implemented as drafted. Therefore, the reader is asked, for the purposes of this article, to assume that sometime during the current year the written Constitution of Canada, as amended by the Canada Act and the Constitution Act, 1982, will be patriated, and that the

dust will finally have begun to settle on that stage of the protracted process of constitutional amendment.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, including those specific provisions relating to the status and use of Canada's two official languages and to minority-language education rights, will then be entrenched in what is referred to in the Constitution Act, 1982, as "the supreme law of Canada". That supreme law will include all of the basic documents of the written Constitution of Canada, commencing with the British North America Act, 1867, and running through to the Constitution Act, 1982.

It must be stressed that the Constitution Act and its Charter will be only one of Canada's basic constitutional documents, rather than the sole basic document, because it has been drafted so as to complement, rather than replace, existing Canadian constitutional legislation. In the field of language rights, for example, such existing constitutional provisions as those contained in Section 133 of the British North America Act, 1867, and in Section 23 of the Manitoba Act, 1870, shall remain in force. Similarly, other federal and provincial legislation which serves to define the full extent of language rights and obligations in Canada, such as the federal Official Languages Act, the New Brunswick Official Languages Act, and Quebec's *Charte de la langue française*, will also remain in force. Although the provisions of the Constitution of Canada will have priority in the event of any inconsistency, neither the Official Languages Act nor the language rights provisions of the provincial statutes referred to above will be revoked or amended by it. This point is made abundantly clear in the Parli-

amentary Resolution, especially in Sections 16(3), 21, 22 and 52(1) of what is to be the Constitution Act, 1982.

Shared jurisdiction

Language rights shall remain, therefore, an area of shared or concurrent federal and provincial jurisdiction. The Resolution does not purport to alter that fundamental constitutional premise. Admittedly it has been argued (and will continue to be argued), that the provisions of the federal Charter pertaining to minority language educational rights will serve to extend federal jurisdiction into an area which traditionally has been regarded by most constitutional authorities as an exclusively provincial domain. However, since the federal Official Languages Act does not deal with the subject of minority-language education rights, it will not be affected by the outcome of any possible future litigation on this historically contentious area of constitutional law.

It is not the intent of this article to provide a detailed clause by clause analysis of the language rights provisions of the proposed Charter, or to compare and contrast them with existing statutory provisions on the law of languages. Rather the approach will be to take a few steps back from the complex texts and attempt to predict what may be some of the practical implications of enactment of the Canada Act and the Constitution Act, 1982, for the Commissioner of Official Languages as he attempts to fulfil his statutory mandate. That mandate is contained in Section 25 of the Official Languages Act, which reads, in part ". . . to take all actions and measures within his authority with a view to ensuring recognition of the status of each of the official languages . . .".

It is important to appreciate that the basic rights relating to the status and use of Canada's two official languages, which are recognized in Sections 16 to 22 inclusive of the Charter, are not new rights. Those provisions of the Charter have been carefully drafted to reflect the existing rights established by the British North America Act, 1867, and by the federal and New Brunswick official languages acts. Similarly the rights as to the use of either English or French in the courts are derived from those same statutes. The rights of the public to communicate with and receive available services in either official language from the offices or institutions of the federal Government, or of the Government of New Brunswick, are consistent with comparable provisions in the respective official languages acts.

New rights

By contrast, the minority-language education rights provided for in Section 23 of the federal Charter are quite new, and go beyond the education rights outlined in Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867. To the extent that new language rights will be created by enactment of the Charter, they will be in this important area. That is why so much of the debate over the past three years has focussed on minority-language education rights, rather than on the more general language rights which are also to be entrenched in the Charter. As indicated above, since the Official Languages Act is silent on the subject of minority-language education rights, there will not be any inconsistency with any provision of that Act, and the implications for the Commissioner of Official Languages of enactment of Section 23 of the Charter will be somewhat tangential to his principal field of jurisdiction.

One of the immediate implications of proclamation of the proposed constitutional amendments will probably be an increase in the amount of litigation relating to language rights in Canada.

Section 24(1) of the Charter states as follows:

Anyone whose rights or freedoms, as guaranteed by this charter, have been infringed or denied may apply to a court of competent jurisdiction to obtain such remedy as the court considers appropriate and just in the circumstances.

That specific statutory invocation to apply to a court for an interpretation and determination of fundamental rights, including linguistic rights, should be contrasted with the legislative scheme of the federal Official Languages Act. That Act, which was based to great extent on the legislative model of the 1962 New Zealand statute establishing the office of the first legislative Ombudsman in the Commonwealth, provides its own extra-judicial remedies. Persons who believe that their linguistic rights may have been infringed at the federal level are invited to file a complaint with the Commissioner of Official Languages. He in turn is empowered to conduct an investigation of the complaint and, if warranted, to make recommendations with a view to ensuring that the linguistic rights recognized in the Act are upheld. In the event that the Commissioner is unsuccessful in mediating a dispute with a federal institution as to linguistic rights, the Act provides further mechanisms to ensure, with the assistance of Parliament if necessary, but without recourse to the courts, that such rights are upheld.

Courts an option

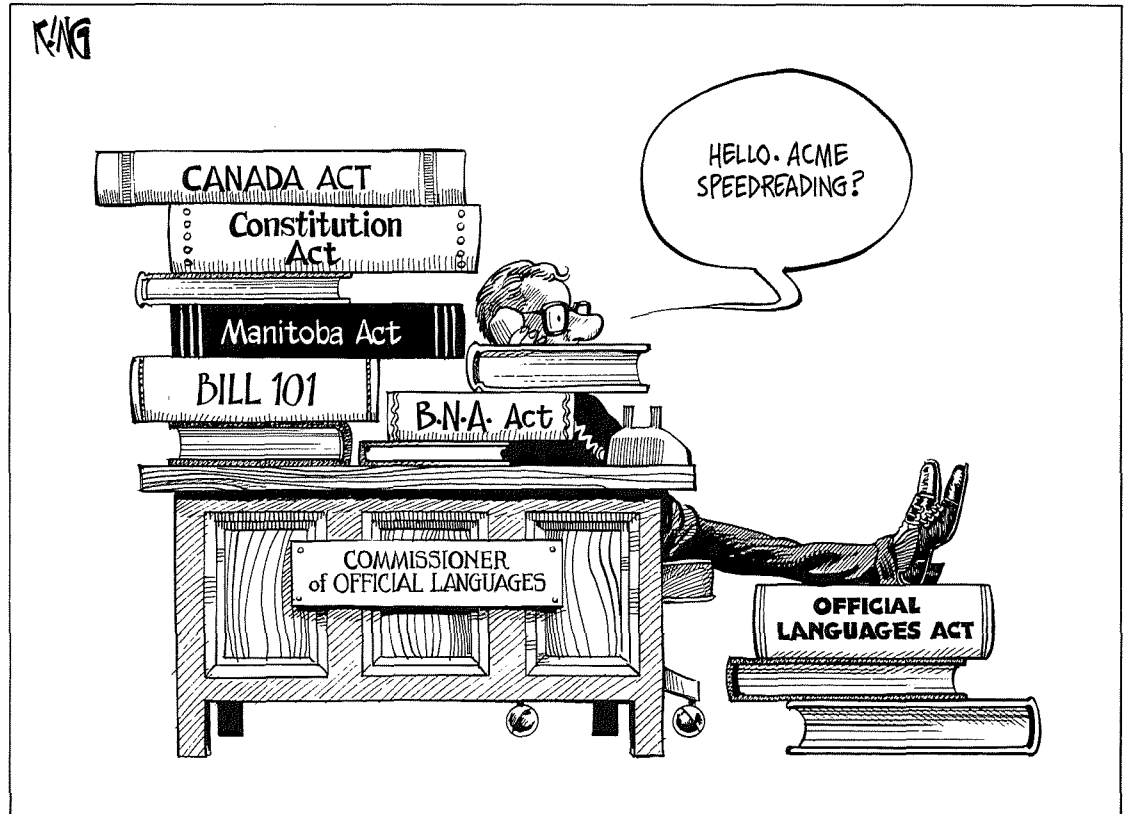
There is nothing, of course, in the



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(Written by Alan King himself.)



Official Languages Act which precludes a complainant from opting for the judicial route and seeking a declaratory or other judicial order as to his rights under the Act. This option was chosen by litigants in the leading cases relating to language of work in the field of aviation¹. It is instructive to note, however, that in the recent decision involving language of work at Air Canada's Dorval air base², Mr. Justice Legault of the Quebec Superior Court expressed some reservations as to the necessity for parties to litigate matters arising under the Official Languages Act, since that statute provides clear recourse to the Commissioner as a means of securing

a resolution of linguistic differences. A second reason why there will likely be an increase in the amount of litigation of language rights issues in the years ahead is that the debate on constitutional patriation and amendment has produced a heightened awareness on the part of all Canadians as to the nature and importance of such rights. In addition, the recent landmark decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada in the *Blaikie*³ and *Forest*⁴ cases will serve as precedents to potential litigants. These factors may combine to encourage members of minority linguistic groups to seek legal redress of their grievances, and the provisions of the Charter will pro-

vide fertile ground on which to base their actions.

Further, as indicated above, minority language educational rights are not addressed in the Official Languages Act, or in any other federal legislation. Those seeking to assert their rights under Section 23 of the Charter will have little alternative but to do so before the courts. For example, the controversial paragraph 23(3)(b) of the Charter, and particularly the phrase "... where the number of those children so warrant", in the context of the provision of minority language educational facilities out of public funds, will most probably be the subject of considerable litigation. It is conceivable that there will be a series of judgements from the competent courts of various provinces across Canada which will find that the number of children required to warrant the provision of such facilities differs from province to province in particular instances.

1 *Serge Joyal et al v. Air Canada et al.*, [1976] C.S. 1211. *Association des Gens de l'air du Québec Inc. et al. v. Otto Lang and the Attorney General of Canada*, [1977] 2 C.F. 22, (Federal Court, Trial Division), [1978] 2 C.F. 371.

2 *Hugo Tremblay et al v. Air Canada et al.*, (unreported), Quebec Superior Court, May 25, 1981.

3 *The Attorney General of the Province of Quebec v. Peter M. Blaikie et al.*, [1979] 2 S.C.R. 106; 101 D.L.R. (3d) 394. *The Attorney General of the Province of Quebec v. Peter M. Blaikie et al.*, [1981] 1 S.C.R. 171-361 at 312; 123 D.L.R. (3d) 151.

4 *The Attorney General of Manitoba v. Georges Forest*, [1979] 2 S.C.R. 1032; 101 D.L.R. (3d) 385.

Commissioner's role

If this prediction proves correct, and there is an increase in the number of cases before the courts involving language rights, this leads one to ask what may be the appropriate role in such proceedings, if any, for the Commissioner. In two of the "language of the air" cases before the Superior Court of Quebec, the Commissioner of Official Languages was "mis en cause" in the action. The status of a "mis en cause" party differs somewhat from that of an intervenor: in the former case the party is literally "put in the action" by one of the parties to the proceedings, whereas in the latter case the intervenor must apply to the court to participate in the proceedings. The role of a "mis en cause" in civil proceedings in Quebec may be somewhat analogous to that of an *amicus curiae* or a "friend of the court" in proceedings in the common law jurisdictions of Canada. It is not inconceivable that the Commissioner may, either as a "mis en cause" in proceedings arising in Quebec, or as an intervenor, or as a witness under subpoena from one of the parties to proceedings elsewhere, become involved in future litigation with a view to assisting the court in its deliberations on questions of language rights.

For example, the concept of "significant demand" for services in the second language is found in Section 20 of the Charter, and interpretation of that term could well become an issue in future litigation. That particular section of the Charter is based, of course, upon the concept articulated in Section 9 of the Official Languages Act, although the wording of the two sections is not identical and the rights guaranteed in the Charter are somewhat broader than those provided for in the Official Languages Act. It is highly likely that one of the parties to a proceeding involving an interpretation of the phrase "significant

demand" may wish to have the Commissioner participate in the proceedings to provide the court with the benefit of his experience in interpreting that concept under the Official Languages Act.

Conversely, the Commissioner might seek to intervene on his own initiative in an important case before the courts which involves an interpretation of linguistic rights under the Charter. Such a case might involve, for example, the important issue of the right of federal employees to work in the official language of their choice. That right will be implicitly entrenched in Section 16 of the Charter in words identical to those contained in Section 2 of the Official Languages Act, which have been the subject of judicial interpretation in the important "language of the air" cases referred to above. The Commissioner's standing to intervene in such a case would appear to be assured by an earlier decision of the Supreme Court of Canada⁵ involving the Official Languages Act, and by a plain language reading of the Commissioner's statutory mandate. For all of the reasons outlined above, therefore, one of the practical implications for the Commissioner of the proposed amendments to the Constitution may be an increase in the amount of his time devoted to matters before the courts.

Option eschewed

However, given the time and expense involved in constitutional litigation, and given that the Official Languages Act provides a more comprehensive and detailed code of such rights than does the Charter, the great majority of those who believe their language rights have been infringed by federal institutions will doubtless continue to eschew the option of litigation.

For example, although both subsection 20(1) of the Charter and Section 9 of the Official Languages Act speak to the right of the public ". . . to communicate with, and to obtain available services from. . ." federal institutions in both official languages, the Charter does not address in explicit terms the linguistic rights of members of the travelling public, which are dealt with in some detail in Section 10 of the Official Languages Act. Thus complaints from members of the travelling public could not be properly dealt with in a case based solely upon Section 20 of the Charter. There are many other examples of linguistic rights which are provided for in the Official Languages Act but on which the Charter is understandably silent, as it only purports to confirm the most fundamental rights.

Thus, those who prefer the cost-free, expeditious and confidential complaint resolution procedure provided for in the Official Languages Act, and those seeking to enforce linguistic rights not provided for in the Charter will presumably keep the Commissioner and his staff fully engaged for the foreseeable future.

In closing it should be said that, in addition to raising the consciousness of all Canadians as to the important issues inherent in the law of languages, the entrenchment of fundamental language rights in the Charter will also serve to strengthen the Commissioner's hand as he continues his efforts, whether within or without the courts, to ensure recognition of the equal status of Canada's two official languages. With the unequivocal reaffirmation by Parliament of the basic principles of the Official Languages Act, and the entrenchment of those principles in "the supreme law of Canada", the Commissioner and his staff should be spared the tedious and frustrating defensive arguments based on relative priority of legislation which have been raised over the years by a number of federal institutions. Enactment of the legislation embodied in the constitutional Resolution can only serve the cause of linguistic reform.

⁵ *Thorson v. Attorney General of Canada et al.* (No. 2), [1974], 43 D.L.R. (3d) 1, [1975] 1 S.C.R. 138.

There are 53 distinct indigenous languages still spoken in Canada. The author provides insight and a thoughtful look at the rich diversity and traditions they represent. He estimates the number of their speakers, suggesting that for the majority of such languages, the future is uncertain.



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Canada's first languages

MICHAEL K. FOSTER

When the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism presented its first report on the official languages in 1967 (Book 1), it made passing reference to Canada's indigenous languages and cultures, but only to note that they were beyond the scope of its inquiry, which was limited to the languages of the two "founding" races. The irony of the notion of French and English as founding languages has not been lost on the native people of Canada: the majority of the languages they speak have an assured history of thousands of years on the North American continent, many times the period during which French and English have been spoken here.

But perhaps because the indigenous populations of Canada make up less than 1.5 per cent of the total population, and because these groups have, until the early 1970s, lacked much political clout in Ottawa, the question of native linguistic and cultural rights has received scant attention politically, compared with the attention given to the issues of aboriginal land and treaty rights. More and more, however, linguistic and cultural rights are being linked to the bread and butter issues of land and treaties. The 1970s have seen an extraordinary growth in native studies programmes of all sorts, beginning with the earliest school years and continuing into university courses. Instruction in native languages is a central part of many programmes.

Many languages

In official reports — and often from the man in the street, too — one hears the phrase "Indian and Inuit (or Eskimo) languages." This dichotomy is actually doubly misleading. It implies that there are only two major indigenous linguistic groupings in Canada, and that these

are comparable entities, as though we were speaking of the Slavic and Romance language families.

There are, in fact, 11 separate indigenous language families in Canada. One of these is Eskimo-Aleut, a family which includes the language spoken by the Inuit, and several other languages as well. There are 10 Indian language families. In one or two cases these families have been found to bear a distant genetic relationship to each other, i.e., to share a common ancestry, but for the most part they are as independent from each other as Indo-European is from Uralic, Sino-Tibetan or Japanese. A generation ago Amerindian linguists were concerned with "reducing" as many of the families as they could to a few major language stocks, but the majority of the hypothesized relationships have more recently been called into question or even completely dismantled.

Three of the 11 language families (Haida, Kutenai and Tlingit) consist of only one language. Linguists use the term isolate for such one-language families and presume that whatever relatives the language or its ancestor may once have had have since become extinct. A familiar European example is Basque.

As nearly as can be determined, there are 53 distinct indigenous languages spoken in Canada. There were once probably many more. In some cases, the languages are spoken in several more-or-less mutually intelligible dialects over a large area. These dialects are often separately named, and this complicates the task of determining the distribution of a language. (It would be as though speakers of British, Canadian, American, Australian and South African English were to adopt the names of their countries or even smaller regions in

designating the variants of English they speak.) Thus the dialects spoken by such tribes as the Algonquin, Ottawa (Odawa), Mississauga, Sauteaux and Nipissing are designated locally, and often in the historical literature as well, by these names, although all of them fit within the bounds of a dialect continuum for which the term Ojibwa is used. Another example is Cree

The total number of speakers of all indigenous languages in Canada — approx. 154,000 — is only a bit greater than the number of Canadians claiming Dutch as their mother tongue — 145,000.

which is spoken in six major dialects (Plains, Swampy, Northern, Woods, Moose and East) over an enormous area stretching from Alberta to Quebec. The accompanying map added as an insert summarizes the distribution of indigenous language families. A far more detailed map, "Indian and Inuit Communities and Languages," is also available (see Selected Readings on page 15).

Some of the 53 languages are spoken by thousands of people, and some by no more than a handful. Unhappily, the latter situation is far more typical than the former. The table on the reverse side of the map gives a breakdown of the families and the estimated numbers of speakers of each language. *It is to be emphasized that there are no accurate figures on the numbers of speakers of indigenous Canadian languages.* The most recent survey, published in 1962 by Wallace L. Chafe (see Selected Readings), is now out of date, and it does not

provide separate figures for Canadian speakers in those cases of languages spoken on both sides of the Canada-U.S. border. In some, but by no means all cases it has been possible to obtain updated statistical information, and an attempt has been made to guess at the proportion of speakers in Canada. Many questions nevertheless remain.

To give the bare statistical facts a more visceral meaning, I have assigned some impressionistic labels to six categories of estimated numbers of speakers, and these categories are colour-coded in the table. Languages with fewer than 10 speakers in Canada are *verging on extinction*; those with 10-100 speakers are *extremely endangered*; those with 100-500 speakers are *quite endangered*; those with 500-1,000 speakers are *endangered*; those with 1,000-5,000 speakers are *moderately endangered*; those with more than 5,000 speakers have *excellent chances of survival* in the foreseeable future. There are only three languages in this last category.

The labels should be interpreted in relative rather than absolute terms. Compared with the principal European languages spoken in Canada (English, French, German, Italian and Ukrainian — for which it is appropriate to speak of hundreds of thousands of speakers rather than hundreds or thousands), all of the indigenous languages, except the three in the last category, must be considered endangered. The total number of speakers of all indigenous languages in Canada (approximately 154,000) is only a bit greater than the 1971 census figures for the number of persons in Canada claiming the single language Dutch as their mother tongue (approximately 145,000). The most favoured

indigenous languages in terms of numbers of speakers (Cree, Ojibwa and Inuktitut) are comparable separately to the smaller minority languages in Canada such as Czech and Slovak, Finnish, Japanese, Hungarian and Russian. The least favoured indigenous languages, which is the majority, have no precise parallels.

A bird's eye view

There is a high concentration of language families in the west. Excluding Eskimo-Aleut, which stretches across the entire Canadian Arctic, only two language families are found east of Lake Winnipeg, Algonquian and Iroquoian, and only the latter is found exclusively east of this point. Siouan, Algonquian and Athapaskan are present in the Prairies, although the latter two are primarily languages of the Boreal Forest area, and Athapaskan is spoken in a number of communities of the interior of British Columbia. Along the West Coast and its inland river systems are found dense concentrations of Salishan, Tsimshian, Wakashan, Haida and Tlingit communities. Kutenai is located in southeastern British Columbia in the vicinity of the lake and river of that name (Kootenay). Thus, 7 of the 11 indigenous language families of Canada are found in British Columbia. The majority of individual languages are also spoken in this area.

The general picture is one of far greater linguistic complexity for the area west of the Alberta-British Columbia border, particularly south of the fifty-fifth parallel, than for anywhere else in the country. This has suggested to many students of Indian history that the west is a linguistically "old" area, and the most plausible staging area for migrations of successive groups of speakers to the east and south, a

view which accords with what is known from other fields such as archaeology.

None of the indigenous language families of Canada falls exclusively within Canadian borders, and indeed present political boundaries have little meaning in terms of these groupings. Most of the families straddle the United States-Canadian border; one family, Eskimo-Aleut, extends not only into the United States (Alaska) but also into Siberia on the west and Greenland on the east. There is a range of families and isolates from those in which the majority of speakers are located in Canada (Algonquian, Northern Athapaskan, Haida, Salishan, Tsimshian and Wakashan) to those in which the majority of speakers are located outside of Canada (Siouan, Tlingit and Eskimo-Aleut), to those which are about evenly divided on the U.S.-Canadian sides of the border (Iroquoian, Kutenai?).

Attempts have been made to link Eskimo-Aleut with Wakashan and Kutenai in Canada, and with Uralic and Indo-European in the Old World, but these efforts are speculative.

Algonquian. This family has the greatest number of speakers by quite a margin and is geographically the farthest flung, being spoken from the Rockies to Labrador. There are twenty languages altogether, nine of them spoken in Canada. Attempts have been made to link Algonquian with Wakashan and with the Muskogean family in the southeastern U.S., but these links remain to be convincingly demonstrated.

Athapaskan. The Canadian Athapaskan languages are properly called *Northern Athapaskan* in order to

distinguish them from other members of this family found in the American Southwest such as Apache and Navajo. Fifteen of the twenty-four Northern Athapaskan languages are spoken in Canada. Athapaskan is remotely related to a language isolate called Eyak found in Alaska. Links have been proposed with Tlingit and Haida, but these are not on particularly firm footing at present.

Eskimo-Aleut. This family is found in an arc from Siberia to Alaska, where it rings the southern, western and northern coasts and adjacent inland areas, across the Canadian Arctic to Greenland. It has two main branches and several sub-branches, to one of which the Canadian variety, Inuktitut (or some phonetic variant of this word depending upon the dialect), belongs.

A chain of dialects is spoken all the way from Norton Sound in western Alaska to Greenland. The Inuit themselves have recently taken considerable interest in the problem of language variation, and a study group called the Inuit Language Commission has undertaken a dialect survey (see Inuit Cultural Institute, 1978, in the Selected Readings). Attempts have been made to link Eskimo-Aleut with Wakashan and Kutenai in Canada, and with Uralic and Indo-European in the Old World, but these efforts are speculative. The most likely genetic relationship is with the Chukotan family of languages in Siberia. Eskimo-Aleut remains the only indigenous language family in North America for which there are probable linguistic relatives in the Old World.

Haida. The two distinctive dialects of this language are spoken by only a few hundred people altogether, about two-thirds of them in Canada.

Such a situation of loss for a people who achieved one of the benchmarks of North American culture is an unqualified tragedy.

Iroquoian. Iroquoians enjoy a certain pride of place in Canadian history, in that it was Iroquoian speakers whom Jacques Cartier encountered in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534 and, in 1535,

From the St. Lawrence Iroquoians we get the name of Canada, which derives from the word ganá:da meaning "settlement, village".

at the fabled town of Hochelaga, the site of Montreal. From the St. Lawrence Iroquoians we get the name Canada, which derives from a word *ganá:da* meaning "settlement, village" and which referred to settlements in the vicinity of present-day Quebec City. The languages of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians and other Canadian Iroquoians — the Huron, the Tobacco People (Petun) and the Neutral — are now all extinct, and the six Iroquoian languages spoken in Canada today were brought by groups of immigrants from New York State, mainly by followers of Joseph Brant who came to Canada in 1784 with other Loyalists. The Iroquoian languages spoken in Ontario, Quebec and New York State have a southern relative, Cherokee, spoken in North Carolina and Oklahoma. Iroquoian is related to Siouan (whose principal Canadian representative is Dakota), and there is a likely link with the Caddoan family in the U.S.

Kutenai. This single-member family or isolate is spoken by only a handful of people in the vicinity of the

lake and river which take their names from this group (Kootenay). Because it is surrounded by several languages belonging to different families, links to several of them, have been suggested, none as yet very convincing.

Salishan. Twenty-three Salishan languages are recognized, of which ten are spoken in Canada. One division of the family is found along the eastern and southern coastline of Vancouver Island and in inlets along the adjacent mainland; another division is found in communities along the Fraser and Okanagan rivers and their tributaries. An outlier, Bella Coola, is found separated to the north. The family occupies a small area geographically, but is highly ramified linguistically, a situation which suggests a long period of development *in situ*. Attempts have been made to link Salishan with Wakashan, Algonquian and Kutenai.

Siouan. Siouan is a linguistically ramified family spoken over a large portion of the American Plains and spilling over the Canadian side into the Prairies. Three dialects of the Dakota language are spoken on Canadian reserves: Santee (or Dakota proper), Teton and Stoney (a variety of Assiniboin). The probable relationship of Siouan to Iroquoian and Caddoan has already been mentioned.

Tlingit. This is another isolate, spoken in the northwestern corner of British Columbia, the Yukon and the Alaskan Panhandle. Tlingit may be distantly related to Athapaskan, but the inclusion of Tlingit with Haida and Athapaskan in a superstock called Na-Dene is now rejected by many.

Tsimshian. Three languages are spoken along the coastal inlets of northern British Columbia and

into the Alaskan Panhandle, and inland in British Columbia along the Nass and Skeena river systems. Tsimshian is another geographically contained family in the complex B.C. indigenous language mosaic. Tsimshian has been linked to a stock of languages called Penutian, though not conclusively.

Although language is often discussed apart from culture, it must be remembered that language is the principal means by which the members of a society communicate and exchange information about their culture.

Wakashan. This small family of languages is found in communities on the western and northeastern sides of Vancouver Island and on the adjacent B.C. coastline. Five of a total of six languages are spoken in Canada. Wakashan has been linked with such families as Chimakuan (in the U.S.), Salishan, Algonquian and Kutenai, but the shared similarities tend nowadays to be explained more as borrowings resulting from periods of contact than as shared ancestry.

Diversity of types

The indigenous language situation in Canada is thus far more complex than the phrase "Indian and Inuit languages" suggests. This is true not only of the numbers of separate languages and language families found in this hemisphere, but of the *kinds* of languages found here. This diversity of grammatical types was not fully appreciated until the present century when the first scientific grammars were written. Until that time the languages of the New World, like those in non-industrialized areas everywhere, were regarded as primitive, as somehow

less-perfect means of thought and expression than the languages of Europe and Asia. The early descriptions, which consisted more of samplings made for illustrative purposes than of systematic inquiries, tended to cast the indigenous languages of North America all in the same mold. It was thought that elements which were expressed in the familiar European languages by separate words were, in the majority of Amerindian languages, combined as chains of prefixes and suffixes surrounding basic roots. Now this characterization of what we would call the morphology of words is not entirely inaccurate if applied to certain families such as Athapaskan, Iroquoian and Algonquian. For instance, whereas an English speaker might refer to a recent event in his country experience by saying "He lent me some farm animals," a sentence consisting of six words, the speaker of Cayaga (an Iroquoian language) would pronounce the following single word-sentence trippingly across his tongue: *hakhnahskwarihahtá:nih*, literally "he did to me some domestic animals lend for my benefit."

The word consists of a pronominal prefix *hak-* which carries the meaning of a masculine agent acting upon a first-person patient, "he to me"; a noun root *-(h)nahskw(a)-* designating the class of domestic, as opposed to wild animals, here "incorporated" into a complex verbal expression; *-nih(a)-*, a verb root meaning "to lend"; *-ht(a)-* a verbal suffix introducing an element of causation into the meaning of "lend"; *-ni-* a suffix with dative meaning which marks the fact that the act of lending was for someone's (here my) benefit; and finally the suffix *-h*, which indicates that the verb is in the perfective aspect.

For every one of these elements others could be substituted which

would change the meaning of the word by greater or lesser increments. Although such complexity in words is common among Amerindian languages it cannot by any stretch be considered a mark of primitiveness. Indeed, it could just as well be taken as a sign of great expressive refinement. In the area of grammatical structure, however, value judgements have very little meaning.

There are Amerindian languages which are as "analytic" as English — they tend toward the use of separate words for relational concepts — and there are still others which are as "inflective" as Latin and Greek.

Even among those languages exhibiting the kind of complex morphology we see in Cayuga there is considerable variation of structural types. In some languages prefixing is preferred to suffixing, in others suffixing to prefixing; in some, like the Iroquoian, use is made of both.

Some languages allow for incorporation of elements into verbs and others do not. The point is that there is a great deal of variation in the details of the formal and semantic processes involved. Beyond this, there are Amerindian languages which basically are as "analytic" as English — that is to say, which tend toward the use of separate words for relational concepts — and there are still others which are as "inflective" as Latin and Greek. At an earlier time these latter structural types were thought to contrast with Amerindian languages as a class.

It must simply be said that every kind of grammatical category known from the languages of the Old World (systems of person, case, number, gender, tense, aspect, mode, etc.) is found among Amerindian languages, sometimes weakly developed, sometimes strongly developed, but still present somewhere.

However, in addition to the more familiar categories there are also some unusual ones which have been responsible for so much of the interest in Amerindian languages, e.g., special verb stems to denote categories of shape and motion, sets of demonstratives to indicate whether an object mentioned by the speaker is visible or invisible to him, verb modes to indicate whether what the speaker is saying can be verified from his own experience or is a matter of hearsay, even different sets of numerals in the same language used to count different classes of objects. There is nothing primitive about these categories, though they are certainly exotic for the speaker of a European language.

Amerindian languages also show considerable diversity in their sound systems. In some families such as Iroquoian and Inuktitut, the inventory of basic vowels and consonants is quite small (Iroquoian languages have on average 15 basic sounds which may be compared with English which has 40). In others, such as those located in the interior and coastal areas of British Columbia, the inventories of basic sounds, particularly in consonant series, are quite large.

Although language is often discussed apart from culture, it must be remembered that language is the principal means by which the members of a society communicate and exchange information about their culture. All languages, whether

they are those associated with the Western industrialized nations or with tribal groups, have technical vocabularies which name aspects of the environment, and man's means of exploiting it. For example, whereas European languages have elaborate terminologies for the many subfields of industry, law, scholarship, business and the like, Amerindian languages have rich vocabularies of local plants and animals, topographical and climatological phenomena, as well as the technologies of hunting, fishing and agriculture, house and boat building, and so on.

In some families such as Iroquoian and Inuktitut, the inventory of basic vowels and consonants is quite small — Iroquoian languages have on average 15 basic sounds, compared with English which has 40.

As the Iroquois say, culture is, at bottom, an "affair of the mind": culture is not so much the material things that people make as the conceptual universe they carry in their heads, and language is the principal means by which culture is expressed and passed from one generation to the next. When we come to assess the state of a language and take a sober look at its chances of survival in the future, we should realize that we are dealing not simply with grammatical patterns but with ways of experiencing and thinking about the world. Amerindian languages present us with an untold richness of the human spirit, built up piece by piece over thousands of years.

The future

Although bare statistics cannot tell the whole story of the prospects of

survival for Canadian indigenous languages, the general picture is far from bright. For only three of the fifty-three languages (Cree, Ojibwa and Inuktitut) does survival seem assured. Those who advocate a policy of linguistic and cultural assimilation to English and French may take heart in this, indeed may count it as a signal triumph after a hundred years of assimilationist educational policy vis-à-vis native people. It may not be well known outside native communities, but

For only three of the fifty-three languages — Cree, Ojibwa and Inuktitut — does survival seem assured.

only a generation ago children attending reserve and residential schools were strongly discouraged and often physically punished for using their mother tongues within the confines of the school. However, as a result of intense pressure brought by the National Indian Brotherhood beginning in the early 1970s, the federal government has adopted an increasingly supportive stance in relation to native language use, in effect reversing earlier policies. Mainly through the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs it has become involved in indigenous language reclamation programmes across the country.

Sources from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development claim that there are now 80 reserve schools country-wide offering native language classes, and that 38% of the native children attending school are given some form of native language instruction. From the miscellaneous reports I have received from different areas I do not think there is any reason par-

ticularly to doubt these figures, although there is considerable breadth in what counts as instruction in a native language.

In response to the sudden demand for classroom materials created by the new language programmes, there has been an unprecedented outpouring of dictionaries, grammars, reading texts and other classroom materials, often produced as co-operative efforts between a linguist or two and the native language teachers. Such projects are among the more significant undertakings of the so-called "cultural education centres" found in a number of reserve communities around the country. The National Museum of Man has also had an active role in this process by giving contracts to linguists, both independently and through the offices of band councils, to produce reference works which can be used by native language teachers to generate classroom materials at the primary and other levels. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has been involved in the production and dissemination of the latter kinds of materials on a fairly broad scale. It is too early to say what the effects of all of this ardent and intelligent activity will be, although there do appear to be cases where the trend toward indigenous language loss has been stemmed if not actually reversed.

Areas of continuing concern

As with the speakers of other minority languages, one continuing area of concern among the indigenous people of Canada is the question of language maintenance policy. The consensus is clear: decisions about basic policy should be left to local communities to determine. Only local communities can decide *whether* the mother tongue should be preserved, and it is they who in the end must make the necessary effort. The role of legisla-

tion is seen to be to provide financial support which makes the development of a local policy of maintenance possible.

As a corollary to the principle of localization, I should forestall one possible misinterpretation of the statistical information given in the table insert. Indigenous language maintenance policy decidedly should not be based on sheer numbers of speakers, in the sense of developing a formula for support on these grounds alone. In the first place, there is simply no way to determine non-arbitrarily how many speakers are needed to assure a language's survival. Are 100, 1,000, 10,000 speakers necessary? There are well-known Old World cases of languages which have been brought back from almost nothing to become second or even official languages, e.g., modern spoken Hebrew in Israel after 1948, and Irish Gaelic spoken in Ireland after the late nineteenth century. Diminished or diminishing numbers of speakers need not be taken as sounding the death knell of a language.

There are now 80 reserve schools country-wide offering native language classes.

A second problem with basing support on numbers is that on this ground a case can be made *either* for a language with a few speakers *or* for a language with many speakers — the former on the basis of urgency, the latter on the basis of greater chances of long-term survival. Far more important than numbers, however, are the community's attitudes toward language survival. Surely a small community of speakers which has awakened to its situation and wants to reverse

the downward curve of loss is deserving of support in its revival efforts.

Another area of concern in native communities is the question of literacy in indigenous languages. There are both practical and philosophical aspects of the question. On the practical side is the special concern with the development of writing systems. Two different systems were introduced and disseminated, mainly by missionaries, at different times and in different places in the past.

There exists a close relationship between language and culture, the former being a vehicle for the latter.

The most widely used system is the Latin alphabet (more frequently termed simply "Roman" in native discussions). The whole history of the Latin alphabet has in fact been a history of its adaptation to new languages, and the application to Amerindian languages in recent centuries is only the continuation of an age-old process.

The second system of writing in use particularly among Cree and Inuit, although to some extent also among Ojibwa and Athapaskans, is that of syllabics, invented in the late 1830s by the Methodist missionary James Evans living at Norway House in Manitoba. Syllabaries differ from alphabetic writing in having a character for the whole syllable (minimally, a consonant and vowel combination), rather than a letter for each separate consonant and vowel sound. The resourceful Evans devised a unique set of symbols for writing Plains Cree and developed

his own printing press. It is said that he fashioned syllabic print from the lead used to line tea chests sent to the Hudson's Bay post and made ink for his press from chimney soot.

The use of syllabics spread to other dialects of Cree and later to the northern Ojibwa dialects and Montagnais-Naskapi. In the late nineteenth century another missionary named E. J. Peck adapted the Cree syllabary to writing Inuktitut.

In all of these languages both orthographies are in use, and this has led over time to a certain competitiveness which has introduced a complicating factor into the matter of language maintenance. There are individuals and even whole communities that will argue passionately in favour of one system over the other. In some areas syllabics are considered particularly expressive of native identity. One positive result to come out of the continuing debate over orthography has been the refinement of both systems. For example, the Inuit Language Commission proposed a considerably revised syllabic orthography in 1978 which brought it more in line with the vowel sounds of Inuktitut. Various proposals have been made regarding improvements in the use of the Roman orthography in Cree and other Algonquian languages.

This brings us to the philosophical side of the literacy question. All the fuss over orthographies may seem a bit excessive, especially since most people involved in indigenous language teaching consider the attainment of conversational fluency to be the first priority. However, the concern with writing systems reveals, I believe, the peculiar combination of excitement and misgiving that people feel when they sense that they are approaching an

important threshold whose full significance has yet to be grasped. The step to literacy is a big one. In our own worldview this step marks the beginning not only of "recorded" history, but, for many, history pure and simple. For the native people contemplating literacy for previously unwritten languages there is, here, a point of no return with regard to oral tradition. Nothing less than a move from a world dominated by the spoken word to a world dominated by the written word is at issue, and we do not need Marshall McLuhan to remind us of the profound cultural effects of revolutionizing a medium of expression.

We know little enough about how more familiar languages are learned, but we know almost nothing about how native languages are learned.

A third area of continuing concern is the matter of indigenous language curriculum development. We know little enough about how more familiar languages are learned, but we know almost nothing about how native languages are learned. There are only a very few studies available on this new subject. In order to develop a programme with a sensible ordering of subject matter it would be useful to know which parts of the grammar of a language are learned first and which are learned later.

Another somewhat thorny issue is what the content of language classes should be — beyond mere drilling in conversation. There is an enormous indigenous literature existing in many languages and concerning

primordial events such as the creation of the world and the roles of people and animals. Much of this has been copiously recorded by past generations of anthropologists, linguists and folklorists. However, many of the sources are old and out of print, and texts are frequently written in a close phonetic form that native people find difficult to decipher. There is a need to rework this material in a format that would make it usable by native language teachers and their students. This task could be accomplished by native speakers, and could be a prime project to be taken on by the staffs of the various culture education centres. Any given myth or story or historical account could be reworked in a variety of ways for different levels, beginning with the production of children's books attractively illustrated, and using large print in the current orthographies.

Teaching was traditionally oral and by example. Many native people find the four walls of a classroom with an adult directing up front, an alien and even frightening experience.

Debate continues as to how far the regular subjects of the provincial

curriculum should be taught in indigenous languages in the reserve schools, i.e., such subjects as arithmetic, general history, social studies, etc. Those arguing for the extension of indigenous languages to a broader range of subject matter are anxious to show the inherent capacity of their languages to handle material which they feel has been excluded because of unfounded biases against those languages. Those who argue for restricting the content of indigenous language classes to traditional native subject matter feel strongly about the close relationship between language and culture, seeing the former as a vehicle for the latter. For them the introduction of non-traditional subjects threatens the association between language and culture and contributes further to the loss of native identity.

There is a curious converse of this problem which arises in communities where there are "progressive" (often Christian) and "traditional" factions. In such cases, the progressives sometimes object to the inclusion of traditional subjects in language programmes which they otherwise wholeheartedly endorse, since these may conflict with their Christian belief systems.

There is, finally, the subtle and pervasive problem of the methods which should be used to teach indigenous languages and cultures. Indians and Inuit nowhere had

anything corresponding to our own schools. Teaching was traditionally oral and by example. Many native people find the four walls of a classroom with an adult directing things up front an alien and even frightening experience. The system of learning in which the child is expected, as it were, to stand and deliver information is inimical to traditional native methods. It remains to be seen whether existing curricula in reserve schools can bend enough to accommodate traditional methods.

We see, then, that in Canada today there exists an extraordinarily diverse and challenging situation with regard to indigenous languages. One can only hope that with some encouragement and support from government, the Indians and Inuit will succeed in assuring a vital and enduring place for their languages in a multilingual and multicultural Canada.

Reprints of this article and additional copies of the accompanying insert are available upon request from the Information Branch, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

Canada's first languages Selected Readings

For those interested in learning more about indigenous languages, the following is a sampling of the relevant literature available. Although literature on the subject is limited, this list is not, as we would have liked, exhaustive. It does, however, comprise the major works on indigenous languages as well as suggest a variety of interesting and informative reading material that can be easily obtained. The author's principal sources are among those listed.

For overviews of the linguistic research that has been done on each family, as well as extensive bibliographies, the most comprehensive sources are Sebeok (1973) and Campbell and Mithun (1979). Each of these contains a series of separate papers on the language families of North America. For the families found in Alaska and adjoining parts of Canada (Athapaskan, Eskimo-Aleut, Haida, Tlingit and Tsimshian) one can consult, in addition to these sources, some recent works produced by the Alaska Native Language Center in Fairbanks, Alaska: a wall map, which shows locations of the languages belonging to these families as well as recent estimates of overall populations and speaker populations (Krauss, 1974), and an extensive bibliography (Krauss and McGary, 1980)

About ten years ago the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development published a booklet listing the registered Indian bands of Canada with

linguistic and cultural affiliations (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1970). Band population figures are given though not speaker numbers. The information in the pamphlet was extensively revised for the fifth edition of the National Atlas of Canada map of Indian and Inuit Communities and Languages (Canada. Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, 1980), produced as a joint effort by Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the National Museum of Man. This map shows the locations of Canadian indigenous bands and communities and their linguistic affiliations. Insets show the principal cultural areas of Canada and how these compare with the distribution of linguistic families; other insets show the distribution of native populations by language family and the distribution of native populations by province.

On the matter of speaker estimates the principal sources are Chafe (1962, 1965), although these are now somewhat out of date. More recent estimates will be found scattered through the papers in Sebeok (1973) and Campbell and Mithun (1979). The Alaska Native Language Center in Fairbanks keeps tabs on speaker populations for the indigenous Alaskan languages and to the extent possible for the languages of families which spill into Canada (Krauss, 1974, Krauss and McGary, 1980).

On the matter of policy for the

maintenance of Canadian indigenous languages, a key statement made on the part of the native people themselves is the National Indian Brotherhood's *Indian Control of Indian Education* (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972). Paralleling this for the Inuit is the report of the Inuit Language Commission, published in the summer, 1978, issue of *Ajurnarmat* (Inuit Cultural Institute, 1978). An exhaustive study of the indigenous language educational situation in Ontario was conducted by Barbara Burnaby for the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Burnaby, 1980). The study summarizes past and present policies affecting indigenous language use and instruction and makes a number of practical suggestions for implementing language programmes. A brief summary of the evolution of government policy in Canada regarding native languages has been prepared by Linda Tschanz (1980).

A useful practical guide to university courses and other training programmes in indigenous languages available in Canada and the United States is Martin (1975). This also has lists of serial publications and personnel working on indigenous languages, along with brief bibliographies for the different language families.

Specifically on the question of the two writing systems, see Darnell and Vanek (1973), Ellis (1973), Inuit Cultural Institute (1978) and Todd (1972).

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The fundamental rights stated in the Universal Declaration, Covenants and other Conventions on human rights are the base of a pyramid, the summit of which is linguistic rights.



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Language and nationality

ALBERT VERDOODT

One way of looking at the relationship between language and nationality is to take the former as an independent variable and the latter as a dependent variable. That is essentially what we shall do in this article.

Except for a period during the 18th century, the concept of nationality has been based on the community of language. Although nationality can be coincidental with the concept of statehood, this is rather exceptional: the population of most States is made up of a number of nationalities, or at least a number of national minorities. In this sense, such States are multinational in nature.

Given this, we will attempt to show that a language carries a number of rights for the national group that wishes to preserve it. The approach we will use to explain this is straightforward and corresponds largely to that used in studies of multinational societies organized by the United Nations Human Rights Advisory Services:

- Measures taken to guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms without discrimination.
- Measures taken to guarantee special rights essential for the preservation of a group's characteristics. These include:
 - 1) *The right of the group to use its language in everyday life, before the courts, in public or in certain assemblies.* We believe this right to be based on *society-oriented* objectives (1).
 - 2) *The right of language groups to create or obtain autonomous educational institutions and to provide for*

the independent development of their particular traditions and characteristics. We believe that these rights to a separate education are based on *educational* objectives.

- 3) *Equal economic and political treatment for language groups within the same country.* We believe that such equality is achieved through the language groups' pursuit of *utilitarian* objectives.
- 4) *Right of association beyond State boundaries.* We feel that is is the right of a language group to pursue *external non-political* objectives.
- 5) *Right of secession.* This right corresponds to the group's pursuit of *external political* objectives.

Human rights and fundamental freedoms

We must first be aware that language rights form the peak of a pyramid, the base of which must rest on recognition of the fundamental rights and freedoms (e.g., the right to life, to liberty and so on) contained in the Universal Declaration, Covenants and other Conventions on human rights. Before illustrating this basic assertion with a few facts, we should consider the following points suggested by the work of the sociolinguist, J. Fishman (2).

Language differences are not always conscious, nor are they always "ideologized." By this we mean that linguists recognize the existence of phonologically, morphologically or syntactically distinct languages, even though millions of native speakers of these languages are unaware of their differences. Wolff, for example, reports that a number of West African tribes speak languages that in some cases are wholly unrelated but which no

one group perceives as different (3). Haugen discusses similar situations for Scandinavian languages (4).

Secondly, conscious, and even ideologized, language differences do not necessarily create distinctions at the national or international level. Where there is diglossia, a society recognizes two or more languages as its own and uses each in a *functionally exclusive* area (5). Diglossia is characteristic of most European countries, as is shown by the differences between various dialects (used among family or friends) and the so-called language of culture (used in school and government). Diglossia is also widespread outside Europe, and in some instances its origins are lost in the midst of time. In such situations, two or more languages have separate, long-established functions in society as, for example, classical and popular Arabic in Egypt and in Syria, Sanskrit and Hindi in certain parts of India, and Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay. A more modern form of diglossia is found in most of Africa south of the Sahara, in Asia and in Latin America, where English, French or Spanish is used with one or more of the indigenous languages.

How, then, can fundamental rights be exercised?

The most generous provision concerning non-discrimination against individuals on the basis of the language group to which they belong is contained in Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as [...] language.

This provision is repeated in Article 2 of the International Covenants on

Human Rights. Certain delegates would have liked to insert a provision on non-discrimination against members of linguistic or national minorities, but the provision was rejected (6). In addition, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted on December 21, 1965, condemns all discrimination based on national or ethnic origin (Art. 1 § 1) and states:

Special measures taken for the sole purpose of securing adequate advancement of certain ethnic groups . . . shall not be deemed racial discrimination. (Art. 1 § 4)

Special rights

1. The group's right to use its language in everyday life, before the courts, in public and in certain assemblies.

Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights covers this set of *society-oriented* rights fairly well (7):

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

This Article represents progress over the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, from which any allusion to language groups has been eliminated (8). As when the Declaration was being drafted, the so-called socialist countries, this time supported by Denmark, once again pushed for the adoption of language rights. Their demands were more radical and positively expressed, but they had to reckon with other States whose

assimilationist or centralist policies (in particular, in America and Africa) did not allow them to demand assistance for the development of their various language groups.

Let us look at a few countries where these rights seem to have been achieved. In the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, for example German is used in everyday life, in the courts, in public and in a certain number of assemblies. Article 29 of the Constitution provides that "the law will regulate the use of languages in administrative and legal matters", but no such law has ever appeared. Different usages have therefore come to be the norm. The Luxembourg dialect is used for oral communications with the Government. French and German are used for matters calling for more than mere conversation. The Luxembourg dialect is used in court hearings of witnesses and other parties, while German is employed in criminal matters for written proceedings and judgements. All other business is conducted in French (9).

A similar case of diglossia exists in Africa. Local languages are often not officially recognized in essential fields such as justice. As a result, in the Republic of Burundi, future judges must be proficient in French but not in Rundi, which is spoken by the vast majority of the population. For the administration of justice, however, Rundi is most often spoken in the central and provincial courts, even though court records are written in French (10).

U.S. example

As a final example, it should be noted that, with a few exceptions during wartime, the United States has always shown a large measure of linguistic tolerance in the sectors we have mentioned (11).

2. The right of language groups to create or obtain autonomous educational institutions and to provide for the independent development of their particular traditions and characteristics.

The Convention Against Discrimination in Education is the international agreement most widely used for matters pertaining to the right to cultural autonomy. It was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on December 14, 1960, and came into effect on May 2, 1962, after ratification by three countries (in accordance with Article 14). Although full of reservations, Article 5.c states the following:

It is essential to recognize the right of members of national minorities to carry on their own educational activities, including the management of schools, and, depending on the education policy of each State, the use or the teaching of their own language, provided however:

- that this right is not exercised in a manner which prevents members of these minorities from understanding the culture and language of the community as a whole, and from participating in its activities, or which prejudices national sovereignty;
- that the standard of education is not lower than the general standard laid down or approved by the competent authorities; and
- that attendance at these schools be optional.

Given the relatively narrow limits of international or bilateral treaties guaranteeing the culture and administrative autonomy of language groups (12), let us now consider the various laws, ways and customs of different countries.

It would be a tedious task to list all the articles of national constitutions pertaining to autonomy and to educational and cultural rights. However, among the countries whose constitutions include such rights are Belgium, Bylorussia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ecuador, Finland, India, Iraq, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Panama, Poland, the People's Republic of China, Switzerland, Syria, Ukraine, the U.S.S.R., the Union of South Africa and Yugoslavia.

3. Equal economic and political treatment of language groups within the same country.

B & B concept

At issue here is the concept of "equal partnership" discussed in the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (in Canada). This problem is so well presented in Book I that we shall simply quote from a section (13):

The collective aspect of equality manifests itself also in economic life. Most people spend a great part of their waking hours at work, and if the environment in which they earn their living is not hospitable, inevitably they are dissatisfied. It follows that full participation by both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians in the institutions of the working world is an important element in an equal partnership. Not only must individual Anglophones and Francophones feel that there are no linguistic or cultural barriers to their progress in commerce and industry; they must also feel that as a linguistic and cultural group they share in the direction of economic life, in making those decisions which so largely determine everyone's future living conditions. The presence or absence of a strong

representation from each language group in the strategic posts of command — in senior management, senior scientific and technical direction, and on the boards of directors of major business firms — will do much to determine whether a sense of partnership exists....

People who are used to making a clear distinction between problems of this type and cultural problems, or who even separate them entirely, will be surprised to see such a political dimension introduced here. Again we find a not unnatural difference between the outlook of a self-confident majority group and that of a minority which is well aware of its weakness. A politically dominant majority easily takes its advantages for granted and does not take into account the difficulties of the minority, especially when that minority is treated with a degree of liberality, or at least an appearance of liberality, in cultural matters. But as soon as the minority is aware of its collective life as a whole, it may very well aspire to the mastery of its own existence and begin to look beyond cultural liberties. It raises the question of its political status. It feels that its future and the progress of its culture are not entirely secure, that they are perhaps limited, within a political structure dominated by a majority composed of the other group. Consequently, it moves in the direction of greater constitutional autonomy. Ideally, the minority desires the same autonomy for the whole of the community to which it belongs; but where it cannot attain this objective, it may decide to concentrate on the more limited political unit in which it is incontestably the majority group.

Majority win

Heinz Kloss states the following about the theoretical problems raised by the equality of such groups within the same political framework:

In a referendum on April 1, 1962, Switzerland rejected the proposal to ban nuclear arms (*Atomverbotsinitiative*). The French-speaking cantons and Ticino (Italophone) wanted to ban nuclear arms, while the Swiss Germans were in favour of nuclear armament. Despite the fact that the "Latin" point of view was upheld by the Catholic Church throughout Switzerland, the efforts of the Francophones were, of course, doomed to failure from the outset because of the incontestable majority of Swiss Germans (70% of the population).

Marcel Chaput has said the following about Quebec:

All major and minor Canadian policy decisions are made in Parliament and in Cabinet where French-Canadians are in the minority. For example, the agreement of French Canada was not sought for Newfoundland's entry into Confederation, or for Canada's joining the United Nations, NATO and NORAD (14). Even if we had been consulted, we could not have changed anything, because we are a minority (15).

Mr. Chaput concludes that what is necessary is the "unconditional and irrevocable rejection of the minority condition" (16).

What possible solutions are there to these inevitable consequences of the minority condition in a democratic system? The principle that seems to apply here could be called the "equal partnership of groups" (17).

It assumes that two or more ethnic groups in the same State are equal in the sense that no important decision on furthering the common weal may be made without the agreement of such groups — whether they number two, three or ten. This is not a regime of equality of status for languages — as in Switzerland or Finland — but a regime of equality for linguistic communities as such.

Obviously, with such a regulation, democracy in the traditional sense (whereby each citizen has an equal portion of popular sovereignty) is replaced by the principle of "one community, one vote"; the right of the individual is complemented or replaced by a group right principle. Is this principle undemocratic or does it give new meaning to democracy?

The "one man, one vote" principle dominates the internal structure of democratic States. In many cases, however, it is tempered by the action of an upper house which in many countries is a house of federate States. In some countries, such as Switzerland and the United States, the same number of votes is given to the representative of member states that have population of unequal size. This is the principle of "one state (meaning member state), one vote".

4. Right of association beyond State boundaries.

We would now like to shed some light on another aspect of the problem of protecting human rights in plurilingual States, an aspect that has seldom been studied by specialists. Here we refer to the development of political, economic and social conditions in which cer-

tain provisions made at a particular time to protect a linguistic group may become partially ineffective if they are not adapted to changing conditions.

Following are a number of ways in which this problem may be resolved. In an analysis of international agreements in federations (18), Jacques-Yvan Morin provides an excellent idea of the opportunities available to member states of federations for action at the international level. On the basis of comparative law, he divides federations into three categories:

- Federation in which the conclusion of treaties, and the power to ratify or implement them, is the sole responsibility of the central government.
- Federations in which the central government has the exclusive power to conclude treaties, while member states reserve the right to ratify or implement agreements on matters falling within their legislative jurisdiction.
- Federations in which members have a certain measure of power to conclude international agreements.

We shall not discuss the first category, since it includes federations in which member states do not have the right to make agreements. In these States, only the federal government negotiates with foreign countries, and often, as with India, this same government legislates internally even if the treaties pertain to matters for which the member states have jurisdiction according to the division of powers guaranteed by the constitution.

The second category is of greater interest to us because the member states of these federations have the right to refuse the central government's implementation of any treaty on matters which fall within their

jurisdiction. Canada, Nigeria, and Australia fall into this category. The procedure provides federate communities with a sort of passive power to accept or refuse treaties, even though they may not participate in their negotiation. It was for this reason that Quebec, when not consulted about the cultural agreement between Belgium and Canada (19), declared the agreement null and void. Since the agreement mainly concerned exchanges between Francophones, its application was almost completely checked.

Of greatest interest to us, however, is the third category of federations, in which members have a say in concluding international agreements. Five federal States fall within this category: the U.S.S.R., the United States, Argentina, Switzerland, and the Federal Republic of Germany. However, an examination of the practices of these five federal regimes reveals that only Switzerland and West Germany actually permit their members to exercise external powers.

Encouraged to consult

We recognize the delicacy of the problem and the fact that even the most liberal states may be very quickly tempted to consider as external *political* objectives what language groups believe to be external *non-political* (purely technical or cultural) objectives. We believe that the pursuit of external non-political objectives tend generally to bring a State's language groups closer together, since it encourages these groups to consult one another, work together and share their foreign relations for the greater benefit of the entire country. No conflict of language or representation results; issues are resolved spontaneously through linguistic allegiances. Consequently, if objectives are perceived as political when they are merely technical, the minority group may

actually add a political claim to its external objectives, if only to lessen the central government's demands.

A language group that has entered the international scene for purely cultural or technical reasons may also develop a taste for this type of relationship and wish to re-examine the nature of its links with the central authorities. In such instances, the type of association the language group has with the central government will be questioned and the result may be secession.

5. Right of secession.

As K. Deutsch wrote, some years ago, in a still relevant article:

Between 1800 and 1900, the number of refined languages in use in Europe increased from 16 to 30, and between 1900 and 1937 the number of standardized languages increased to 53.

Of the 15 nations whose languages were promoted between 1800 and 1900, 11 achieved, at one time or another, a certain degree of independence. These included the Bulgarians, Czechs, Croatians, Estonians, Finns, Lithuanians, Norwegians, Rumanians, Serbians, Slovaks and Ukrainians. Two other groups, the Slovenes and the Flemish, obtained a certain degree of political autonomy.

Of the 23 nations whose languages were standardized between 1900 and 1937, seven achieved a certain form of sovereignty: the Albanians, Irish, Bylorussians, Karelians, Moldavians (the last three, Soviet republics with a theoretical constitutional right of secession) and the Georgians and Lithuanians, who had formed a sovereign state before becoming Soviet republics (20).

The common bond of language has led not only to a large number of secessions, but has also been one of the causes of lasting unions, in particular in Italy, Germany, Poland, and Greece.

Rights inseparable

It would be useful at this point to consider the opinions of a number of writers on the right of secession. Maurice Duverger (21) writes: "The right of peoples to self-determination is inseparable from the right of individuals to self-determination." How can this statement be supported? A. Bonnichon has this to say on the subject (22):

At first glance, the road between unconstested affirmation of individual freedom and the unproven affirmation of a community's right to independence appears to be a long one.

The best starting point is perhaps what P. Calvez calls self-determination and which Monseigneur Leclercq calls, more precisely, the right, in principle, of each individual to choose his nationality (23). Most people choose, at least tacitly, to be citizens of the country in which circumstances have placed them. But what proves the existence of this right to freedom of choice is the generally recognized right to live elsewhere, to renounce one's original nationality (whether it be held *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis*) and to become a naturalized citizen of another country if that country so agrees. This right was denied in ancient oriental empires such as China during the Ming dynasty. The situation is virtually the same in certain modern peoples' republics where nationals may not leave without an exit visa, which is usually refused. Nevertheless, this freedom of movement is today recognized as a

human right and is included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (Article 13 § 2).

How do we transform this individual right into the right of national community to secede from one state and become another? We can interpret this voluntary transfer by several million people to the nationality of a newly-created State as being the sum total of individual options abandoning one nationality in favour of another. If this right belongs to one, it belongs to all: here we are still dealing with the right of the individual and to the physical person's right to self-determination without being forced to invoke the right of the nation as such.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this article, we outlined the five types of objectives that language groups may set within an organization, or within two competing organizations. This approach is related to the link that Lemieux establishes between these objectives and the various structural elements of organizations.

He first defines the "communication" component, which deals with the simple transmission of messages between positions; second, "co-ordination", which is more concerned with orders and directives; third, "representation", which involves the respective number of representatives of the language groups in management, their relative influence and varying degree of representativity; and finally, the association as a whole,

which is examined with respect to the varying degree to which its member groups are integrated within the organization (24).

Lemieux then summarizes his observations by stressing the major links between the objectives being pursued and the structural components where conflict generally occurs. Those pursuing society-oriented objectives usually clash only at the communication level, but those with external political objectives are always in conflict with the highest and therefore most important level, that of associations themselves. For this reason, we agree with his conclusion that:

- Structural mechanisms appropriate to the goals pursued should be established between linguistic groups. One can imagine a rather relaxed co-ordination mechanism being used in the pursuit of educational objectives (if they are different) and a more rigorous method in the pursuit of utilitarian objectives (if they are very closely related).
- If the objectives of one of the language groups are changed, the mechanisms must also be changed. If, for example, external political objectives take precedence over common utilitarian objectives, the association mechanisms must be relaxed only to be tightened again if common utilitarian goals are one day strongly reaffirmed.
- When a problem arises at a lower structural level, the solution is usually to be found at a higher level. According to Lemieux, this order of priority begins with

communication at the higher levels of the association, where the solution is usually found. It would therefore be a mistake to attempt to solve all problems on the basis of the language of communication, when in many cases, it is co-ordination, representation, indeed even the associations themselves which are being questioned.

This sociological detour is not really a detour at all, for it shows, in retrospect, our political leaders' interest in the various legal solutions outlined in this study. Each language group and each country can draw from it what is applicable to their situation, since our already rather lengthy inventory may enable jurists to arrive at even more ingenious solutions. An objective sociological study should, of course, always be carried out before legal measures are adopted, even though the reverse is often the case.

We could have studied the relationship between language and nationality by taking nationality as an independent variable and language as a dependent variable. In this case, we could have listed a series of official or unofficial institutions which attempt to modify, modernize, or standardize the vocabulary, grammar or pronunciation of the language. If these corrections are preceded by an on-the-spot investigation to reveal the needs and real opportunities for such modifications, one can even call the process linguistic planning. But, as Kipling said, that is another story.

(Adapted from French.)

Language and nationality

Notes and References

1. The phrase "society-oriented", like those we apply to the other objectives, is inspired by the works of J. Meisel (Queen's University) and V. Lemieux (Laval University) on voluntary associations in Canada. In particular, see J. Meisel and V. Lemieux, *Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations*, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1972. The objectives are actually the result of an option of the linguistic group. These group options are also probably linked to the assistance of other linguistic groups in the same State. Essentially, however, we shall consider matters from the point of view of the objectives of the group that is sociologically in the minority.
2. J. Fishman, "Nationality - Nationalisme and Nationalism", in J. Fishman, C. Ferguson and J. Das Gupta, *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, New York, Wiley, pp. 44-46.
3. H. Wolff, "Intelligibility and Inter-Ethnic Attitude", in *Anthropological Linguistics* 1959, I(3), pp. 34-41.
4. E. Haugen, "Semicommunication - The Language Gap in Scandinavia", in *Sociological Inquiry*, 1966, 36, pp. 280-297.
5. C. Ferguson, "Diglossia", in *Word*, 1959, pp. 325-340.
6. See A. Verdoodt, "Influence des structures ethniques et linguistiques des pays membres des Nations Unies sur la rédaction de la *Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme*", in *Liber Amicorum Discipulorumque*, Paris, Pédone, 1969, pp. 404-416.
7. See introduction for meaning of this term.
8. See A. Verdoodt, op. cit. pp. 403-416.
9. For more details see, A. Verdoodt, *Zweisprachige Nachbarn, Die deutschen Hochsprach - und Mundartgruppen in Ost-Belgien, dem Elsass, Ost-Lothringen und Luxemburg*, Vienne-Stuttgart, W. Braumüller, 1968. In Luxembourg, all citizens use German, French and "Luxembourgeois" and use of these languages does not correspond to particular groups.
10. See A. Verdoodt, *Structures ethniques et linguistiques du Burundi, pays "unimodal" typique*, Quebec, Centre International de recherches sur le bilinguisme; Bruxelles, Centre de recherches d'information socio-politiques, 1969.
11. See, for example, H. Kloss, *Les droits linguistiques des Franco-Américains*. Preface by A. Verdoodt, Quebec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1970.
12. See T. Modeen, *The International Protection of National Minorities in Europe*, Abo, Abo Akademi, 1969.
13. Pp. xxxiv to xxxvi.
14. NORAD: North American Air Defense.
15. M. Chaput, *Pourquoi je suis séparatiste*, Montreal, Messageries coopératives, 1961, p. 31.
16. M. Chaput, op. cit. p. 156.
17. This is the equal partnership principle. When there are only two ethnic communities, it is also called the duality concept.
18. Jacques-Yvan Morin, "La conclusion d'accords internationaux par les provinces canadiennes à la lumière du droit comparé", in *Canadian International Law*, University of British Columbia, 1965, pp. 127-186. See also M. Lebel, *Conférence Internationale des États fédérés*. Brief for the Centre des Hautes Études Européennes (de Strasbourg), prepared under the supervision of MM. Héraud and Rosenstiel, 1969. (photocopy)
19. Signed May 8, 1967.
20. K. Deutsch, "The Trend of European Nationalism - The Language Aspect" in *American Political Science Review*, 36, 1942, pp. 533-541.
21. *Le Monde*, May 3, 1965.
22. In *Justice dans le Monde*, VII, 1, 1965, pp. 27-28 and 30.
23. J. Leclercq, *Leçons de Droit naturel*. I. Fondement du Droit et de la société.
24. V. Lemieux, op. cit.

Thoughtful Canadians know that being limited to reading literature and history in only one of our official languages is like seeing with only one eye, that is, without depth perception. The author reviews language requirements for students in Canadian Studies programmes and says that second-language ability needs pushing in Canadian universities.



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Learning to learn about Canada

JAMES E. PAGE

There are growing numbers of students, teachers, researchers and scholars in countries around the world studying Canada. Associations to promote Canadian studies have been established in Australia, Britain, France, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Japan and the United States. There are centres for such studies in Belgium, Israel, Scandinavia, the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Those involved are learning to learn about Canada. By that I mean that they are exploring basic notions about this society, its structures and culture, as well as more sophisticated methodological approaches to Canadian studies. In some cases they are learning one or both of our official languages as a prerequisite to explorations of our literature, history and traditions.

Reasons for foreign interest are as many and varied as the list of countries might suggest. Some of them are federal states and comparative studies intrigue scholars in them. Other foreigners have become students of our country because they, as Anglophones or Francophones themselves, have stumbled onto what is for them a new promising literary lode to mine. Still others have been attracted because of Canada's particular place in the world as part of the Commonwealth, or as part of the developed world, or as part of the "North-South" dialogue. Whatever their reasons, they are interested and their numbers are increasing.

Ignore own culture

Many Canadians find foreign interest remarkable. Some express surprise and delight, others mild amusement, and still others disbelief. For their part, those from abroad are often astonished by the fact that Canadians appear to show relatively scant interest in themselves.

The fact that our society in general and that our educational system in particular have undervalued or ignored Canadian issues and concerns has been amply documented in a number of major studies. The most important of them, *To Know Ourselves: The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies*, provides two volumes of comment and analysis of this situation. I doubt that a similar document could be written about any other developed nation. Symons wrote that:

... there are few other countries in the world with a developed post-secondary educational system that pay so little attention to the study of their own culture, problems and circumstances in the university curriculum.¹

Not surprisingly, the Commissioner encouraged Canadians to learn how to learn about Canada themselves. The parallels between non-Canadians and Canadians in this respect are not all that far-fetched. In order to learn about their country, many Canadians literally need to learn a new language. Thoughtful Canadians know that to be limited to reading the literature and the history produced in only one of the two official languages is like being able to see with only one eye, that is, without depth perception.

Providing a full perspective on Canada is the central preoccupation of the Canadian studies programmes offered in many of our colleges and universities. These special clusters of courses, often with their own distinct pedagogic and academic priorities, are comparatively

¹ T.H.B. Symons, *To Know Ourselves: The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies*, AUCC (Ottawa: 1976), Vol. 1, p. 128.

few in number. In fact programmes formally labeled "Canadian Studies" are found in English Canadian institutions, not in Quebec's French-language universities. There are many reasons for this, perhaps the most significant is the fact that English Canadian universities have felt so influenced by the American academy that remedial action is considered necessary. As well, there are some people in Canada who equate the term "Canadian Studies" with national unity promotional activities.

Encouraged to learn

The point is that formally designated Canadian studies programmes are found only in English-language colleges and universities. They are not the only focus for Canadian studies in our post-secondary institutions; various disciplinary departments and other studies programmes also contribute significantly to our knowledge of Canada, both in English and French Canada.

Nevertheless, because formal Canadian studies programmes offer integrative opportunities for examinations of our country, they lend themselves to the provision of the bilingual and bicultural learning opportunities which Tom Symons' report indicated are so important. The true purpose of Canadian studies programmes is to encourage students to learn how to learn about Canada, not as a segmented thing divided academically by disciplinary barriers or culturally by language, but as an entity with all of its warts, blemishes, challenges, riches, promises and prospects intact. The depth of comprehension that facility in both languages can provide, in an academic sense, is obviously crucial to Canadian studies.

The value of interdepartmental cooperation in such a field can be illustrated by the following example. The study of Canadian literature at the

university and college levels is often divided along administrative lines between the French and the English departments. Lamentably, as *To Know Ourselves* illustrates, in many of these departments, Canadian literature is accorded little or no priority. One can speculate that this is a consequence of the departmental split; each part is obviously less than the whole and each part is considered of lesser significance when compared to the unified corpus of literary work from another culture or nation. Happily there are exceptions to this rule in the University of Sherbrooke's Comparative Canadian Literature Programme and at Carleton's Institute for Canadian Studies, to cite just two examples. Nevertheless, often universities and colleges do not provide opportunities of these sorts. It is a sobering thought that had politicians shown as little skill in bridging the two majority cultures as have academics we might be in more "dire straits" than we are.

Canadian studies efforts like those at Sherbrooke and Carleton are two examples of interdisciplinary or interdepartmental programmes which have the special integrative character I mentioned. The point of this brief article is to comment on the extent to which these kinds of programmes offer subjects which promote the development of language skills to facilitate the study of Canada.

I have placed two cards on the reader's table. I believe that interdisciplinary and interdepartmental approaches to Canadian studies are important and valuable but clearly not to the exclusion of disciplinary studies. Disciplines are the foundation upon which interdisciplinary work is built. Secondly, it is essential in a country which is proclaimed as a bilingual nation, that both of the official languages in their

literary, historical, sociological and other aspects get attention in Canadian studies programmes. For that attention to be credible, these programmes need to encourage the use of both languages in pursuit of their curriculum objectives.

Happily a number of the Canadian studies programmes do just that. There are thirty-two formally designated Canadian studies programmes offered in Canadian universities. Surveyed recently for a report on the current state of the field², fourteen of these universities indicated that they offer special courses on French Canada as an aspect of their curriculum.

In addition, seven of these universities also offer degree or certificate programmes in French-Canadian studies either in parallel with or as separate academic entities within their syllabi. There are five universities which offer specific French-Canadian studies programmes rather than a formal Canadian studies programme.

Required and recommended

Twelve of the English-language universities surveyed indicated that they have a French-language requirement as part of either their Canadian or French-Canadian studies programmes. None of the French-language universities noted an English-language requirement for their students. The second language policies in place, as part of Canadian studies curriculum, can be grouped into two basic categories: the required and the recommended. The range of policies in each category can best be explained through examples.

The requirements found in the French-Canadian studies programmes are, for the most part, more

² James E. Page, *Reflections on the Symons Report: The State of Canadian Studies in 1980*, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, Ottawa: 1981.

stringent than are those expected of students in Canadian studies programmes. For example, in the University of Saskatchewan's French-Canadian studies programme, leading to a four-year advanced B.A., conversational and grammatical courses are mandatory and the syllabus requires reading skills. The University offers a "maxi-immersion" programme for students interested in increasing their conversational fluency and there is a special programme offered by the University of Quebec at Trois-Rivières which includes courses in French-Canadian literature and civilization. This programme is recommended for those wishing to improve their oral French in a French-speaking milieu. Scholarships are available for either the Saskatoon or the Trois-Rivières immersion programmes.

Some Canadian studies programmes also have stringent requirements. For example, the Carleton undergraduate programme requires that all Canadian studies students take an advanced French-language course and a course on English-Canadian and Quebec literature which is team-taught by a professor from the English and one from the French department. The Quebec literature half is taught in French, and discussion, readings and term papers are in French. The examination paper for the course is perhaps a uniquely Canadian artefact in its even division between English and French questions and instructions to the student. The course is often regarded as the greatest "hurdle" Canadian studies students must surmount but is also very popular because it provides an opportunity to become more fluent in French. The course also attracts Francophone students, some of whom have as much difficulty with the English-Canadian half of the course as some of their Anglophone counterparts do with the Quebec content.

At York University's Glendon Campus, students can pursue an interdisciplinary programme in Canadian studies at either the concentration or the honours degree levels. These are limited, however, to students in the bilingual programme. The ultimate goal is to help students become skilled bilingual communicators and informed citizens, aware of Canada's cultural heritage and its social, political and economic structure.

Requirements differ

In addition to these kinds of rather specialized requirements, there are a number of university Canadian studies programmes which prescribe a certain level of competence based on French department courses, rather than an integrative bilingual experience of the types noted above. At Concordia the "specialization" in Canadian studies, a B.A. with 60 credit requirements, includes six credits of French at a level to be determined by the French department. The Mount Allison University programme requires a French course and at Brock a full course, or its equivalent, in French or on French Canada, is mandatory.

There are programmes which require a skills level, variously defined. At the University of Prince Edward Island, the programme demands "reasonable competence in reading and writing" French. Students who fail to demonstrate the necessary skills must complete two French courses as prerequisites to graduation. At Trent University the Canadian studies programme specifies "... a working knowledge of French". Queen's French-language requirement is tied to basic writing and oral skills and students are barred from the fourth year of the programme until the qualification is met. Laurentian's Canadian studies degree programme insists on a "... solid reading knowledge" of French.

At some universities Canadian studies programmes do not strictly require French, but encourage the development of language skills. For example, in the Canadian studies programme at Brock, a full course, or its equivalent, in French or on French Canada is required and a reading proficiency in French by graduation is "... highly recommended". At Brandon in the "supplementary major" in Canadian studies, students are encouraged to enrol in French 130, a basic skills course. The Simon Fraser University French-Canadian studies certificate programme requires "... evidence of some competence in the use of the French language" demonstrated either by successful completion of a placement test at the B.C. grade 12 French level, or completion of six credit hours, or equivalent transfer credits, from a selection of French-language courses offered by the University.

There are indications that other universities are moving in these directions. St. Thomas has established an ad hoc committee on second-language requirements to consider the feasibility of establishing functional bilingualism as a goal for a liberal education in Canada. At the University of Winnipeg consideration is being given to the establishment of a special French course for Canadian studies students and the organization of an immersion programme for the intercession.

A number of universities in English Canada have built into their Canadian studies efforts some basic French-language requirement or have acknowledged the importance of a second-language skill in the development of knowledge about our country. Lamentably, however, a number appear not to have addressed the issue and several have decided, for their own reasons, not to develop such policies.

Study Canadian context

As far as French-Canadian univer-

sities are concerned, while there appear not to be any English-as-a-second-language requirements, there are moves to enhance Francophone students' knowledge of English Canada. In addition to the University of Sherbrooke example cited earlier, the University of Montreal's "mineur en études québécoises" includes the study of the overall Canadian context. They are special courses on English-Canadian and Quebec literature and on English-Canadian history.

These few comments are based on a wider 230-page study prepared for the Department of the Secretary of State. With that as background, several concluding observations are offered. First of all, facility in both official languages is, in my view, a *sine qua non* of balanced and appro-

priate studies of Canada. Opportunities ought to be available for the study of both official languages as part of Canadian studies programmes wherever they are organized. Both languages are essential tools in learning about Canada.

Secondly, in order to advance this notion, care needs to be given to develop the necessary capacity to offer students these opportunities. Given the current problems in the academic job market, the ageing of the professoriate, the present fiscal crunch and the lack of adequate job mobility, this recommendation presents enormous challenges. It can be addressed, at least in part I believe, by the development of broadly based faculty exchange programmes between Francophone and Anglophone Canadian universities

and through the provision of special language training programmes for Canadian studies teaching staff. As well the kinds of scholarships available at the University of Saskatchewan to encourage students to take immersion programmes in French should be expanded as much as is fiscally possible.

These comments, directed at the need for the development of language study opportunities and second-language requirements in Canadian studies programmes, parallel the recommendations made in the Symons Report about Canadian studies generally. Both sets of concerns have an urgency about them. It is vital that the next generation of Canadians master those skills which are required if they are to learn about their society.

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Letters to the Editor

An opportunity to learn

The articles in your review *Language and Society* offer variety, spice and enjoyment. In the Autumn issue (No. 6), I particularly liked the article "On learning French" by Brian Moore. It was as much fun to read as language should be to learn, as idealistic as that may sound coming from one who taught French for more than twenty years.

From Dalhousie University, to the Sorbonne, to Laval University, I learned "the hard way" as an Anglophone, but I should not exchange such an opportunity to be with another language, people, civilization and culture for anything in the world.

Dr. Harry D. Smith
Ombudsman
Nova Scotia

No "Pont" Murphy, no "Pont" O'Flaherty

While I value the contributions *Language and Society* brings to the Canadian linguistic scene, I feel the editor wasted public funds and abetted the misinforming of unwary readers by not checking out Allan Fotheringham's key allegation in his "Passion, reason and Murphy's bridge," (No. 5, Spring/Summer 1981) and tossing out the piece.

Fotheringham alleges that "every time a harmless denizen" of the region along "the meandering highway between Prince George and Prince Rupert" crosses a bridge, say the 12-foot Murphy Bridge, his sense of logic is assailed by reading "Pont Murphy" in "the same prominent type" as the bridge's posting in English.

The highway, part of the British Columbia-Alberta Yellowhead route (which somehow has been deprived of the historic name of *Tête-Jaune*, which applies to several features of the region), is a provincial highway. A check with the B.C. highways department would have established

that there is no "Pont Murphy" sign on this route, no "Pont O'Flaherty" sign either, no "ponts" whatsoever, no bilingual highway indicators. Also, according to an outraged highways engineer who was consulted on the matter, there are no 12-foot bridges on this route except as temporary installations after washouts.

Federal funds have helped repair flood damage in this region, and the signs announcing these contributions are in English and French. No reason for anyone to be disturbed by that unless he's disoriented as to his time and his country.

Besides his basic inaccuracy, Fotheringham seems to assume that there are no Francophones (even included among the harmless local denizens) meandering along this highway who would be, if not better informed, at least reassured by seeing a federal message in their maternal tongue. Such assumptions work to limit a Franco-Canadian's national space.

John Condit
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A letter from Brazil

I have just finished reading *Language and Society* (No. 6, Autumn 1981), both the English and French versions and have decided to write to you not in the position of Public Affairs Officer at the Canadian Consulate General in Rio de Janeiro, but as a Brazilian whose mother tongue is Portuguese (Brazilian Portuguese, not Portuguese), whose working language is English (80% of the time) and/or French (20%) and who is very interested in language and society....

Both my mother's and father's parents spoke *yiddish* as their first language, for they were Jews born respectively in Russia and Poland. Although my parents were born in Brazil, I used to hear *yiddish* a lot at home, but never managed to

speaking it. Portuguese is my mother tongue. I studied English for about five years and followed an audiovisual course of French at the Alliance Française for about two years. After my graduation in Social Communications (my favourite course was Language Philosophy) I started working as a journalist and in 1976 I went to the United States to do my Master's degree in Journalism at New York's Columbia Graduate School of Journalism. I've never managed to understand completely what the Dean said to me in his welcome speech but "welcome and good luck". My English was not enough in those days - as it still isn't - and he was born in China, good Mr. Yu! I finally managed to get my degree, but had to rewrite my thesis about 12 times: my advisor would always say to me, after reading the draft: I see you're writing in English, but it sounds awkward....

... Another interesting thing to say about the year I spent in New York is that all my girlfriends were Brazilian: "I love you" never sounded as sincere as the Portuguese "eu te amo". And there is not an expression in English (or French) like "saudades" to say when you miss someone or has the *café* so much that you couldn't live without that person. In fact, there is no perfect translation for "saudades" in any language of the world (so Brazilians like to say....).

... Despite all the difficulties, however, I'm glad to be able to at least understand and make myself understood in English and French, to be extremely articulate and fluent in Portuguese, to understand the Jewish humour in *yiddish* and also to be an efficient (so I presume) Public Affairs Officer for the Canadian Government. And most of all I'm glad to recognize that Jean Piaget was right when he said that the *homo sapiens* is only *sapiens* because he is *loquens*.

Vitor Szejder
Rio de Janeiro
Brazil