Language planning and policy in Quebec

A comparative perspective

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For Marie, Lukas, and David

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Studie handelt von der Sprachpolitik in der kanadischen Provinz Quebec. Die vergleichende Perspektive soll einen neuen Einblick in die dort vorherrschenden sprachplanerischen Aktivitäten ermöglichen. Nachstehend folgt die deutsche Zusammenfassunge der einzelnen Kapitel.

Im einleitenden **Kapitel 1** werden die Schwerpunkte der Studie erläutert und erste Hintergrundinformationen vermittelt. Die wichtige Stellung Quebecs in der Sprachpolitik- und Sprachplanungsforschung wird hervorgehoben (Abschnitt 1.1), gefolgt von einer Übersicht über die Geschichte und Form der beiden Hauptsprachen der Provinz (Abschnitt 1.2). Das Kapitel endet mit einer Auflistung der Forschungsziele und -methoden der Studie sowie einem Überblick über ihre Struktur (Abschnitt 1.3).

Kapitel 2 «Französisch und Englisch in Quebec: Historischer Hintergrund und sprachpolitischer Kontext» beginnt mit einer kurzen Übersicht über die Siedlungsgeschichte Kanadas, mit besonderem Augenmerk auf Quebec (Abschnitt 2.1). Es wird hervorgehoben, dass das Französische zwar als erste Sprache in der Provinz ankam, anglofone Siedler aber kurz darauf folgten. Kontinentale Ausmasse hatte die britische Eroberung von 1760, welche das Ende von Neufrankreich bedeutete und Quebec unter britische Herrschaft brachte. Abschnitt 2.2 «Kanada: ein offiziell zweisprachiges Land» knüpft an dieses Ereignis an und stellt die politische Entwicklung dar, die in die heutige amtliche Zweisprachigkeit mündete. Es wird darauf hingewiesen, dass diese Zweisprachigkeit, fest verankert in Gesetzestexten, nur für Stellen der Bundesregierung gilt. Auf Provinzebene werden die beiden Sprachen unterschiedlich behandelt: in «Englischkanada» reicht dies von der Anerkennung von Englisch als einzige Amtssprache bis hin zu einer quasi-amtlichen Zweisprachigkeit. Die prekäre Situation der Eingeborenensprachen und die verschiedenen gesetzgeberischen Versuche, sie zu unterstützen, werden im Unterabschnitt 2.2.3 erläutert. Abschnitt 2.3 widmet sich dann genauer der «einsprachigen» Provinz Quebec. Das Sprachgesetz von 1977, die *Charte de la langue française* ‹Charta der französischen Sprache›, wird erklärt und deren Auswirkungen auf die Bevölkerung (besonders auch auf die nicht-frankofonen und nicht-anglofonen Sprecher von «anderen» Sprachen, die sogenannten «Allofonen») werden anhand historischer und aktueller Statistiken aufgezeigt. Unterabschnitt 2.3.3 handelt von der englischen Sprache in Quebec, welche trotz der Charta einen speziellen Status sowohl bei den staatlichen Instanzen wie auch in der Bevölkerung ge-

niesst. Der Fokus liegt hier auf der Interaktion zwischen den beiden Sprachen, vor allem aber auf dem Einfluss (lexikalisch/phraseologisch und grammatikalisch) des Französischen auf das Englische. Im Abschnitt 2.4 wird die einzige offiziell zweisprachige Provinz Neubraunschweig (New Brunswick, Nouveau-Brunswick) vorgestellt. Hier stehen sich Anglofone und Frankofone etwa im Verhältnis zwei zu eins gegenüber; die delikate Balance zwischen den beiden Amtssprachen sorgt immer wieder für Gesprächsstoff und widerspiegelt das historisch komplexe Zusammenleben der Frankofonen akadischer Abstammung und der Anglofonen verschiedener britischer and nordamerikanischer Herkunft.

Kapitel 3 trägt den Titel «Sprachplanung und Sprachpolitik: Theorie» und beginnt, in Abschnitt 3.1, mit einer Übersicht verschiedener theoretischer Ansätze in diesem dynamischen Forschungsfeld. Die Literatur zum Thema wird abgehandelt; die Erklärungsansätze von Hornberger (2006) und Johnson (2013b) dienen dabei als Ausgangspunkt. Abschnitt 3.2 widmet sich der Sprachpolitik des Englischen in mehrsprachigen Kontexten. Hier wird als erstes der Aufstieg von Englisch zur heutigen globalen Verkehrssprache und *lingua franca* angegangen, basierend vor allem auf Wright (2016), welche auch diesen Aufstieg auf Kosten des Französischen erläutert. Im Zuge dieser Erklärungen wird auch das *World Language System* ‹Weltsprachensystem› (de Swaan 2001) eingeführt, welches eine globale Hierarchie von Sprachen vorschlägt, die den Spracherwerb kausal vorhersagt basierend auf dem «kommunikativen Wert» der jeweils zusätzlich gelernten Sprache. Es folgen weitere Überlegungen zur Rolle des Englischen in mehrsprachigen politischen Entitäten, also Staaten oder subnationalen Gebilden, in denen Englisch zusammen mit einer oder mehreren anderen Sprachen eine amtliche oder offizielle Stellung inne hat. Beispiele aus Kamerun, Wales und Singapur vervollständigen jene aus Kanada. Der Abschnitt endet mit einem Exkurs in den «Pragmatismus» und «Aktivismus», welche als treibende Kräfte hinter einer bestimmten Sprachpolitik stehen können. Hier wird insbesondere Singapur, als vorwiegend pragmatisch, mit Quebec und Wales verglichen, in denen Sprachaktivismus die Grundlage der Sprachpolitik ist.

In **Kapitel 4** werden die der Arbeit zugrundeliegenden «Daten und Methodik» vorgestellt. Abschnitt 4.1 präsentiert die vier Datenarten, die für die Studie herangezogen wurden:

1. Ein soziolinguistischer Fragebogen, bestehend aus vier Teilen: 1) demographische Angaben und Sprachinventare mit Selbsteinschätzungen der jeweiligen Sprachkompetenz, 2) Einstellungen zu sprachpolitischen Fragestellungen, 3) Spracheinstellungen zum Französischen, 4) Spracheinstellungen zum Englischen. Es wurden 652 Fragebogen beantwortet.

2. Eine Bestandesaufnahme der «Sprachlandschaft» (*linguistic landscape*), also der visuellen Manifestation von (geschriebener) Sprache im öffentlichen Raum. Dazu wurde ei-

ne Datenbank von 1 101 fotografisch dokumentierten Beispiele angelegt, bestehend aus Strassenschildern, Werbeplakaten, Warnschildern, Graffitis, Firmenlogos, handschriftlichen Notizen, usw. Zusätzlich dazu wurden Daten aus der *linguistic soundscape* ‹auditiver Sprachenlandschaft› erhoben, spezifisch von den Ansagen in der Montrealer *métro* und der S-Bahn. Die Ansagen an 119 Haltestellen wurden dokumentiert.

3. Ein ethnografisches Kleinprojekt in Bezug auf die Sprachenwahl bei Begrüssungs- und Bestelltransaktionen in Cafés. Es wurden 1 094 Datenpunkte in sechs Cafés in verschiedenen Stadtteilen Montreals erhoben.

4. Eine psycholinguistische Pilotstudie, in der zweisprachige Probanden ein- oder zweisprachige Schilder aus Montreals Sprachenlandschaft gezeigt bekamen, während ihre Augenbewegungen okulometrisch erfasst wurden.

Abschnitte 4.2 und 4.3 handeln vom allgemeinen methodologischen Rahmenwerk und von dem angewandten Forschungsdesign.

Kapitel 5, «Sprachplanung und Sprachpolitik in Quebec: Analyse» analysiert die im vorherigen Kapitel erwähnten Daten. Folgende Ergebnisse sollen hier zusammenfassend erwähnt werden:

Fragebogen Von den 652 ausgefüllten Fragebogen wurden 578 für die Analyse behalten. Darunter waren 355 Anglofone, 168 Frankofone und 55 Allofone. Die Altersspanne reichte von 18 bis 91, mit einem Mittelwert von 33; 44% waren männlich. Die meisten Teilnehmer gaben an, zwei oder mehr Sprachen zu beherrschen. Die «jungen» Altersgruppen (18–44) waren mehrheitlich dreisprachig, die «älteren» (über 45) mehrheitlich zweisprachig. Die Selbsteinschätzung der Sprachkompetenz in der «anderen» Sprache (also Französisch für Anglofone und Englisch für Frankofone) nimmt mit zunehmendem Alter ab. Bei den Spracheinstellungen zeigt sich ein gemischtes Bild, in dem das Alter häufiger eine entscheidendere Variable ist als die Sprachgruppe, allerdings nicht in allen Fällen. So stösst zum Beispiel die Aussage 'Bill 101 was necessary.' («Gesetz 101 [= die Charta] war notwendig.») bei den Anglofonen höheren Alters auf weniger Ablehnung als bei den jüngeren; bei den Frankofonen zeigt sich ein ähnliches Bild. Ebenso korreliert die sprachliche Selbsteinschätzung der Teilnehmer stark mit dem Zustimmungsgrad zur Aussage 'I think carefully about which language to use when first speaking to someone I don't know.' («Ich überlege mir gut, welche Sprache ich mit einer Person benutze, die ich zum ersten Mal treffe.»).

Sprachenlandschaft Die Verteilung der Sprachen in der Sprachenlandschaft wird von der Charta und dazugehörigen Verordnungen dahingehend reguliert, dass grundsätzlich Französisch vorhanden sein muss, und falls andere Sprachen auch auftreten sollten, Französisch *nettement prédominant* ‹klar vorherrschend› zu sehen sein soll, vereinfacht definiert als in doppelter

Schriftgrösse auftretend. Die Datenerhebung, die sich vor allem auf die Insel Montreal konzentriert hat, zeigt eine Sprachenverteilung in der Sprachenlandschaft auf, die in vielerlei Hinsicht mit der geografischen Verbreitung von Muttersprachlern übereinstimmt. Dennoch finden sich in der Sprachenlandschaft auch Manifestationen kreativer Subversion der Gesetzgebung, etwa in der Verwendung von ambigen Wörtern und Schreibungen: der Firmenname ⟨identi~t⟩, zum Beispiel, kann sowohl auf Französisch gelesen werden (*identité*, [idãtite]), wie auch auf Englisch (*identity*, [aɪˈdɛntɪti]) – die Schlusssilbe, welche in den Sprachen unterschiedlich geschrieben wird, wurde hier durch ein ⟨t⟩ ersetzt, welches entweder [te] (frz.) oder [tiː] (engl.) gelesen werden kann. Die Sprachwahl wurde damit an den Leser übergeben. Die Analyse der gesprochenen Sprachenlandschaft ergab, dass im Netz der Montrealer *métro* die Haltestellen durchgehend mit französischer Aussprache wiedergegeben wurden (also *Peel* als [pˈilʲ] und nicht [pʰɹiːɫ]). Bei der S-Bahn war mehr Englisch zu hören, und einige Haltestellen mit englischem Namen wurden auch in dieser Sprache ausgesprochen.

Ethnografie   Die Erhebung der Sprachwahl bei Servicebegegnungen in Cafés ergab eine Verteilung, die mit jener der ansässigen Muttersprachler zum Teil übereinstimmt. Die zweisprachige Begrüssungsformel «Bonjour, hi» kommt mehrheitlich vor im mehrsprachigen Saint-Laurent (81%); im vorwiegend frankofonen Rosemont jedoch nur marginal. Auf diese zweisprachigen Erstbegrüssungen folgen englische Gegenbegrüssungen zu 97% (Dollard-Des Ormeaux), 68% (Westmount), 65% (Saint-Laurent), 58% (Mile-End), 40% (Downtown) und 33% (Rosemont). Die Tabelle auf Seite 140 zeigt auf, wie die Sprache einer in das Café kommenden Gästegruppe sich auf die Sprache der Begrüssung auswirkt, diese wiederum jene des Gegengrusses beeinflusst.

Psycholinguistik   Die im Rahmen des Pilotprojektes erhobenen okulometrischen Daten zeigen auf, dass im Falle von zweisprachigen Schildern Teilnehmer englischer Muttersprache zuerst den französischen Text fixieren und sich im Laufe des acht Sekunden dauernden Betrachtungszeitraums zum Englischen hin bewegen, um im Endeffekt den beiden Sprachen ungefähr gleich viel Aufmerksamkeit zu spenden. Frankofone Teilnehmer hingegen blicken zuerst auch auf den französischen Text, gleiten aber im Laufe des Betrachtungszeitraums immer mehr zum englischen Text, um am Ende des Experiments das Englische mehr zu fixieren als das Französische. Diese Ergebnisse deuten einerseits auf die Wirksamkeit der Gesetzgebung hin, da Französisch durchwegs als erste Sprache fixiert wird; andererseits kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass Anglofone die beiden Sprachen miteinander vergleichen, um allfällige Informationslücken zu füllen.

Kapitel 6 «Die quebec'sche Sprachplanung und Sprachpolitik in vergleichender Perspektive» nimmt die Erkenntnisse der vorhergehenden Kapitel auf und setzt sie in eine vergleichende Perspektive. Abschnitt 6.1 erklärt die Beweggründe für eine solche Perspektive, und situiert

die Studie in der bereits existierenden Literatur. Abschnit 6.2 handelt vom sprachplanerischen Kontext in Wales, und endet mit einem Vergleich der Ansätze in der britischen Region und in der kanadischen Provinz, wo es immer auch um die Bewahrung einer durch das Englische bedrohten Sprache geht. In Abschnitt 6.3 wird die Sprachpolitik des Stadtstaates Singapur dargestellt, in der vier Amtssprachen unterschiedlich gewichtet werden und Englisch als vereinende und unabdingbare Sprache für das nationale Überleben diskursiv konstruiert wird – sozusagen als Gegenpol zur Sprachpolitik Quebecs. Der zusammenfassende Abschnitt 6.4 beginnt mit einer tabellarischen Übersicht der drei politischen Entitäten und der von ihnen gehandhabten sprachplanerischen und -politischen Ansätze. Es wird unter anderem auf die Problematik des dezentralisierten Sprachgebrauchs auf dem Internet eingegangen, eine neue Herausforderung, auf die die drei Entitäten auf unterschiedliche Weise reagieren.

Das abschliessende **Kapitel 7** ist ein Überblick über die Sprachpolitikforschung in der Ära der Globalisierung (Abschnitt 7.1). Es wird auf das «post-nationale» Paradigma verwiesen, welches u.a. Wright (2016) dazu verleitet, das Ende der Sprachpolitikforschung als solche in Aussicht zu stellen. In Abschnitt 7.2 wird darauf hingewiesen, dass die Globalisierung in der Tat die Relevanz von Grenzen neu definiert hat, dass der Nationalstaat aber (*qua* May 2016) nach wie vor *die* administrative, kulturelle und eben auch sprachliche Referenzeinheit darstellt. Daraus ergibt sich die Notwendigkeit, neue, der globalisierten und digitalisierten Realität Rechnung tragende Rahmenwerke zu entwickeln, welche die Gesamtheit gegenwärtiger Sprachpraktiken bei der Erforschung von Sprachplanung und -politik in Betracht ziehen.

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1 Introduction

M UCH has been written about language planning and language policies (LPP) in Quebec. Less work has been done, on the other hand, to situate this planning and these policies within larger issues governing LPP globally. The special situation of Quebec, a predominantly French-speaking province within a predominantly English-speaking country and continent, deserves attention in its own right: the Francophone population, numbering around 7.1 million in Canada, is largely concentrated in the province of Quebec (6.1 million),[1] and has long been eager to protect its language from assimilation into English. The acute awareness of being surrounded by the English language, and being in a disadvantaged position both in terms of population size and the economic opportunities resulting from this minority status, has led to in the formulation, in the 1960s and 1970s, of a series of legal proposals aimed at securing the survival of the language at least within the borders of the province, culminating in the 1977 Charter of the French language.

The relationship between language, nation, and state are critical to the understanding of the LPP existing in Quebec. The Québécois are recognised as a 'nation within a united Canada' by federal legislation, a wording that does little to address the ambiguous relationship between the *nation* and its ethnic and linguistic components (see section 2.3 for a discussion of ethnic and civic nationhood in Quebec). Contemporary policy would seem, however, to consider the French language as the prerequisite for membership in the Quebec nation. The provincial state, by extension, upholds the language rights of that nation and implements the legal framework necessary to safeguard its continued existence.

Quebec, rooted as it may be within its French linguistic tradition, remains an important part of the Canadian historical, cultural, and economic fabric. As such, particularly as regards its connectedness with the Canadian, continental, and global market economy, it is exposed to the same globalising forces of the 'post-national' (Heller 2010; 2011, Heller et al 2015, Wright 2016) era as any other economically connected place on the planet. The way in which LPP takes into account the transnational flows of people, languages, and cultural capital is of paramount interest: its development from a policy bound by territorial concerns of the ethnolinguistic

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1. Responses to the 2011 census' 'mother tongue' question. See section 2.2.2 for more information on these numbers and for other metrics used by Statistics Canada.

nation-state to one taking into account these globalised phenomena is something that this study will attempt to shed light on. The way in which similar challenges, among them the predominance of the English language as the global lingua franca, have been met in other polities, specifically in Wales and in Singapore, will inform our understanding of the situation in Quebec.

1.1 The relevance of Quebec for language planning and policy research

Research into the LPP of Quebec and its larger Canadian context has a long history. Beginning with the British conquest of 1760, questions arose as to the status of the French settlers and their language, being now challenged by those of the new English power. An overview of the historical background that these initial decades represent is given in section 2.1. While the Quebec Act 1774 settled the thorny issue of religion, it is the British North America Act 1867 that put the two languages, French and English, on an equal legal footing in the parliaments of both Canada and Quebec. Neither of these acts did much, however, to address the socio-economic stratification that would emerge, over time, in the province of Quebec, that put English speakers at the top of the economic ladder, concentrating power and financial and political capital among a comparatively small anglophone élite, while the masses of the working class were overwhelmingly francophone. It is in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s that resentment at this situation grew and that legislation was passed to address the issue. Among early assessments of the language policy developments in Quebec are Mallea (1977), Wardhaug (1983), Bourhis (1984), Levine (1989; 1990), followed by, among many others, Locher (1988), Daoust (1990), Landry & Bourhis (1997), MacMillan (1998). The turn of the millennium did not diminish the interest of scholars in the LPP of Quebec, as testified by the works of MacMillan (2011), Martel & Pâquet (2012) and Kircher (2016); even Boberg (2010), more concerned with structural linguistic issues in Canada as a whole, devotes some time to the LPP of the province. The policies in place in Quebec have also informed research on LPP as a whole: case studies appear for instance in Beer & Jacob (1985), Spolsky (2004), and Grin & Vaillancourt (2015). Among Quebec's policies that have had an impact in the field are those aimed at making French an attractive language among the workforce (informing economic approaches to LPP, see e.g. Grin 1996; 2006, Gazzola & Wickström 2016), those concerned with regulating the linguistic landscape, i.e. the visual side of language in public space (Landry & Bourhis 1997, Backhaus 2009, Dagenais et al 2009), language commodification and postnational approaches to LPP (Heller 2010, Heller et al 2015), and the interplay between language, nation, and citizenship (Oakes & Warren 2007, Heller 2011, May 2012), to name but a few.

It should also be noted that the policy approaches in Quebec have had an impact not only on Canada itself, shaping in many ways the interaction between the federal government and the provinces and territories, but also on other polities seeking to implement their own language policy. It is certainly no accident, for instance, that the wording of parts of the language legislation in Wales parallels that of Quebec's Charter of the French language, adapted to the local specificities of Welsh and English in the country (see section 6.2 for a discussion). Similarly, language legislators in Catalonia closely scrutinised the efforts undertaken in Quebec (Reniu i Tresserras 2002), as did those in the Baltic states (Druviete 2002, Rannut 2002) and Puerto Rico (Muñiz-Argüelles 2002; see Dumas 2002 for an overview of the global impact of Quebec's LPP).

Quebec, therefore, has had an impact on both LPP practice and LPP research. As a result, the province and its legal framework provides an interesting benchmark against which to compare other polities' policy approaches. An early study to do so is Thomas (1977), in which language movements (at that time in their formative stages) and nationalisms in Wales, Ireland, and Quebec are compared. Others, such as Backhaus (2009), have focussed on the legislation of the linguistic landscape (i.e., visible language in public space), and compared, in Backhaus' case, Quebec with Tōkyō. In the present study, the policies in Quebec are compared with those found in Wales and in Singapore. The reasons for this choice of polities, explained in more detail in section 6.1, are found in the presence, in all three, of a population of native speakers of English of varying proportions, in the presence of languages that government policy-makers deem worthy of promotion, and, more generally, in the existence of a sophisticated LPP framework in all three polities, operating, of course, at different levels within each society, and enforced and policed with varying degrees of force. All three policy frameworks are couched within larger national discourses, whose obvious differences gloss over underlying similarities. These will, in due time, be made explicit in chapter 7.

1.2 French and English in Quebec

Before embarking on the present study, it is useful to provide some background information on the varieties of French and English spoken in the province of Quebec. Both colonial languages have been continually present in the area of present-day Quebec since the sixteenth century. The distance between the settlements in the new world and the metropolitan centres in Europe being such that contact was limited by the long transatlantic voyage, independent linguistic developments took place in North America that did not happen in Europe; likewise, some changes in European French and 'European' (British) English did not cross the ocean. In what follows, a brief description of the varieties of French and English in the province is given.

1.2.1 Quebec French

There is no shortage of research into the variety of French known as *(français) québécois*. Many focus on the lexicon (Dulong 1989, Poirier 1998), the grammar (Léard 1995), and the phonology (Walker 1984, Dumas 1987, Ostiguy & Tousignant 2008), others take a more historical linguistic approach (Charbonneau & Guillemette 1994, Gendron 2007). The French presence in North America can be traced back to the mid-sixteenth century, with more permanent settlements stabilising in the early seventeenth century (see section 2.1 for a detailed historical background). The language brought across the Atlantic by these settlers was the vernacular spoken by former residents of a rather restricted set of provinces in metropolitan France. The vast majority hailed from west of Paris and north of Bordeaux; the provinces of the South, i.e. those of the *langue d'oc*, played a negligible part in the settlement history. Charbonneau & Guillemette (1994) provide a breakdown of the numbers from their study, given in Table 1.1, which shows that over a third of settlers came from Normandie and Île-de-France combined, another fifth comes from the Aunis–Poitou area (around La Rochelle and Poitiers); on the other hand, *langue d'oc* provinces account for just 4.8%. An overview of the provinces of origin is given in Figure 1.1.

The data behind these numbers come from marriage records, which are the prime source of such information in the Quebec context. Charbonneau & Guillemette (1994) go to great lengths to explain the care that should be taken when analysing such historical data. For one, manuscript records are hard to read. Secondly, the declaration of origin, normally made by the settlers themselves, may not be entirely accurate, and sometimes differs in terms of precision: sometimes the city is mentioned, sometimes only the province, a bishopric, a parish, or just a geographical term such as an island. Actually pinpointing these toponyms to a precise cartographic location is also not as straightforward as it may seem. Provinces under the *Ancien Régime* did not necessarily have clearly-defined boundaries, at least not from an administrative point of view (Charbonneau & Guillemette 1994: 163).

Two competing views on the emergence of the rather uniform Colloquial Quebec French (CQF) exist, depending on whether dialect levelling (*le choc des patois*) happened in France or in New France. The latter of these views is taken by Barbaud (1984; 1996), who argues that immigrants spoke, before their arrival in New France, their provincial *patois* in France. Except for those from the Île-de-France region, therefore, the majority of settlers were non-francophone. The prime linguistic integrating factor is considered to include the 900 *filles du roy*, young women educated (typically in Paris itself) in the French language of the court, specially selected for the task of relocating to New France between 1665 and 1673 to help the primarily male settlers populate the colony. Barbaud hypothesises that they eventually became the mothers of

Table 1.1: Province of origin of early French settlers (Charbonneau & Guillemette 1994: 169).

Province	Percent
Normandie	19.6
Île-de-France	17.8
Aunis	11.9
Poitou	10.5
Perche	5.3
Saintonge	5.1
Orléanais, Touraine	3.6
Anjou, Saumurois	3.4
Champagne, Lorraine, Franche-Comté	2.9
Bretagne	2.8
Maine	2.8
Picardie, Artois, Flandre	2.4
Angoumois	2.4
Brie, Beauce	2.3
Guyenne, Périgord	1.9
Bourgogne, Lyonnais	1.3
Berry, Nivernais, Bourbonnais	1.1
Marche, Limousin, Auvergne	1.1
Provinces in the Midi	1.8
Absolute numbers	3 384

an entire generation, whose linguistic unification they shaped through their common language background, rather than through any other top-down language policy.

By contrast, Wittmann (1995; 1998) argues for a koinéisation in France, prior to emigration. His comparative structural analysis of several colonial and metropolitan varieties of French reveals a three-fold classification of varieties of seventeenth-century French: a first group comprises 'northern' French varieties, including rural Parisian and the language of the court. A second type is the urban koiné that emerged in Paris and that would form the basis for subsequent linguistic integration in other metropolitan French cities. A final group comprises creole varieties. Wittman's contention is that would-be colonisers would usually spend a considerable amount of time in urban settings prior to emigration, thereby acquiring the koiné that would act as a supra-regional levelled variety. If all or the majority of settlers indeed came from such urban agglomerations, the linguistic distance between settler groups would have been much reduced before the crossing of the Atlantic. Therefore, colloquial speech in New France would have been much more homogeneous than that of metropolitan France, where much diversity (to the point of mutual unintelligibility) prevailed until well after the Revolution.

ARTOIS

FLANDRE

PICARDIE

ILE-DE-FRANCE

NORMANDIE

PARIS

LORRAINE

BRIE

PERCHE

BRETAGNE

MAINE

BEAUCE

CHAMPAGNE

ALSACE

ORLEANAIS

ANJOU

TOURAINE

SAUMUROIS

BERRY

NIVERNAIS

FRANCHE-COMTE

BOURGOGNE

POITOU

BOURBONNAIS

AUNIS

ANGOUMOIS

MARCHE

LYONNAIS

SAVOIE

SAINTONGE

LIMOUSIN

AUVERGNE

PERIGORD

DAUPHINE

GUYENNE

COMTAT
VENAISSIN

COMTE
DE NICE

PROVENCE

GASCOGNE

LANGUEDOC

BEARN

COMTE
DE FOIX

ROUSSILLON

-------- Limites approximatives
entre langue d'oc
et langue d'oïl

Figure 1.1: Historic French provinces (Charbonneau & Guillemette 1994: 164).

The evolution of spoken CQF since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took a path different from the one the French language took in Europe, partly because of the geographical distance and partly because of the political isolation after the British conquest of 1760. Present-day CQF is markedly different from European French. It differs, obviously, at the lexical level, with many English loans (*wiper*, *fun*, *cute*, *checker* 'to verify', *au meilleur de ma connaissance* 'to the best of my knowledge'), archaisms (*barrer (une porte)* 'to lock (a door)', *souliers* 'generic footwear', *noirceur* 'darkness', *maganer* 'to damage'), and a distinct repertoire of swearwords – unknown elsewhere – directly derived from Catholic liturgical items (*crisse* 'Christ', *câlisse* 'chalice', *tabarnak* (from *tabernacle* 'church tabernacle')). The phonology shows a consonant system that is identical to that of European French, but with the additional rule that the dental plosives /t/ and /d/, when before the high front vowels and semi-vowels /i/, /y/, /j/, and /ɥ/,

affricate to become /t͡s/ and /d͡z/ respectively; in addition, certain final consonant clusters may be reduced. Vowel phonemes are more numerous in CQF, with the maintenance of distinctions between pairs of vowels that have been lost in Europe: this includes the pairs /a/ and /ɑː/ (*patte* vs *pâte*), /ɛ/ and /ɛː/ (*mettre* vs *maître*), /ø/ and /ə/ (*jeu* vs *je*), and /ɛ̃/ and /œ̃/ (*brin* vs *brun*). In the basilect, /œ̃/ is rhotacised to [œ̃˞], and /ɛː/, /o/, and /ø/ may nasalise before nasal consonants. /ɑ̃/ may be pronounced as [æ̃] in open syllables and as [ã͡ṹ] in checked syllables. In final open syllables, /a/ is, in basilectal speech, rounded to [ɔ]. In words with the spelling ⟨oi⟩, remnants of the older pronunciation may occur and be realised as [wɔ], [wɛ], or even [ɛ].

At the grammatical level, gender assignment may differ from European French in the case of English loans (cf. QF *la job* vs EF *le job*). There is a particle *tu* whose addition to a statement transforms it into a polar interrogative (*C'est lourd.* 'It is heavy.' → *C'est-tu lourd?* 'Is it heavy?'). The future simple is typically absent, with the construction ALLER+INF being used instead. Relative clauses may be marked by an invariable relative pronoun *que* or instead by the use of an interrogative pronoun. At the pragmatic level, *tu*-usage (instead of the formal *vous)* is generally more widespread in Quebec than in Europe (Lambert 1967, Deshaies 1991, Peeters & Ramière 2009). Among the reasons offered for this difference are the influence of English (which does not have a T/V distinction) and the purportedly more egalitarian and less socially stratified nature of Quebec society.

In addition to the colloquial form of French, it can be argued that there is, presently, a Standard Quebec French (SQF) that is virtually identical to the standard varieties of French in other francophone countries; this is the variety that is taught in schools and generally used in formal settings. At the grammatical level, SQF is indistinguishable from Standard French French or Standard Swiss French, for instance. Obviously, there are lexical differences, many of them the result of corpus planning efforts stemming from a lower tolerance threshold for English-derived loanwords. Thus, among the words proposed by the Office québécois de la langue française are many from the field of computing and online activities: *courriel* 'e-mail', *pourriel* 'spam e-mail', *hameçonnage* 'phishing', *baladodiffusion* 'podcasting', *espiogiciel* 'spyware', or *clavardage* 'chat'. While some, like *courriel*, have had an impact beyond Quebec, crossing the Atlantic into European French, others are barely used even in Quebec (such as *pollupostage* 'spamming'). The most distinguishing features, of course, occur at the phonetic level, with a distinctive accent that sets SQF apart from, say, Standard French French. Among them are the preservation of the distinctions between /a/ and /ɑ/ (*patte* vs *pâte*), /ɛ/ and /ɛː/ (*mettre* vs *maître*), and /ɛ̃/ and /œ̃/ (*brin* vs *brun*) also found in CQF. Rhotacisation, however, is absent in the standard. The tendency, also described above for CQF, for dental stops /t/ and /d/, when followed by the high front vowels (or semi-vowels) /i/, /y/, /j/, and /ɥ/, to affricate towards /t͡s/ and /d͡z/, may appear in near-acrolectal speech too.

1.2.2 Quebec English

The status and form of the English language as used in Quebec will be described in more detail in section 2.3.3. At this stage, it is worth pointing out that English has a long history in the province, having been spoken by colonists settling in and transiting through Quebec roughly at the same time as or very slightly after the establishment of the first French settlements. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the British colonial presence in North America became increasingly important, soon outnumbering that of New France at the continental level. After the Conquest of 1760, the British secured a long-lasting presence throughout what is now Quebec, even if the actual numbers of Anglophones never overtook that of the Francophones. The balance shifted in some areas however, particularly with the arrival of United Empire loyalists, political refugees from the newly independent American colonies who wished to remain under British rule. Many relocated to western Quebec and eastern Ontario. Subsequent waves of immigration, both from the USA and from the British Isles, further bolstered the anglophone population in Canada, including, as a minority language, in Quebec (mostly in the cities of Montreal and Québec).[2]

The kind of English spoken in Quebec today is a type of Canadian English very close indeed to general varieties of English in the country. Some scholars (Fee 2008, Boberg 2012) postulate the existence of a variety 'Quebec English', whereas others (Poplack 2008, Poplack et al 2006) refute its independent status. Larger works on world Englishes typically do not consider it distinctive enough to be listed, unlike, for instance, Newfoundland English (see Wells 1982, Kortmann & Schneider 2004, which have Canadian English and Newfoundland English; Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013 only has Newfoundland English). The minority status of English in the province has resulted in a number of features influenced by the presence of French (see section 2.3.3 for a more detailed description): most are at the lexical level (such as *cégep* [se(ɪ)ʒɛp] 'senior high school'), other are phonological (lack of 'Canadian Raising'), other grammatical (the verb *to pass* meaning 'to pop/pass by'). It should be noted that Quebec English is not uniform, with regional varieties (Boberg & Hotton 2015) as well as ethnic and social varieties (Boberg 2004a; 2014) in existence. Neither are most of the linguistic features found in Quebec unique to the province (Halford 2003, Boberg 2004b; 2008, Labov et al 2006, Chambers 2006, Dollinger & Clarke 2012a). Nonetheless, a certain Quebec flavour, primarily in the use of loanwords, can be detected even in the standard English used in newspapers in the province, such as in the following excerpt:

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2. I follow herein the convention of the Canadian federal government of using ⟨Quebec⟩ (without the acute accent) for the name of the province and ⟨Québec⟩ (with the accent) for the city and capital of the province. Province names have official federal versions in both French and English, whereas within Quebec, the names of municipalities are standardised in French only. However, as ⟨Montreal⟩ is unambiguous, I will spell it here in its traditional (though non-official) English form.

> If transit agencies had followed the law, most métro and train stations would be accessible by now, say the lawyers representing people who rely on wheelchairs to get around.
>
> 'The Quebec charter (of Human Rights and Freedoms) went into effect in 1975, so all the stations built after that point should be accessible to everyone', said Gilles Gareau, the lawyer representing the Regroupement des activistes pour l'inclusion au Québec (RAPLIQ). The group was in Quebec Superior Court Wednesday and Thursday requesting permission to launch a class-action suit against the Société de transport de Montréal, the Agence métropolitaine de transport and the city of Montreal.
>
> ('Inaccessible métro stations violate charter of rights, hearing told', *Montreal Gazette*, 2017-04-20 (Magder 2017))

Note the loanword *métro*, spelled with the otherwise non-English ⟨é⟩, as well as the French names of the advocacy group and the transit agencies. These are official names that only exist in French, so any translation would be non-authoritative. By contrast, the charter is given its English title: legislation passed by the provincial National Assembly always comes in two equally authoritative versions in French and English, making the newspaper's choice fully acceptable.

The long-standing presence of Anglophones in the province has given rise to a separate ethnolinguistic group, typically called 'Anglophones' or 'Anglo-Quebecers'. Originally, certainly in Montreal, this group was in a position of social advantage *vis-à-vis* the Francophones, with the Anglophones over-represented on the upper echelons of the social ladder. Nowadays, in part due to a series of legal provisions enacted in the wake of the Quiet Revolution of the 1970s (see section 2.3 for more detail), the playing field has been levelled somewhat. Similarly, particularly in the urban context of Montreal, the boundaries between ethnolinguistic groups have blurred, and the equation of English as a mother tongue with membership of the Anglophone 'community' is no longer as straightforward as it may have been. The French language is, nowadays, spoken (in various shapes) by most of the 'Anglophone' youth, and, likewise, the English language is all but uncommon among Francophones. The vitality of the traditional Anglophone community has suffered some loss in the wake of the language legislation introduced in 1977, with many leaving the province for nearby Ontario and elsewhere in English Canada (Levine 1990): the proportion of Quebecers with English as their mother tongue dropped from 13.8% in 1951 to 7.6% in 2011. By contrast, the decline of English as a 'home language' has been less drastic, going from 14.5% in 1971 to 11% in 2011, similarly to its use as the 'first official language spoken' (16.5% in 1971 to 13.5% in 2011). This can be explained by the contribution to the English-using population on the part of immigrants speakers of third languages (so-called 'Allophones'): while the legislation introduced in 1977 made sure many would converge towards French, not all did – in Montreal, traditionally the destination of much of Quebec's international immigration, almost a quarter of the population had English as their sole first official language in 2011.

1.3 Aims, methods, and structure of the study

This present study aims to offer an insight into the language policies in place in Quebec, by situating them within their larger Canadian, North American, and global context. To that effect, it will, in chapter 6, be compared to two other polities in which the English language has co-existed with other languages for many years. The language policies in place in Wales have the revitalisation of the minority language Welsh as their primary objective, resulting in a situation that has, on occasions, been treated as not being unlike that of French in Quebec. The policies in place in Singapore, on the other hand, have seen much more positive action undertaken to strengthen the use of English, with a decline in linguistic diversity, and even in the vitality of the other official languages, accepted as a collateral effect of shifting towards a language seen as offering more socio-economic opportunities both locally and globally.

In describing the language political situation of Quebec, this study is structured as follows. Chapter 2 begins with the historical background needed to understand the social, demographic, ethnic, and sociolinguistic context in which language use takes place and language policies are developed. A first overview of the major language policy frameworks at the federal and provincial levels is given, with particular emphasis on the situation in Quebec. Chapter 3 gives the theoretical background against which the analysis will take place. General approaches to language policy are presented, as are theories on the global presence of English, with a focus on its use in multilingual settings. In chapter 4, the methodology used for the analysis of language use and policy in Quebec is presented. The data come from four primary sources: a questionnaire survey, a linguistic landscape documentation, ethnographic fieldwork, and psycholinguistic experiments, all of which are then analysed in chapter 5. Chapter 6 undertakes a comparative analysis of the policies operational in Quebec, Wales, and Singapore, drawing on recent theory from the sociolinguistics of globalisation in order to find commonalities, reveal differences, and offer a contribution to the field of comparative language policy in more general. The concluding chapter 7 draws together the results from the preceding chapters and attempts to reevaluate the field of language planning and policy (LPP) in the context of globalisation. It ends with a number of proposals for new ways of analysing LPP.

2 French and English in Canada and Quebec: historical background and language political context

THE co-existence, in what is now Canada, of the two languages French and English, goes back to the earliest times of European contact. The competing colonial interests in North America of the two European powers eventually resulted in a significant number of settlers from both language groups, supplemented, of course, with speakers of other languages. However, the long period of French rule, followed by a longer period of British rule, ensured that speakers of other languages converged to either one of these two main languages. The British North America Act 1867 made both languages official, thereby reinforcing this trend and preparing the road for future bilingual policies.

Nowadays, Canada has two official languages. This official bilingualism, however, is constrained by the country's federal structure: individual provinces and territories may have their own language policies, whereas at the federal level, bilingualism may be implemented slightly differently across the country. The two levels of governance – federal and provincial – are crucial to the understanding of Canadian language policy, particularly so with respect to Quebec, the only province where French is the majority language.

2.1 Historical context

Before European contact, and to a large extent still today, the Canadian part of the North American continent was peopled by a diverse range of ethnic and linguistic groups. Some of the language families found in this vast area are (from east to west) Algonquian, Iroquoian, Eskimo-Aleut, Siouan, Na-Dené, Salishan, and Wakashan (see Lewis et al 2016 for an overview of the languages on the North American continent). The northern half of the country has always been sparsely populated, with speakers of Eskimo-Aleut settling primarily in coastal communities. The western seaboard of British Columbia, blessed with a more temperate climate, exhibits higher linguistic diversity; ample food supply, in the form of 'a never-ending supply of fish',

Figure 2.1: A map of Canada showing Quebec.

primarily salmon (Bothwell 2007: 7), enabled the emergence of wealthy cultures with distinct internal social stratification.

Pre-Columbian European contact took place when Norse expeditions to the eastern Canadian shore began under the leadership of Leif Eriksson. These travels, via Iceland, Greenland, and Baffin Island (the presumed location of the Norse *Helluland*), resulted in the founding, around the year 1000, of a settlement in L'Anse aux Meadows, on the island of Newfoundland (now a listed National Historic Site of Canada in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador). This settlement, which Ingstad & Stine Ingstad (2000) consider to be the historical Vínland of old Icelandic sagas, did not last long: contact with the local indigenous population, called *Skrælings* by the Norse and presumed to be Dorset Eskimos (the only Inuits to have lived south of the treeline, see Bothwell 2007: 9), was rough enough to persuade the Vikings to leave for good again after some years. The Norse may have gone back to harvest timber from a place called 'Markland' in the sagas, with Icelandic records mentioning, as late as 1347, a ship returning from this place that has been speculated to have been located on the Labrador coast (Seaver 1996).

The received wisdom is that Canada was left untouched by Europeans for two centuries thereafter, until Columbus' 1492 crossing of the Atlantic. There is some evidence, however, that Portuguese and Basque fishing expeditions kept the transatlantic route open, with some Basque records 'point[ing] towards their having made contact with Newfoundland in the 1370s' (Forbes 1993: 20). In any case, Columbus' arrival in the Caribbean and, later, to South and Central America, did not impact the much more northerly regions that would later become Canada.

It was later, in 1497 and 1498 that John Cabot, sailing under British commission, began exploring the region around Newfoundland, but without making further inroads into the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. The Portuguese also laid claim to an area around Newfoundland and Nova Scotia in the early sixteenth century, with the explorer João Fernandes Lavrador giving his name to *Labrador* (Rorabaugh et al 2004). The few Portuguese settlements established there, however, did not last long. It was the French colonial expansion, beginning with Jacques Cartier's landing in 1534, that was to have a lasting impact on the continent. From the first cross planted on the Gaspé peninsula to the later settlements along the Saint Lawrence River, Cartier's ships sailed up the river all the way to the rapids around present-day Montreal and its 'Mont Royal'.

French explorers and adventurers created alliances with aboriginal peoples, using their local expertise in geography, and establishing trading links (especially for fur) along a complex network that would be crucial for the eventual colonisation of the entire land. Unlike the Spanish expeditions to South America, contact was not entirely hostile and bent on the stealing of natural resources (the area had little gold, and fur did not have the same appeal in Europe; rich fishing grounds were the main attraction), with Cartier's landing party even being helped over the winter of 1535–1536 by the Iroquois of Hochelaga (Montreal), whom Bothwell (2007: 18) considers 'hosts' reasonably well-disposed towards their 'guests'. Later, more permanent settlements were established by Samuel de Champlain in Port-Royal in 1605 (in the colony of Acadia, now Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia) and the city of Québec in 1608. Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve founded Montreal in 1642. These areas, collectively claimed for the French crown and named New France, extended, by the early eighteenth century, from Acadia over the Great Lakes and the prairies of Saskatchewan to Louisiana and the Mississippi Delta in a giant arc, largely leaving the Atlantic seaboard to British colonial interests, where major settlement took place (Jamestown in 1607, Boston 1620).

The British presence in Canada coincides to a great extent with French presence, though their numbers were, initially, lower. British expeditions in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century brought explorers such as Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson in search of the Northwest Passage, the famed sea route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, long supposed to exist but only recently (since 2009) having become more navigable, expected at the time to

reduce the long journey to Cathay (China, 契丹). While the Passage itself remained elusive, the expeditions did provide the British a foothold in the heart of the continent, enabling them to establish trading ports and links with the aboriginal fur trade networks. The chartering of the Hudson Bay Company in 1670 increased British activity on the shores of the Hudson Bay (see Figure 2.1), and resulted in more trading posts and settlements around river mouths as well as further upstream. Later in the eighteenth century, the settlements in the future thirteen colonies began to expand, largely driven by the settlers' search for additional resources. Furthermore, a larger number of new arrivals meant that the British soon overtook the French, as the following passage from Boberg (2010: 57) explains:

> French emigration to North America amounted to no more than 10 000–15 000 people over the 150-year history of New France; natural increase was the main factor in raising the colony's population to around 70 000 by 1760 (Charbonneau et al 2000: 104, 106). By contrast, Britain's American colonies received over 300 000 immigrants over the same period, helping to raise their population to well over a million by 1760 (Gemery 2000: 171).[1]

The consequence of this rise in the British presence in North America was an 'inevitable clash of French and British colonial aims' (Boberg 2010: 58), resulting in a number of skirmishes eventually culminating in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). This war, rather a series of battles fought globally between the major powers at the time (foremost Britain and France, but also Prussia, Austria, Spain, Sweden, Portugal, Russia, the Mughal Empire and a number of German states, but also including several aboriginal nations in Canada and the American colonies), ended with complete British control over the entirety of eastern North America. It actually began with the British assault on Acadia in 1755, followed by the expulsion of the Acadians, an event remembered as *Le grand dérangement* in which 11 500 of the region's 14 000 Acadians were deported until the end of the war, to locations ranging from Quebec to Louisiana. French retaliation saw the capture of British forts south of the Great Lakes, but 1759 brought a series of British victories, culminating in the battle on the Plains of Abraham outside Québec, the capital city of New France, leading to its capture after a siege lasting three months. French counteroffensives in 1760 were defeated, with final surrender at Montreal in September 1760. With the exception of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon (which would change hands repeatedly for the following one hundred years), France had lost control of its erstwhile possessions in North America with the Treaty of Paris of 1763. This loss of control effectively cut off Francophones in North

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1. One can cite, among the reasons why settlers from the British Isles were more numerous than those from France, the fact that the British population grew more rapidly in the wake of the Industrial Revolution than the one in France: in 1701, Britain had a population of around 6.5 million, a third of that of France. By 1861, both were of roughly the same population size, at around 23 million (Wrigley et al 1997). Bearing in mind the surface area of the British Isles being less than half that of France, the resulting increase in population density (reaching, in Britain, 73 persons per square kilometre in 1861, almost double that of France), bringing with it higher levels of competition for resources of all kinds, might well have played a role in encouraging settlers to seek their fortune elsewhere.

America from the 'mother country' in Europe, with repercussions in linguistic terms (varieties of French on the two sides of the Atlantic diverging through decreased contact) and in ethnic population terms (with dramatically reduced immigration from France, internal procreation became the only source of population increase).

A thorough account of English-speaking migration to Canada is given in Boberg (2010: 58ff). Apart from the English mission led by (the Venetian) John Cabot in 1497, Humphrey Gilbert was chartered in 1583 to establish an English colony on St. John's, Newfoundland. Actual settlement was seen as less important than fishing monopolies, so that only some small settlements were allowed after 1610, and they were often subject to harassment from British fishermen as well as French colonists. Nonetheless, when the British took control in 1763, pockets of English-speaking settlers (primarily from the West Country and Ireland) had already 'existed tenuously for 150 years' (Boberg 2010: 59). After the Acadian deportation, American colonists were invited to settle Nova Scotia; many came from New England, and more would come after the revolutionary war. Loyalists started moving into Canada from 1775, and after the evacuations of Boston (1776) and of Philadelphia (1778) more came, often by ship via New York City, which was evacuated in 1783. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were the destinations of choice: 35 000 settlers arrived (Boberg 2010: 62). Other Loyalists arrived over land, primarily to what is now Quebec and Ontario: around 7 000–8 000 were eventually moved upstream into Ontario (Boberg 2010: 63). Care was taken not to upset the French–English linguistic balance too much in Quebec with the arrival of so many new anglophone settlers. As a result, only around 2 000 Loyalists remained in the western part of Quebec, and just 300 in Montreal. Post-Loyalist emigration from America occurred in the Eastern Townships of Quebec around 1791: 'by 1817, approximately 20 000 people had settled [there], virtually all from northern New England' (Boberg 2010: 64).

Direct immigration from Britain had already begun before the war. Settlers came primarily from Scotland, whence 18 000–21 000 arrived between 1791 and 1811. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, English and Irish settlers arrived in their tens of thousands, resulting in a quadrupling of Newfoundland's population within thirty years (Boberg 2010: 65). The population was roughly half English and half Irish by 1857, though on St. John's, about four times as many immigrants were Irish-born than English-born. It bears pointing out, as does Boberg (2010: 66), that many of the Irish (and, indeed, Scottish) settlers were in fact speakers of Gaelic rather than anglophone – although knowledge of English, if not full bilingualism, may have been more common. In the nineteenth century, poverty and economic disenchantment drew more Europeans to emigrate to the Americas, such as Scottish peasants suffering from the Highland Clearances or farm labourers made redundant in the wake of large-scale industrialisation. Boberg (2010: 68–69) also mentions that in the wake of the defeat

of Napoleon and in view of Britain's global Empire, it needed people to populate its dominions (Australia, New Zealand, and British North America), administer them, and defend them. Financial incentives were offered to thousands of migrants who could not afford passage.

Not all migrants from Britain went to Canada, and not all who arrived in Canada stayed there. The difficulty in assessing the statistics of migration for that period (which includes the massive waves of emigration resulting from the Irish potato famine 1845–1849) is described at length in Boberg (2010: 70–76). What is certain is that most arrivals from Britain arrived at the port of Québec, and, after the 1850s, Montreal. Even if a large proportion of these arrivals were transitory migrants, small numbers remained in the area, and Montreal, especially, soon took on a decidedly multiethnic and multicultural face. There were, obviously, the Francophones, descendants of the early New France colonists (though by 1851 they were a minority of 45% (Levine 1990: 8)), as were Anglophones, who had had a presence at least since the Conquest, and who, by then, could be classified into a wealthy mercantile class, typically Scottish, and a mostly Irish working class (Levine 1990: 8; Boberg 2010: 80–81). The new wave of immigration brought more Irish, Scottish, and English people, but also a large number of Germans and Dutch, and, later in the early twentieth century, Jews and Italians, the latter settling in distinct ethnic neighbourhoods of Montreal.

A glimpse into the linguistic realities of late eighteenth-century Quebec can be caught, for instance, in a collection of *Montreal Gazette* advertisements seeking help in retrieving fugitive slaves, published in Extian-Babiuk (2006) (see also Mackey 2010a). Consider the excerpt below, taken from an advert posted on 21 July 1791 by one J. Joseph of Berthier (present-day Berthierville, on the north shore of the Saint Lawrence River, halfway between Montreal and Trois-Rivières):

> RUN AWAY From the subscriber in the Night of the 13th instant: A NEGRO WENCH, named Cloe, about thirty years old, pretty stout made, but not tall; *speaks English and French*, the latter not fluently. [...] She is supposed to have gone off in a canoe with a man of low stature and dark complexion, who *speaks English, Dutch, and French.*
> (Mackey 2010a: 334, emphasis mine)

Many of the adverts listed in Extian-Babiuk (2006) and Mackey (2010a) mention the languages used by the slaves, many of whom used several languages (viz. 'speaks English and French fluently' (Extian-Babiuk 2006: 39), 'parle Anglois et François' (Mackey 2010a: 335), 'speaks good English and some broken French and Micmac' (Mackey 2010a: 337), or, in the 'for sale' section, 'She can adapt herself equally to an English, French or German family, she speaks all three languages' (Kesterton 1967: 7)). The highlighting of language proficiency serves primarily as part of the general description of the fugitive. Knowledge of English or French must have been, at least to a certain extent, a function of the 'master' household's language(s).

Nevertheless, the evident multilingualism present in at least some of these peripheral (i.e. powerless) members of early British North American society is an indication of the wider contact pattern between languages: slaves may have changed hands from anglophone to francophone households, suggesting proximity and commercial exchange between the two communities. Bilingualism in the slave population may also have come as an advantage to their 'owners', who could thus rely on the language skills of their workforce. It is also worth noting that this disenfranchised part of the population was absorbed (though not fully assimilated) into the general Canadian population after the Slavery Abolition Act 1833 (Drescher 2008). Their language repertoires, therefore, are of relevance to the history of language contact in Quebec and Canada.

The various waves of immigration moving into British North America also offer an insight into the languages used by early Canadians. While immigration from France was reduced to a trickle after the Conquest, large-scale efforts to populate the rather empty Prairies were undertaken after 1867. These efforts also took the form of organised advertisement campaigns in locations of interest, with immigrants coming 'preferably from Great Britain, the United States, and northern Europe, in that order' (Knowles 2007). Posters were printed for dissemination there, often in the language of the target population. Figure 2.2 shows such an advert in Swedish, promising '160 acres [i.e. 65 ha] of free land for every farmer' out of the 200 million available in Western Canada.

To sum up the political situation, the Conquest of 1760 and the Treaty of Paris of 1763 handed over New France to Britain, and 'Quebec' was organised as a British province (also comprising present-day eastern and southern Ontario) in the same year. In 1774, the Quebec Act granted French civil law, as well as religious and linguistic rights (detailed below) to the inhabitants of Quebec. The term 'British North America' was used after 1783 to refer to territories under

Figure 2.2: Poster advertising emigration to Canada in Swedish (from Gagnon 2016). The orthography used places the poster before the spelling reform of 1906.

British control north of the newly independent United States of America. The Constitutional Act 1791 divided Quebec into two provinces, Upper Canada (roughly equivalent to present-day southern Ontario, extending as far north to the watershed of the Hudson Bay) and Lower Canada (now southern Quebec and Labrador), named for their respective locations on the Saint Lawrence River. Unification of the two provinces as the 'United Province of Canada' took place in 1841, but 'Confederation', a process started with an increase in local autonomy in the British North American provinces in the 1840s, eventually culminated in the British North America Act 1867. The BNA Act brought together the provinces of Canada (i.e., Ontario and Quebec), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into a single political entity, a 'dominion', named Canada. Rupert's Land, owned by the Hudson Bay Company and including the entire continent west and north of the Province of Canada (excluding British Columbia), was brought into the Confederation in 1870 as the Northwest Territories and Manitoba. A year later, British Columbia joined, extending the country's reach from one ocean to the other.[2] The colony of Prince Edward Island joined in 1873. Yukon was carved out from the Northwest Territories to become its own territory in 1898, as were Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905 (as provinces rather than territories). Newfoundland and Labrador, which had remained a colony until it became a dominion in its own right in 1907, finally joined in 1949. Lastly, the territory of Nunavut was separated from the Northwest Territories in 1999, resulting in the largest area (1.8 million square kilometres) and the smallest population (31 906 in 2011) of any province or territory. Subsequent to Confederation, Canada remained a dominion under British rule, with gradually increasing autonomy being transferred to Ottawa (named the capital of the Province of Canada in 1857), such as with the Statute of Westminster 1931, which gave legislative independence to dominions of the Empire. However, only after 1982 was it possible for constitutional matters to be debated and decided solely by Canada, without each amendment to the constitution having to be made by the British parliament. The Canada Act 1982, passed by the parliament of the United Kingdom, sealed the 'patriation' of the constitution, i.e. its full transfer under Canadian responsibility. For all intents and purposes, full sovereignty had been achieved: even though the sovereign head of state, the Queen of Canada, is the same person as the sovereign head of another fifteen Commonwealth Realms, the Crown (represented in Canada by a federal Governor General and by provincial Lieutenant Governors) remains a distinct legal entity in each realm.

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2. Thence the national motto, *A Mari Usque Ad Mare* 'From sea to sea', approved in 1921 (Canadian Heritage 2016).

2.2 Canada: an officially bilingual country

Under French colonial rule, French was obviously the *de facto* official language in New France. The Conquest of 1760 led to the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which formalised the transfer of sovereignty from France to Britain. Its effects were felt in large parts of the world where the two colonial powers were fighting for supremacy, also, therefore, in North America. The previously French subjects became British subjects, with obvious repercussions on the legal framework that moved from French civil law to British common law and on the religious order, with Catholicism (severely opposed by the British) now no longer state religion. The religious issue, in fact, proved to be a major concern: with British rule also came British laws, among them the requirement (dating to 1559), for senior civil and public servant, to take an oath of allegiance rejecting the Catholic faith. This was unacceptable to a large majority of Catholic French Canadians. In the larger colonial context of the brewing displeasure in the nearby thirteen American colonies (soon to erupt in full-blown revolution), the British were anxious to secure the support of the Quebec population; the provisions of the Quebec Act 1774 sought to do so. This act, in addition to extending the Province of Quebec beyond the Great Lakes (to be bounded by the rivers Mississippi and Ohio, i.e. the old borders of New France without Louisiana), removed references to religion from the oath of allegiance, and declared that subjects in the province 'may have, hold, and enjoy, the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome' (i.e., Catholicism, Quebec Act 1774, s V); the Catholic Church was also allowed to collect tithes again. Further, it restored the use of French civil law for private law, although British common law was maintained for public law.

Language is not explicitly mentioned in the Quebec Act, perhaps because French was, at the time, the single language of the overwhelming majority of residents in the province. Similarly, French still held the status of a diplomatic language, and was also spoken (in addition to English) by colonial administrators. Nonetheless, a passage in the act can be seen as granting language rights (my emphasis):

> [A]ll His Majesty's Canadian Subjects within the Province of Quebec [...] may also hold and enjoy their Property and Possessions, *together with all Customs and Usages relative thereto, and all other their Civil Rights*, in as large, ample, and beneficial Manner, as if the said Proclamation, Commissions, Ordinances, and other Acts and Instruments had not been made, and as may consist with their Allegiance to His Majesty, and Subjection to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain[...]
> (Quebec Act 1774, s VIII)

The 'customs and usages' may be interpreted to include the French language as customarily and usually spoken in the conquered territory. Furthermore, the French civil laws reinstated with the act were, obviously, written in French, so that by recognising them as laws applicable

to the province, their French version would become official, giving French automatically *de facto* official status.

A century later, the British North America Act 1867 enacted a form of bilingualism at the federal level, without specifically mentioning 'official' languages. Its section 133 permitted the use of either English or French in the federal Parliament as well as in the Quebec Legislature; also, both languages could be used in federal and Quebec courts. Records kept and acts passed should be printed and published in both languages, with both versions having force of law.

Yet a century later, with patriation, the statuses of English and French as co-official languages of Canada were reaffirmed and strengthened in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (CCRF). This charter forms a part (Part I) of the Constitution Act, 1982 (itself a part (Schedule B) of the Canada Act 1982, a UK parliamentary act), which, together with the BNA Act 1867, forms the bulk of the Canadian constitution.[3] The wording in the charter is as follows:

> English and French are the official languages of Canada and have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and govern-ment of Canada.
> (Constitution Act, s 16(1))

This constitutionally enshrined bilingualism is applicable to 'all institutions of the Parlia-ment and government of Canada' (i.e., *federal* Parliament and government) in the entire coun-try. Further constitutional linguistic provisions in the CCRF include the bilingual status of the province of New Brunswick (see section 2.4 below), a list of language rights in dealing with institutions of the federal government and with the judiciary, and issues relating to minority language educational rights (i.e. for speakers of French or English in provinces where their language is a minority language).

2.2.1 Bilingualism at the federal level

The constitutional provisions for bilingualism are, in fact, manifestations of pre-existing le-gal principles outlined in the Official Languages Act 1969 [1985]. This act was passed on the basis of a series of recommendations made by a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Bicul-turalism established in 1963, primarily to address the under-representation of Francophones in the federal civil service. A final report in six volumes made recommendations in the field of official languages, education, the workplace, federal institutions, 'the cultural contribution

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3. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms has never been fully accepted by the Quebec provincial govern-ment, leading to the province's outright refusal to accept the Constitution Act, 1982. Being a federal constitutional document, however, it is nonetheless in force in the province (making accession to the constitution more sym-bolic/political than judicial), although none of the Quebec provincial governments since 1982 have accepted the Act. The relationship of Quebec towards the constitution is a matter of ongoing debate (see e.g. Bergeron 2014, Libman 2016).

of the other ethnic Groups', the federal capital, and voluntary associations. Among these recommendations were bilingual districts for regions of Canada where members of the minority community, either French or English, made up 10% or more of the local population, that Ottawa should become a bilingual city, and, crucially, that English and French should be declared official languages of Canada. The bilingual status of Ottawa is still a subject of discussion half a century later (Willing 2016, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages 2016), and has not, unlike many other provisions, found its way into the Official Languages Act. Its aims are set out in section 2:

> The purpose of this Act is to
>
> (a) ensure respect for English and French as the official languages of Canada and ensure equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all federal institutions, in particular with respect to their use in parliamentary proceedings, in legislative and other instruments, in the administration of justice, in communicating with or providing services to the public and in carrying out the work of federal institutions;
>
> (b) support the development of English and French linguistic minority communities and generally advance the equality of status and use of the English and French languages within Canadian society; and
>
> (c) set out the powers, duties and functions of federal institutions with respect to the official languages of Canada.
>
> (Official Languages Act 1985, s 2)

The equality of status of English and French is enshrined for Parliamentary debates and its reports (section 4(1)); simultaneous interpretation is mandated for debates (s 4(2)), as are translations into the other language of everything that is said in one language (s 4(3)). All federal legislative instruments have to be printed and published in both official languages (s 7).[4] Agreements between the federal government and provincial governments also need to be bilingual, with both versions being authoritative (s 10(2)). This latter point of equal authoritativeness is important and repeated in section 13 (my emphasis):

> Any journal, record, Act of Parliament, instrument, document, rule, order, regulation, treaty, convention, agreement, notice, advertisement or other matter referred to in this Part that is made, enacted, printed, published or tabled in both official languages shall be made, enacted, printed, published or tabled *simultaneously in both languages*, and both lan-

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4. Section 7(3) lists two exceptions to this rule. The legislatures of the three territories (Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut) are exempt from this requirement – the act, being at the federal level, does not apply to provinces, but does apply to the territories, because they derive their legislative authority directly from the federal government, thence the necessity to specifically exempt them from the requirement. The other exception are 'Indian band[s], band council[s] or other bod[ies] established to perform a governmental function in relation to an Indian band or other group of aboriginal people'. Aboriginal relations are also primarily handled at the federal level (e.g. through the Indian Act 1876). These two exceptions are also excluded from the definition of 'federal institutions' given in section 3(1).

> guage versions are *equally authoritative*
> (Official Languages Act 1985, s 13)

The act further regulates the official bilingualism in the judiciary, with federal courts oper-
ating in both languages (Part III), and sets rules for communicating and offering services to
the public (Part IV). These rules on bilingual services mention where such services should be
available: within the National Capital Region (i.e. Ottawa – the city is not officially bilingual,
but federal services are available in both languages), and elsewhere 'where there is significant
demand for communications [...] in that language' (s 22(b)).[5] It bears noting that these rules
apply to all federal institutions, a term that covers, besides parliamentary institutions, govern-
mental departments, federal courts, and any commission or body under the authority of the
Crown, also the so-called Crown corporations (*entreprises d'État*), such as Canada Post, the
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Royal Canadian Mint, and Via Rail Canada Ltd. All of
these companies, which were established by act of Parliament, are federal institutions, and, as
such, bound by the provisions of the Official Languages Act. The highly visible and powerful
office of the Prime Minister, being federal in nature, also works in both official languages.[6] The
act itself enjoys high degrees of approval throughout the country, although more so in Quebec
and Atlantic Canada than in western Canada and the Prairies (Office of the Commissioner of
Official Languages 2016).

A related policy that has gradually emerged since the mid-1960s is that of official multicul-
turalism, formulated under Pierre Elliott Trudeau's government in 1971, which culminated in
the passing of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988. It is of relevance here because of its
emphasis on language. The act marked a departure from a previous assimilatory policy that saw
heterogeneity as detrimental, to a policy of inclusion of all ethnocultural and linguistic groups
in the country, enabling all citizens to become a full part of Canada. This was a change already
enshrined constitutionally in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, where
section 27 states 'This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preserva-
tion and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.', making multiculturalism

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5. Parliament is currently considering changes to this wording to take into account the size of the speech com-
munity and its vitality (CBC News 2016c).

6. The following anecdote, reported in the media (Enos 2017, Leavitt 2017, Fragasso-Marquis 2017, Delattre 2017),
shows how seriously this bilingualism is entrenched in the Canadian psyche. When, in January 2017, Prime Minister
Justin Trudeau attended a 'town hall' meeting in Sherbrooke QC, home to a significant Anglophone minority, he
was asked a question in English by a grassroots leader concerned about the availability of mental health services
for the Anglophone community (i.e., services in the English language). The Prime Minister thanked her for using
'both official languages' in her question, before reasoning that 'on est au Québec, donc je vais répondre en français'
(we're in Quebec, so I'll answer in French). The ensuing response throughout English-speaking Canada was massive
and included over sixty complaints to the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages; a formal apology was
subsequently necessary, with commentators going as far as casting doubt on Trudeau's political ability *vis-à-vis*
Canada's language issues (Delattre 2017).

a cornerstone of federal legislation. Together with the Charter's section 15(1), which bans discrimination based on (*inter alia*) race, ethnicity, and religion (but, crucially, not language), these provisions set the ground for official multiculturalism, which was then legislated, in 1988, into the Canadian Multiculturalism Act.

Section 3 of the act spells out the 'multiculturalism policy of Canada', which consists of ten components: (s 3(1)(a)) the recognition and promotion of multiculturalism and 'the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage', (b) the recognition of multiculturalism as fundamental to the country's heritage and identity and as an 'invaluable resource', (c) full and equal participation in society of everyone, regardless of origin, (d) the recognition of cultural communities, (e) equality under the law, (f) respect by the institutions of Canada towards its multicultural character, (g) 'promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins', (h) foster recognition and appreciation of diverse cultures, (i) 'preserve and enhance' languages other than French and English, while at the same time promoting the use of the official languages, (j) 'advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada'. Among other duties, federal institutions shall 'make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins' (s 3(2)(a)); a further mandate specifies that the ministry may 'facilitate the acquisition, retention and use of all languages that contribute to the multicultural heritage of Canada' (s 5(1)(f)).

Multiculturalism, therefore, is defined as being an essential ingredient of Canadian identity, and that this diversity of cultures is beneficial to the country's development. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act goes beyond these general observations and tasks federal institutions with the promotion of multiculturalism, the promotion of cross-cultural and cross-ethnic understanding, the support of cultural and linguistic heritage, and the support of minority communities. The high level of commitment to this policy is evidenced by the creation, in 1991, of a Ministry of Multiculturalism and Citizenship (later superseded by the Ministry of Canadian Heritage). As far as language is concerned, the official languages are promoted, and special emphasis is put on the teaching of the official languages to speakers of other languages. However, in contrast to other language policies that simply state that non-official languages are not prohibited or may receive support at the government's discretion (see e.g. Constitution of Singapore s 153A(2), Constitution of Switzerland s 18, Constitution of Malaysia s 152(b)), the Canadian Multiculturalism Act specifically encourages the support of cultural and linguistic heritage, with the necessary funding being made available by the government.

The provinces have enacted respective multicultural legislation, too. In the case of Quebec, the policy is designated *interculturalism* instead, and the focus is on

> the acceptance of, and communication and interaction between, culturally diverse groups (cultural communities) without, however, implying any intrinsic equality among them. Diversity is tolerated and encouraged, but only within a framework that establishes the unquestioned supremacy of French in the language and culture of Quebec.
> (Dewing 2009: 15)

Thus the primacy of French is of paramount importance in the context of Quebec's understanding of multiculturalism, rebranded *interculturalism* to highlight this crucial difference to the Canadian policy. Section 2.3 will address this in more detail, and how it impacts on questions of citizenship in Quebec. First, however, a closer look at language policies in the rest of Canada (the 'ROC', or *le ROC* [lə ʁɔk], as it's called in Quebec) is warranted.

2.2.2 English Canada: official monolingualism, French language provisions, allophone presence

The official bilingualism in Quebec that came with the British North American Act 1867 was practically limited to that province, with the exception of Manitoba, which was created as an officially bilingual province in 1870. New Brunswick is, today, the only officially bilingual province with a numerically significant population of Francophones. It is also the only province to have its bilingualism enshrined in the federal constitution. The case of New Brunswick will be dealt with in more detail in section 2.4.

Federal legislation gives some protection to official language minorities in the provinces, i.e. to speakers of English in Quebec and to speakers of French elsewhere. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms spells out, in section 23, what are 'minority language educational rights': it ensures that Canadian citizens have the right to receive primary and secondary education in their first language (s 23(1)), a right extended to the siblings of any citizen's child who has received education in that language (s 23(2)). This right, however, is limited by section 23(3), which says that it 'applies wherever in the province the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision to them out of public funds of minority language instruction'. This phrasing has led to several court decisions on what is 'sufficient to warrant' French instruction, notably in Alberta (1990) and Prince Edward Island (2000). Often the importance of protecting the linguistic minority despite the small numbers was taken into account. The provisions of section 23 of the Charter do not apply to Quebec, a fact discussed below (section 2.3).

The issue of an education system in the minority language is also what is at the heart of Manitoba's language policy. Manitoba was a prime destination for and is still host to a large community of Métis, a mixed Aboriginal–Francophone ethnic group whose languages include several Aboriginal languages, French, and Michif (a mixed language of Cree and French origin).

The province, having been established as an officially bilingual province by the Manitoba Act 1870, quickly saw demographic change to the disadvantage of the francophone population, which translated into a gradual slide towards *de facto* monolingualism by the 1880s (Bothwell 2007: 243). A new provincial government abolished the official status of French and its schools in 1888. The federal government intervened in 1896, but in 1916 French public education was scrapped again, to be reinstated only in 1966. As far as the official status of French is concerned, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in a landmark case in 1985 that both English and French are required as official languages per the Constitution Act 1867 and the Manitoba Act 1870 and that '[a]ll of the unilingual Acts of the Legislature of Manitoba are, and always have been, invalid and of no force or effect' (because of the legal vacuum that this decision alone would have created, all legislation is deemed 'temporarily valid and effective' for the 'minimum period necessary for translation, re-enactment, printing and publishing'). Manitoba is, therefore, an officially bilingual province.

Official bi- and multilingualism is also found in the three territories. Yukon is officially bilingual in English and French. While the aboriginal languages spoken in the territory (Gwich'in, Hän, Upper Tanana, Northern Tutchone, Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Inland Tlingit, Kaska, cf. Council of Yukon First Nations 2016) are recognised as 'significant' in the territorial Language Act, only French and English are used and available in all branches of government. The Northwest Territories (NWT) passed its Official Languages Act in 1984, making English and French co-official, and 'recognising' the Aboriginal languages of the territory. In 1990 the Act was amended to recognise as 'official aboriginal languages' the following nine languages: Chipewyan, Cree, Tłı̨chǫ (Dogrib), Gwich'in, North Slavey, South Slavey, Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, and Inuinnaqtun. Like in Yukon, the Act does not require their use in the legislature and the executive, but they may be used in court. The third territory, Nunavut, was carved out of the Northwest Territories in 1999, taking with it the NWT Act. This was replaced in 2008 with a new Official Languages Act, which removed references to NWT languages not in use in Nunavut – a step made possible by the large Inuit majority. The territory has now four official languages: 'the Inuit language' (comprising both Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun), English, and French. A lot of effort has been going into language maintenance and revival, in the education system as well as in public life. Among them is a recent (2015) proposal to replace the alphasyllabic writing system used by Inuktitut[7] (but not Inuinnaqtun) by a Latin-based system, in order to increase literacy in the language.

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7. The Inuktitut syllabary is based on the Cree syllabics created in the nineteenth century. It is an abugida-like syllabary, in that base characters consist of a consonant and an inherent vowel, the latter of which can be modified by rotating the glyph or adding a length mark. Thus, ∧ is /pi/, > is /pu/, and ⊰̇ is /paː/.

In contrast with these multilingual territories, the government of British Columbia provides no services in French beyond federally-guaranteed French education. Historically, the province has had little direct contact with French, much of the non-Anglophone (and non-Aboriginal) immigration coming in the form of Chinese labourers recruited from Hong Kong for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. In fact, recently efforts at regulating the linguistic landscape in the province emerged in the wake of media reports of Chinese-only adverts in public space: the city of Richmond has now entered into agreements with advertisers that stipulate that English should be present on their signage (Chan 2016). While these contracts are not legislation *per se*, there is an ongoing discussion in the city and the province on whether a more statutory provision is needed (Wood 2014, Hoekstra 2014, Chan 2016). At the other end of the country, Newfoundland and Labrador, the last province to join the confederation in 1949, also provides virtually no French services.

Alberta has a Languages Act 1988 which, presumably in the wake of the Supreme Court decision concerning Manitoba's laws, explicitly mentions that any law (or act, ordinance, regulation) enacted prior to the Languages Act is valid 'notwithstanding that they were enacted, printed and published in English only' (s 2(1)). Nonetheless, both English and French may be used in the legislature and before court, and both the English and the French versions of the Languages Act are equally authoritative (s 8). Education in French is available to Francophones, and there are independent French school boards. Services from the provincial government, however, are available in English only, a state of affairs that is currently being addressed by a newly elected government (Orfali 2016b;a).

Saskatchewan has a Language Act, also from 1988, with the full title 'An Act respecting the use of the English and French languages in Saskatchewan'. It, too, begins with a section declaring all existing acts, regulations, etc., valid notwithstanding that they were originally enacted in English only (s 3). Unlike in Alberta, however, it has a section 4 which says that all 'Acts and regulations may be enacted, printed and published in English only or in English and French' – English is clearly dominant, but at least French is mentioned (the Alberta Languages Act only says 'may be enacted, printed and published in English' (s 3)). The use of both languages before court is guaranteed, as it is in the legislature. Assembly records, however, are kept only in English (s 12(3)). There is a minority of Francophones in the province, called the 'Fransaskois', which account for around 1.6% of the population. A French education system has been in existence again since the 1960s; it had previously been banned in 1931. There are currently 13 francophone schools in the province (Conseil des écoles fransaskoises 2016).

Nova Scotia, previously settled by Acadians that were expelled beginning in 1755 (in the course of *le grand dérangement*), has a small minority of Francophones (3.4%) left; the municipality of Clare at the southwestern tip of the province is the only with a clear majority of

French speakers, though there are speakers on the west coast of Cape Breton Island, too. There is no provincial legislation on language, but the government does operate an Office of Gaelic Affairs and an Office of Acadian Affairs, both of which try to raise awareness and interest in the linguistic and cultural heritage of the respective ethnic group; there is some interest in improving government services in French (Acadian Affairs 2015). The government maintains a French presence online (http://novascotia.ca/bonjour).

Prince Edward Island (PEI), the smallest province of Canada, was also home to Acadians, many of them refugees from Nova Scotia's 1755 expulsions, who were in turn deported three years later. Today, 3.8% of the province's population indicate French as their mother tongue (2011 census). French education is available in six schools islandwide, run by a French language school board. Like Nova Scotia, PEI does not have an act regulating the official language; English is dominant and the *de facto* official language used in government. It does, however, have a French Language Services Act, first passed in 1999, with a new version coming into force in 2013. It lists a number of government services that shall be made available in the French language; but begins with a hedge that 'nothing in this act [...] shall be construed as dictating or otherwise limiting the working language of the Government' (s 2(2)), which, obviously, is English. The services in question cover mainly written communication received by the government and the response to be given (s 4). Signage is addressed in section 5, where consultation with the appropriate 'Acadian and Francophone' communities is mandated in the case of 'signage giving notice of a community name'. An Acadian and Francophone Community Advisory Committee is established, which supports the ministry in its language-related duties. Perhaps most important symbolically is that, in a province whose legislation is entirely English, this act was the first to be enacted in both languages, with both versions being equally authoritative (s 18).

With over 13m inhabitants, Ontario is the most populous province. Its capital is Toronto, the country's largest city. Ottawa, the federal capital, is in the province, bordering Quebec's Gatineau City, and forming with the latter the Ottawa–Gatineau Metropolitan Area, officially designated as the National Capital Region. Francophone presence in present-day Ontario goes back to early New France, as traces in toponymy reveal to this day (Sault Sainte-Marie, Embrun, Champlain, Saint-Eugène, Lefaivre, Limoges, etc.). The 1763 creation of the Province of Quebec included much of settled Ontario (and beyond, encompassing the Great Lakes all the way south to the Ohio River); however, upon the creation, in 1791, of 'The Canadas', the Province of Quebec was partitioned into two colonies, Upper Canada and Lower Canada, with the border between the two roughly where the current Ontario–Quebec border lies.

The two languages, French and English, were (and are) in the majority on their respective sides of the border, but pockets of Anglophones in Quebec and of Francophones in Ontario

remain. In Ontario, many of these communities are located in eastern Ontario, close to the Quebec border, but others are found throughout the province, including in the Cochrane, Algoma, and Sudbury districts located between Lake Superior and Quebec, and in the Golden Horseshoe area at the western end of Lake Ontario. In the 2011 census, 3.9% of the provincial population declared French as their mother tongue, though only 2.2% report using it as their home language. The largest populations are in Ottawa and Greater Sudbury, whereas the counties of Prescott and Russell, on the border with Quebec, have the highest proportion of French speakers (66.2%).

Ontario, too, had a period in its history in which it was openly hostile to the French language. This was particularly visible in educational provisions, which were halted by 'Regulation 17' in 1912. Teachers were forbidden to use French with pupils beyond the first year, French textbooks were banned, and anyone wishing to pursue a French education had to do so in the expensive private system. It was only in the late 1960s that provincial funding for French language schools was reinstated. In 2016, the Premier of the province formally apologised for the ban, saying it 'showed a disregard for Franco-Ontarian identity and equality' (CBC News 2016a). The policy also resulted in lower educational achievement for Francophones, translating into lower socio-economic status in adult years.

Nowadays, Ontario has a language policy based on a territorial system in which parts of the province where French is spoken by a given minimum proportion of the population are considered bilingual and services have to be offered in French as well as English. Communications from the provincial government to the population as a whole generally happen in both official languages (e.g. the government website is bilingual). However, the right to French language services only exists in designated areas. An area can be considered bilingual when 10% of its population is made up of Francophones; urban centres must have at least 5 000 Francophones. Twenty-five areas are currently designated bilingual. They are found all over the province, and include urban municipalities such as Toronto, Kingston, Windsor, Sudbury, and London. The National Capital Region is also designated bilingual in separate legislation. The language political situation is in constant flux, as evidenced, by way of example, by recent calls to include French in the emergency child abduction alert system 'Amber' (Branch 2016a). French schools exist throughout the province, but in higher numbers where francophone residents make up a certain proportion of the population. Immigrants generally have freedom of choice regarding the school system (i.e., its medium of instruction, English or French);[8] the arrival of Syrian refugees in Ottawa in 2015 resulted in 7% of them opting for French schools, a development deemed significant enough to have made it into the French-language press (Branch 2016b).

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8. Note that Ontario actually features *four* state school systems: (i) secular English, (ii) secular French, (iii) Catholic English, and (iv) Catholic French.

Table 2.1: Percent of responses to mother tongue and language spoken most often at home (single mother tongue responses only, i.e. excluding respondents indicating more than one mother tongue), in the 2011 census, by province/territory.

	Mother tongue			Home language		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
Newfoundland & Labrador	97.8	0.5	1.7	98.5	0.2	1.0
Prince Edward Island	92.7	3.8	3.5	95.5	1.8	2.1
Nova Scotia	92.5	3.4	4.1	95.4	1.8	2.0
New Brunswick	65.6	31.9	2.5	69.2	28.4	1.3
Quebec	7.8	79.6	12.5	9.8	80.0	7.1
Ontario	69.8	4.0	26.3	79.0	2.2	14.4
Manitoba	74.4	3.6	21.9	84.4	1.5	10.5
Saskatchewan	85.6	1.6	12.8	92.1	0.4	5.8
Alberta	78.4	1.9	19.7	85.7	0.7	10.5
British Columbia	71.7	1.3	27.0	80.5	0.4	15.4
Yukon	84.7	4.4	10.9	92.2	2.4	3.7
Northwest Territories	77.5	2.7	19.9	88.9	1.3	8.8
Nunavut	28.4	1.4	70.2	45.5	0.8	53.0
Canada	58.1	21.7	20.2	64.8	20.6	11.1

The province of Ontario does not have statutory official languages. The French Language Services Act 1990 gives everyone the right to use both languages in the legislative assembly (s 3(1)), stipulates that bills and acts shall be introduced and enacted in both languages (s 3(2)), and that pre-existing acts shall be translated (s 4). There is a right to receive 'available services' in French from the provincial government in designated areas (s 5). In these designated areas, citizens have these language rights with regards to municipal government as well (s 14), and there is a French Language Services Commissioner (s 12) that oversees compliance with the act. The act's preamble, however, does mention that 'in Ontario the French language is recognised as an official language in the courts and in education'; education is now available in the public system, with five secular and nine Catholic school boards that operate in French. There are French colleges and some of the province's universities offer instruction in French. Ontario is home to the largest Francophone population outside Quebec, with just under half a million. This is more than in New Brunswick, although Francophones account for a third of the population in that province (see section 2.4).

To conclude this section on 'English' Canada, it is worth pointing out the presence of many non-official languages in these provinces, like in the rest of the country. Anglophones are clearly the dominant group, but in all provinces except Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick,

and Quebec, it is the speakers of languages other than French, taken together, that come second in terms of demolinguistic weight. Table 2.1 illustrates this. These so-called 'Allophones', whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, account for a fifth of Canada's population, only 1.5 percentage points behind Francophones, a lead only due to the large French-speaking population of Quebec. The difference is most obvious in the provinces west of Quebec; the Maritime provinces (NL, PEI, NS) all have above 90% Anglophones. The home language offers another glimpse into the English-dominant nature of the 'ROC': over 95% of respondents in the Maritimes use mostly English at home. In Ontario, Western Canada, and the Territories, English also benefits from a shift away from both French and non-official languages. Only in Quebec is the shift from mother tongue to home language also benefitting French, though more Allophones shift towards English. The high number of 'Other' languages retained in the home in Nunavut is explained by the vitality of the two aboriginal (and official) languages Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun: 68.5% had it as their mother tongue, and 52.2% claimed to use it as their main home language. Nonetheless, English is popular, since the 28.4% mother tongue Anglophones are outnumbered by the 45.5% for whom it was the language spoken most often at home. The special status of these aboriginal languages will be taken into consideration next.

2.2.3 Aboriginal languages and their limited role in official settings

The Ethnologue database lists 94 individual languages in use in Canada. Besides the two official languages English and French, this includes 17 non-indigenous languages and 77 indigenous ones (Lewis et al 2016). The aboriginal languages themselves come from several distinct language families, including Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dené, Algic, Iroquoian, Siouan, Salishan, Wakashan, and Tsimshianic. According to the 2011 census, the ten languages spoken most widely are Cree (an Algonquian language, 95 165 users), Inuktitut (Eskimo-Aleut, 36 240), Ojibway (Algonquian, 24 770), Dené/Chipewyan (Athabaskan, 12 845), Innu/Montagnais (Algonquian, 11 380), Oji-Cree (Algonquian, 10 160), Mi'kmaq (Algonquian, 8 855), Atikamekw (Algonquian, 5 980), Blackfoot (Algonquian, 4 360), and Stoney (Siouan, 3 475).

Three groups of Aboriginal peoples are commonly distinguished in Canada: the First Nations, the Inuit, and the Métis. The Métis are descendants of early mixed unions between European (typically French) men and Aboriginal women who, over time, developed a distinct cultural and linguistic identity; they are found throughout the country, particularly in Alberta. The Inuit are part of a circumpolar people also found in Greenland and Siberia; in Canada they are found mostly in Nunavut, where they are a majority, and in the Nunavik region of Quebec. There are also smaller groups in the Northwest Territories (Inuvialuit) and Newfoundland and Labrador (Nunatsiavut, northern Labrador). The First Nations comprise all Aboriginals who are neither
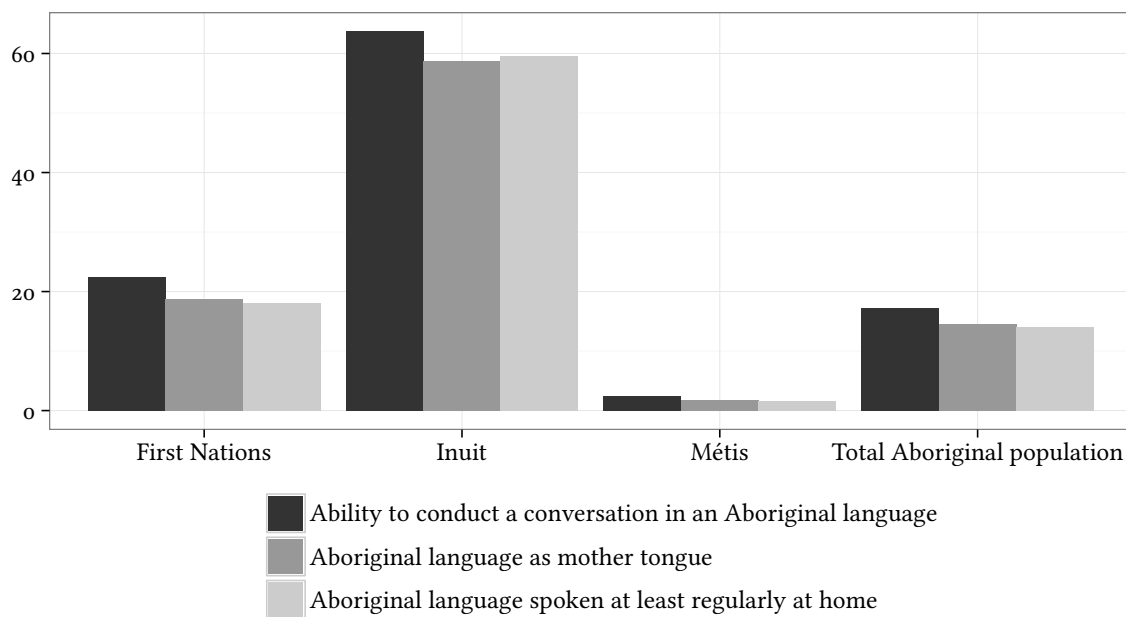
Figure 2.3: Proportion (percent) of Aboriginal population by language use (National Household Survey 2011).

Métis nor Inuit. They form the largest population (851 560) of the three groups, almost twice as large as the Métis (451 795), with the Inuit (59 445) a distant third.

The 2011 National Household Survey gives information on the language abilities of the three groups. The data, visualised in Figure 2.3, reveal differences between conversational, mother tongue, and home language status, as well as between the three types of Aboriginal peoples. The Inuit have the highest ability, well over 50% for all three kinds of language use. The Métis do worst, with a maximum of 2.5% being able to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language.[9] The First Nations range from 22.4% conversational ability to 18% home language use.

The sporadic contact between Aboriginal Canadians and Europeans that took place in pre-Columbian times evolved into prolonged and more intense contact in the seventeenth century, when the first permanent settlements were established. The trade relations between early settlers and the First Nations were instrumental in securing the former's survival in the new land and in familiarising them with the geography of inland North America. However, even before state-sanctioned attempts at cultural assimilation and the side-effects of wars between colonial

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9. Cree was the language most widely spoken among the Métis, followed by Dene. Only 940 reported ability in Michif (National Household Survey 2011).

powers further reduced their numbers, infectious diseases brought over from Europe decimated thousands (Morton 2006: 16).

With the insatiable hunger for land among the ever-increasing number of colonists, First Nations were gradually robbed of their hunting grounds and assigned to specific areas – the so-called reserves. The focus, however, was on assimilation, and the residential school system was one way to that end. In this system, passed under the Indian Act in 1884, education of 'Indian' children was mandated, often against their will. Boarding schools were constructed, children separated from their parents, and English made the only language allowed on school grounds. Mortality rates were high, physical, psychological, and sexual abuse was rampant, and the collective emotional trauma is still intact. The last residential school closed in 1996, and the government apologised in 2008.

The Indian Act 1876 has been amended several times since its introduction (notably with respect to residential schools). The act provides a framework for state–aboriginal relations, defining legal bases for reserves (ss 18–19), Indian bands (s 2), and actual Indian status (ss 5–17). This last point is important because only 'status Indians' ('registered Indians') are subject to the Indian Act and may claim the benefits set out in the act (such as the right to reserves, hunting rights, easier access to firearms, exemption from certain taxes, etc.). This excludes Métis and Inuits, as well as several non-registered 'Non-Status Indians'. Registered Indians are issued identity cards with which they are allowed to cross the border with the USA. Current developments may, however, lead to a breakdown of the distinction between 'status' and 'non-status' Indians: a Supreme Court decision in April 2016 ruled that 'non-status Indians' and Métis are to be considered 'Indians' under section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867 (Fontaine 2016). The change is yet to be fully implemented, but will see a large number (around 600 000) of previously non-registered aboriginal people granted access to federal funding and benefits.

There is very little recognition of Aboriginal languages at the official level. At the federal level, there are only two official languages, and the Official Languages Act does not deal with Aboriginal languages – in fact, it excludes band governments and councils from its provisions (which, to put it more positively, gives bands jurisdiction over internal language matters). None of the ten provinces has an official Aboriginal language. Things look brighter in the territories, where Yukon, in its Language Act, recognises as 'significant' eight Aboriginal languages. The Northwest Territories makes a distinction between the 'official languages' English and French, and nine 'official aboriginal languages'. Nunavut arguably has the language policy with the most inclusive treatment of Aboriginal languages: all of Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun, French, and English are equally official.

The number of speakers involved is likely a factor explaining the virtual absence of Aboriginal languages from the official political scene beyond territorial or local government. The

decline in speakers means that language policies in education are geared towards revitalisation or at best, in the case of Nunavut, maintenance.[10] The English language, in particular, holds a powerful status within communities, in provinces and territories, at the federal level, and, of course, at the continental and global levels. Few aboriginals, regardless of their strong affection for their ancestral languages, would like to deprive themselves of the advantages that English affords. Education policies tend to take this into account, and shy away from sidelining English in their curricula.

2.3 Quebec: an officially monolingual province

There is a long history of legal specificity for the province of Quebec. The link between language and citizenship, state institutions, and national identity is important and multi-facetted. The special status of Quebec can be traced back to the Quebec Act 1774, in which French civil law was allowed for francophone 'Canadiens' within the province. Later, the British North America Act 1867 permitted both French and English in the Quebec legislature and judiciary. With patriation in the early 1980s, and the intricate constitutional complex that came with it, a federal-level solution to language rights was sought with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (which is Part I of the Constitution Act, 1982). This part of the constitution was always rejected by Quebec, partly because it gave the federal government too much power, partly because of a sense of betrayal for having been left out of critical phases in the negotiation process. Minority education rights were also an issue, as they were seen to be too favourable to English in Quebec.[11] Two subsequent conferences (the Meech Lake Accord in 1987 and the Charlottetown Accord in 1992), aimed at integrating the province into the larger Canadian constitutional order, were equally unsuccessful. Opposition to the Charter within Quebec – while still being subject to it, as federal law trumps provincial law – is evidenced by the government's routine invoking of the Charter's section 33, the so-called 'notwithstanding clause', which allows legislatures to pass acts that contravene provisions of the Charter. This section is rarely invoked by other provinces, and while it was included in every Quebec act between 1982 and 1987, this practice has now stopped and is only used occasionally.

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10. The Mi'kmaq community of Listuguj (Gaspé Peninsula, Quebec) has been offering, since the autumn of 2016, a bachelor's degree course in education taught on the reserve. This degree programme, coordinated by McGill University (Montreal), is unique in Canada in that it enables a complete university education on reserve and primarily in the medium of an aboriginal language (CBC News 2016b).

11. Minority education rights have been consistently seen as detrimental to French in Quebec, to the extent that the provincial government has been involved on the opposing side in legal battles in *other* provinces where *French* minorities were desperately seeking more support for their schools (Patriquin 2016). There is the perception that setting precedents in other provinces will have an effect on the situation in Quebec, resulting in similar demands from English school boards in the province.

The special status of Quebec is further evident in its partial rejection of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1988. The mandate to 'promote and enhance' (s 3(1)(i)) non-official languages has, at least, the potential to be in conflict with the province's concern for protecting the French language and investing it with the status of 'common language'. The Quebec policy differs, as mentioned above, from the rest of Canada's embrace of multiculturalism by the use of the term *interculturalism*, where the focus is on 'acceptance of, and communication and interaction between, culturally diverse groups', all the while maintaining 'the unquestioned supremacy of French in the language and culture of Quebec' (Dewing 2009: 15). One defining point of this interculturalism policy is that it is 'distinct from both the US multicultural melting pot and the Canadian multicultural mosaic, the latter treating the various components that make up Canadian society as merely juxtaposed and largely isolated entities' (Oakes & Warren 2007: 29). Interculturalism, on the other hand, allows for different cultural groups to interpenetrate, mutually benefit each other, and contribute equally to nation building, all 'within a common civic culture and a French-speaking framework' (Anctil 1996: 143, cited in Oakes & Warren 2007: 29).

The root causes for language legislation in the province of Quebec are to be found within the so-called 'Quiet revolution' of the 1960s. This 'revolution' itself is a reaction to societal changes that began in the late 1950s: an increasing number of Francophones left the countryside and, in the course of urbanisation, came increasingly into contact with the English language (d'Anglejan 1984: 29). English, at that time, was very much the language of the business élite in cities such as Montreal. Poorly educated and newly urbanised Francophones were inadequately prepared for this socio-economic situation, in which knowledge of English was the key to upward social mobility. As a result, many Francophones found themselves in the lower tier of the socio-economic pecking order. This apparent discrepancy in the economic situation of two groups differing in language and ethnicity, with the minority being economically advantaged, was one of the leading factors of change in the 1960s.

There were other factors, of course. For instance, the age-old influence of the Catholic church on every aspect of private and public life, began to decline, with the province effectively secularised by the end of the 1960s (Wardhaug 1983: 64). It was the Roman Catholic Church that administered welfare and education, with the result that much of public administration was carried out along denominational lines. The secularisation that began in the wake of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) also saw many of these social services coming under the direct administration of the provincial state – although it was only in 1997 that the school system was fully secularised in Quebec, and separated no longer along religious lines, but into a French-language and an English-language system.

The 1960s were also a time when Quebec nationalism regained in importance. Bothwell (2007: 438) situates this in the larger context of postwar decolonisation, which had seen 'European colonial empires collapse almost completely' in various now ex-colonies around the globe. These struggles for independence, such as the one in Algeria, struck a chord with some activists in Quebec, who resorted to force to bring about similar change in their part of the world: a couple of bombs were found in politicians' vicinities, but they had little effect beside prompting the federal government to appoint a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963 (which itself *did* have some results, influencing parts of the Official Languages Act, 1969). Of graver concern was the 1970 October Crisis, in which militants from the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) abducted the British consul in Montreal and the provincial minister of labour, Pierre Laporte, who was eventually killed. While the crisis sent shockwaves throughout Canada, and the provincial authorities demanded federal military assistance under the hitherto never-used War Measures Act, these shockwaves did not affect public opinion as the FLQ intended: whatever support the militants had in the population dwindled away, and the armed struggle for independence was reduced to a fantasy of a few extremists. Separatist (or, with less negative connotation, *sovereignist*) aims were now being pursued within the political realm, leading to two referenda on sovereignty (1980 and 1995), both of which were rejected by popular vote.

The quest for more self-rule within francophone Quebec is epitomised in the rallying cry *maîtres chez nous* 'masters in our own home', coined after the 1962 election of the Liberals under Jean Lesage, at first with the aim of nationalising the hydroelectricity industry, but so catchy that it also came to be used for wider social and linguistic emancipatory movements. In their pursuit towards more local and francophone autonomy, proponents of what is nowadays easily subsumed under the moniker 'Quebec nationalism' also resorted to symbolic actions, such as renaming the provincial Legislative Assembly to *Assemblée nationale* 'National assembly' in 1968 (see also *Bibliothèque nationale* 'National library', etc.), divorcing the term *nation* from its federal meaning of 'pertaining to the country of Canada' to mean 'provincial' – a tricky shift, since *nation* in Canada already had at least two distinct uses, as in *First Nations* (ethnic) and *national capital* (= federal). The fact that the provincial capital of Quebec, the city of Québec, is also officially called *Capitale nationale*, illustrates this brilliantly: in French there are two 'national' capitals in Canada: Ottawa (federal) and Québec (provincial). The recognition by the federal parliament, in 2006, of the Québécois as a 'nation within a united Canada' did little to disambiguate the use of the term within Quebec, since the ethnolinguistic *nation québécoise* in the federal sense is not defined in terms of provincial boundaries or authority, as it is in the provincial government's usage, but rather on self-identification as *Québécois*. Present-day francophone immigration into Quebec (typically from the Caribbean and northern and western

Africa) finds itself in the situation where this nationalism is potentially beneficial, being, as it is, grounded in the language of the *Francophonie*, but also problematic, in light of the presence of a discourse on the ethnocentric definition of Québécois identity – a discourse that most of the Quebec intelligentsia (both sovereignist and federalist) rejects, focussing on civil elements such as the common language French as defining factors, with some accusing the federal government of actively portraying advocates of a Québécois identity as basing their approach in ethnic definitions, which is seen as a way of 'delegitimis[ing] the independence project' (Seymour 1999, quoted in Oakes & Warren 2007: 31).

On the linguistic front, the increasing self-confidence of Francophones in Quebec led to several legislative measures to strengthen the status of French in the province. A first such attempt was the so-called 'Bill 63', officially titled *Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec* 'An act to promote the French language in Quebec'. It was the first to mention the objective of making French the language of the workplace and the dominant language in public signage; it also made the teaching of French compulsory at state schools. Bill 63 was superseded in 1974 by 'Bill 22', the *Loi sur la langue officielle* 'Official language act', which statutorily made French the official language of the province, imposed its use in public signage, required companies to implement francisation programmes, limited access to the English school system, and ensured the priority of the French versions of legal texts in case of ambiguity. This Official Language Act paved the way for 'Bill 101', the *Charte de la langue française* 'Charter of the French language', to which I shall turn in the next section.

2.3.1 Bill 101: the promotion of the French language

With the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976 under the leadership of René Lévesque[12] came a renewed attempt at more effective language legislation. The *Charte de la langue française* 'Charter of the French language', the brainchild of Camille Laurin (1922–1999), was tabled early in 1977 as 'Bill 1', but withdrawn in the face of fierce opposition from the Liberals, the economic élite, and the anglophone minority. In a second hearing in August, this time under the name 'Bill 101', the Charter was passed by the legislature. A major planning and policy instrument, the Charter is divided into six titles, dealing with different elements of language policy.

Its first title, 'Status of the French language', begins with the important provision that 'French is the official language of Québec'[13] (s 1). This first section is, at the same time, its own dedicated chapter. Chapter II lists five 'Fundamental language rights': persons have a right to receive

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12. [levɛk], as in European French ⟨Lévêque⟩.

13. It is interesting to note the use of the French spelling of the province's name (with the acute accent) in the authoritative *English* version of the legislation. While the federal government considers ⟨Quebec⟩ correct English and ⟨Québec⟩ correct French for the name of the province (but only ⟨Québec⟩ for the city, in both languages, see

government services in French, French may be used in 'deliberative assembly', workers have a right to work in French, consumers have a right to receive services in French, and there is a right to education in French. Chapter III deals with 'The language of the legislature and the courts': generally, French is to be used, but bills 'shall be printed, published, passed, and assented to in French and in English, and the statutes shall be printed and published in both languages' (s 7(1)). French versions of legal texts prevail over their English counterparts only when federal constitutional provisions mandating equal authoritativeness do not apply (ss 7(3), 8). Chapter IV concerns 'The language of the civil administration', whose departments, bodies, etc. are designated in French alone (s 14). The administration works and communicates in French, and signage erected by the administration is in French alone (s 22). Exceptions are allowed for health and social services (s 27). Section 29.1 recognises municipalities in which 'more than half the residents have English as their mother tongue' and bodies that offer services in these municipalities: this effectively allows for official bilingualism at the municipal level, distinct from the official monolingualism at the provincial level.

Chapter V mandates that 'semipublic agencies' (i.e. public utilities, Crown corporations, etc.) must offer services and work in French. Chapter VI addresses 'The language of labour relations', where, essentially, communications between employers and employees are concerned. All such communication must be carried out in French. Chapter VII 'The language of commerce and business' goes into quite some detail: information on commercial packaging has to be in French (s 51), the same applies to catalogues, brochures, etc. (s 52). Software has to be available in French (s 52.1). 'Toys and games [...] which require the use of a non-French vocabulary for their operation are prohibited from the Québec market, unless a French version of the toy or game is available [...] on no less favourable terms' (s 54). Section 58 contains legislation on the linguistic landscape, which will be discussed in more detail in this book's section 5.2. Names of enterprises need to be in French (s 63), except for family and place names, artificial combinations of letters, syllables, etc. and 'expressions taken from other languages' (s 67).[14]

The language of instruction is regulated in Chapter VIII. Kindergarten, elementary, and secondary education shall be in French (s 72). Section 73 lists the children whose parents may apply for them to receive public instruction in English: children with at least one parent, who is a Canadian citizen, and who has received the majority of their education in English in Canada (s 73(1)), and brothers and sisters of such a child (s 72(2)). Loopholes were closed in 2010 when

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Geographical Names Board of Canada 2006), the provincial government, on the other hand, uses ⟨Québec⟩ in both languages for both the province and the city (Office québécois de la langue française 2002).

14. A court in 2014 ruled against the OQLF's proposal that enterprises with 'English' names (specifically, Best Buy, Costco, Curves, Guess, Gap, Old Navy, Toys 'R' Us, and Walmart) should add a generic French term or a slogan or description in French. This topic, however, is still under discussion (Lessard 2016), with recent developments pointing towards amendments to the legislation that would require the use of a French description or slogan to their trademark name (McGillivray 2016).

section 78.2 was passed, prohibiting the operation of 'a private educational institution principally for the purpose of making children eligible for instruction in English who would otherwise not be admitted to a school of an English school board'. Exceptions are made for children staying in Quebec temporarily (s 85) and for aboriginal languages (s 87). In Chapter VIII.1 college and university-level instruction is addressed, with institutions required to formulate a French language policy on use and quality of the language.

The second title of the Charter, 'Linguistic officialisation, toponymy, and francisation' contains several provisions that have been repealed, most in connection with officialisation. Chapter III establishes the Commission de toponymie, which is put in charge of officialising and francising toponymy in the province. Chapter IV deals with the francisation of the civil administration, and Chapter V with the francisation of enterprises: 'enterprises employing 100 or more persons must form a francisation committee composed of six or more persons' (s 136). Enterprises with 50 or more employees must merely register with the Office québécois de la langue française (s 139). All enterprises shall assess the linguistic situation in their company, undertake steps to implement and promote French language use, and inform the OQLF of their measures. The Office then considers the enterprise's linguistic situation, and if 'the use of French is generalised at all levels of the enterprise' (s 140), it issues a francisation certificate. This certifies that French is known among the management (s 141(1)) and among a large part of the workforce (s 141(2)), that French is the company's working language (s 141(3)), that all internal (s 141(4)) and external (s 141(5)) communication and documents are in French, that French terminology is adhered to (s 141(6)), and that French is used in signage and advertising (s 141(7)), in hiring and promotion processes (s 141(8)), and in information technologies (s 141(9)), such as e.g. in the form of compute keyboards with French layout. Penalties for failing to comply with francisation are in place (s 151.1).

Chapter I of Title III establishes the 'Office québécois de la langue française' (OQLF), Chapter II sets out its mission and powers, primarily to 'define and conduct Québec policy on linguistic officialisation, terminology and francisation' (s 159), monitoring of the linguistic situation and reporting (s 160), ensure that 'French is the normal and everyday language of work, communication, commerce and business' and to 'take any appropriate measure to promote French' (s 161). Chapter II.1 legislates its organisation, with one president, one director general, and six members; further, a Comité d'officialisation linguistique and a Comité de suivi de la situation linguistique are established. Title III.1 'Inspection and inquiries' enables the Office to 'act on its own initiative or following the filing of a complaint' (s 167).

Title IV establishes the 'Conseil supérieur de la langue française' (CSLF), whose mission it is to advise 'on any matter relating to the French language in Québec' (s 187). It is therefore

separate from the OQLF, whose mission is more executive in nature, whereas the CSLF acts at the higher levels of government language policy.

Finally, Title V lists 'penal provisions and other sanctions', with fines ranging from $600 to $6 000 for natural persons and from $1 500 to $20 000 for legal persons, with subsequent offences doubling these amounts (s 205). Title VI contains transitional and miscellaneous provisions.

This overview of the content of 'Bill 101' shows its present-day form. Since its passing in 1977, the Charter has been amended multiple times (see e.g. the historical overview in Kallenborn 2015: 20–21), also with respect to the signage provisions in section 58: the original 1977 rule that only French was allowed was fiercely opposed and struck down by the provincial and federal supreme courts. As a result, the government passed Bill 178 in 1988, modifying section 58 to take into account the size of the company involved. Crucially, it justified the upholding of restrictions with the 'notwithstanding clause', i.e., by deliberately excluding these provisions of the Charter from the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. A 1983 amendment already allowed the use of other languages in shops specifically serving a particular ethnic group (Bourhis & Landry 2002: 108). In 1993, Bill 86 allowed for other languages to appear alongside French as long as French was 'markedly predominant' (Bourhis & Landry 2002). The same bill also gave access to the English education system to children whose parents had been educated in English in Canada (the 'Canada clause', as opposed to the 1977 provision ('Quebec clause'), where parents had to have had English education in Quebec). In 2000, municipalities that wanted to register as bilingual needed 50% of their residents to have English as their mother tongue (with Allophones now excluded from the count).

The Charter of the French language is, therefore, constantly discussed and proposals for changes are regularly put forward. In 2012, a proposed 'Bill 14' would have lifted municipalities' bilingual status if the number of Anglophone residents drops below 50%, francisation would have been extended to companies with 26 or more employees (currently 50), and access restrictions to the English school system would have been extended beyond secondary schools to cégeps (collège d'enseignement général et professionnel). This project was ultimately abandoned after the 2014 election, which the Parti Québécois lost.

2.3.2 The effects of the Charter of the French language

The societal changes brought about by the Quiet Revolution were sweeping. Beside the general secularisation and a growing nationalism (also implemented economically, e.g. through the nationalisation of public utilities companies), the legal provisions of the Charter of the French language had its effects at several levels: for the Francophones themselves, it ensured a revaluation of their mother tongue; for the Anglophones, it meant a new linguistic order, placing (at least in the province) their mother tongue in an officially subordinate position; perhaps most

crucially, for the Allophones, it meant a gradual shift of target language towards French rather than English.

The effects of the law were profound, at least as far as income disparity is concerned: while in 1970 unilingual males Francophones earned on average 19.6% less than their unilingual anglophone counterparts, this gap had been reduced to 7.4% in 1990. The difference was even visible within bilingual groups: in 1990, bilingual male Francophones earned 1.8% less than unilingual male Anglophones, whereas bilingual Anglophones earned 2.3% more than their unilingual counterparts (Shapiro & Stelcner 1997: 119). These trends have continued, and in 2011 'anglophone Quebecers have a higher average income than the province's francophones [but] their median income is 10% lower' (Jedwab 2013), with bilingualism on the increase.

Bilingualism, therefore, is becoming more and more of a defining feature of anglophone Quebecers. Census data from Anglophones, i.e. respondents with English as their mother tongue, show that in Quebec, the percentage of bilinguals has risen from 58.4 (1991) to 66.1 (2001) and currently stands at 67.8 (2011, see Table 2.2). Generally, there is now a view among Anglophones that knowledge of French is a desirable skill for upward social mobility. This is also reflected in parents' choices of schools: even Anglophones that are allowed to enter the English-medium system increasingly opt for French immersion schools[15] or even the French system outright (Forster 2016). The daily exposure to French in all-French schools, especially, results in highly bilingual graduates (Bagnall 2012) who will be particularly well-equipped both for a provincial market where French is important and for the national, continental, and global market where English is indispensable. After primary and secondary school, the choice of language at cégep is free, and many opt for the 'other' language, with English cégeps being in high demand (Cloutier 2016).

It was, however, the Allophones that felt the impact of Bill 101 most strongly: immigrants, speakers of languages other than French or English, who had not been educated in English in Canada, were now required to attend French-medium education (or opt for private schools, which accounted for 11.9% of the student population in 2008). This had an effect on the languages used by Allophones: as a home language, for instance, French (alone or in combination with other third languages) was used by 20.4% in 2001 and by 24.1% in 2011. English as a home language of Allophones declined from 22.1% in 2001 to 19.7% in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2012:

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15. 'Immersion' schools, primarily 'French immersion' classes, are classes in which Anglophones are taught in the medium of French, for parts or all of the curriculum. Immersion programmes are popular not only in Quebec but also in the rest of Canada: overall, 9.9% of students in Canada were enrolled in immersion programmes in the school year 2012–2013, ranging from 6.7% in Alberta to 46.6% in Newfoundland and Labrador, with 36.5% in Quebec (Canadian Parents for French 2014). The popularity of the programmes, sometimes taught in catchment areas with very few Francophones, has, on occasions, led to a shortage of suitably qualified teachers (Alphonso 2017).

Table 2.2: Knowledge of official languages, by mother tongue, for the province of Quebec (2011 census, in percent).

	English only	French only	English and French	Neither English nor French
English	31.28	0.86	67.78	0.08
French	0.04	61.68	38.26	0.02
Aboriginal languages	39.67	30.86	17.68	11.79
Other[a]	15.84	25.27	51.44	7.45
English and French	1.61	6.17	92.11	0.11
English and non-official language[b]	40.24	2.33	56.65	0.77
French and non-official language[b]	0.87	53.41	44.88	0.85
English, French and non-official language[b]	2.47	4.67	92.24	0.66

[a] Includes all languages other than English, French, and Aboriginal languages

[b] 'Non-official language' includes all languages other than English and French, i.e. it includes Aboriginal languages.

16–17). In short, therefore, the aim of the Charter, to francise immigrants through the education system, is being achieved.

Table 2.2 also shows that Allophones do not completely discard English in favour of French. Respondents whose mother tongue is a language other than French, English, or an aboriginal language (the row labelled 'Other') exhibit a pattern in which knowledge of English as the sole official language is disfavoured over knowledge of French without English. However, it is knowledge of *both* French and English that is the most popular choice, i.e. trilingualism in the mother tongue plus 'official bilingualism', a winning combination that enables local rootedness and socio-economic success in Quebec as well as national and global mobility into anglophone (and francophone, of course) territory beyond the province and the country. This has been noted previously by Pagé & Lamarre (2010: 2, my emphasis): immigrants 'feel it is important to know *both* French and English because they realise, as do most of the other people with whom they are in contact, that life in a modern Quebec society that is open onto the world requires knowledge of both languages'. Furthermore, this is especially relevant for Allophones whose migratory history might result in further relocation out of the linguistic environment of the province, and for non-permanent, transitory, and circular migration that does not have permanent settlement in Quebec as its prime objective. In fact, recent government figures indicate that Allophones who speak English but no French have lower unemployment rates

(16%) than Allophones who speak French but no English (23%), with bilingualism being commonly required by employers in the Montreal region (Dutrisac 2016). Clearly, while enabling access to both (provincial) locality and (federal, continental, international) globality, as well as connectedness to cultural and linguistic heritage, this trilingualism is not strictly an expression of willingness to become a part of the Quebec *nation*. Membership of this nation, taking the definition offered by the 2006 parliamentary motion that 'the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada', is not, as such, defined on linguistic (and therefore potentially ethnic) grounds.[16] Nonetheless, French as the *langue commune* of the province is understood as the baseline along which Québécois citizenship is defined. As a result, while French–English bilingualism is tolerable given the federal relationship Quebec has with Canada (and expected as far as Anglophone Quebecers are concerned), *tri*lingualism, when not transitory generationally, may be seen as running against the baseline linguistic definition of what it means to be *Québécois.* The fact that many 'New Francophone' immigrant fit into this trilingual profile points to a structural paradox of the modern 'francophone province' of Quebec: its future rests on multilingual immigration that may well acquire French, but only for its instrumental function, and not to the detriment of other languages.

The Charter has also had an effect on the linguistic landscape. While English was 'omnipresent' in commercial signage, especially in Montreal, well into the 1960s–70s (Bourhis & Landry 2002), this began to change rather rapidly after 1974 and the passing of the Official Language Act, with more and more companies opting for French-only and, later, French-dominant signage. The 1977 Charter further encouraged this trend, resulting in an increasingly French linguistic landscape. The combination of these effects (Allophone shift towards French as a target language, linguistic landscape legislation that enforced French) has resulted in the so-called *visage français* 'French face' (Levine 1989), a phrase often used by policy-makers to describe the desired outcome of language legislation.

Finally, it should be noted that language policy in Quebec operates also beyond the provisions of the Charter. As pointed out in Oakes & Warren (2007: 63–80), the province plays an active role on the international stage, both at the continental and global scale, in those international relations that are not the exclusive prerogative of the federal government. Among other things, Quebec is actively involved in the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie (OIF), has its own Ministère des Relations internationales, and maintains a network of repre-

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16. Note that national models for Quebec have included several approaches, from the conservative ethnic to the liberal civic idea of nation. Oakes & Warren (2007: 44–61) offer a historical and theoretical overview of some of these ideas; see also Molinaro (2011: 46off), who explains the 'moral contract' between the Quebec state and the Quebec nation. See also Kircher (2014) for an explanation of the shift from ethnic to civic national identity, with specific reference to immigrants in Montreal.

sentations with quasi-embassy status in countries around the globe.[17] It has also become an active player in the Organisation of American States (where, of course, Spanish is an important language to reckon with). In these international relations, the use of the French language is seen as crucial to the defence of the language (Presse Canadienne 2017). Certainly, particularly Quebec's involvement in the OIF can be seen as a 'strategic exploitation of "hegemonic" or major Frenchness to push minoritarian Francophone causes in its home region' (Oakes & Warren 2007: 80).

2.3.3 The English language in Quebec: use, form, regulation

English has been in use in Quebec for a very long time. Even before the 1760 Conquest, English-speaking settlers were present in the territory of what is now Quebec. Under British rule, anglophone immigration became more pronounced, in a succession of waves of different origins: the United Empire Loyalists, American colonists wishing to remain loyal to Britain during and after the Revolution War (1775–1783), moved northwards into Canada (primarily to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but also Quebec and Ontario); Boberg (2010: 62ff) puts the total number in the vicinity of 100 000 immigrants, 7 000–8 000 of whom settled in Quebec. A second wave of migration occurred in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars and the ensuing post-war recession, so that over several decades after 1815, a large number of immigrants from the British Isles crossed the Atlantic in search of a better life (both in Canada and the United States). The Irish Potato Famine (1845–1849) was another factor in encouraging emigration. The numbers were high, as reported in Boberg (2010: 70), who quotes the numbers of 109 680 departures from British ports to British North America and 142 154 departures to the United States from Cowan (1961: 288), although this number includes non-anglophone Europeans, such as the high number of Germans that made the journey via British ports (Boberg 2010: 70–71). The majority of this migration landed in the city of Québec, and, after the deepening of the Saint Lawrence waterway in the 1850s, also in Montreal. Boberg (2010: 73–74) also cites statistics from Elliot (2004: 62), which see the Irish as the dominant group (58%) recorded at Québec in the period 1816–1824, followed by immigrants from Scotland (30%) and England (13%). Not all of these migrants remained in the province, but those who did certainly did have an impact on the linguistic ecology there.

The variety of English spoken in Quebec is, unsurprisingly, not very different from other Canadian varieties of English (for an overview of Canadian English as a whole, see e.g. Boberg

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17. These representations consist of seven *délégations générales* 'general delegations' (Brussels, London, Mexico City, Munich, New York, Paris, Tokyo), four *délégations* (Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Rome), nine *bureaux* (Barcelona, Beijing, Dakar, Hong Kong, Mumbai, São Paulo, Shanghai, Stockholm, Washington), six *antennes* 'trade offices' (Atlanta, Berlin, Houston, Qingdao, Seoul, Silicon Valley), and two *représentations en affaires multilatérales* 'representations in multilateral affairs' (Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, Unesco).

2004b; 2010, Chambers 2006, Dollinger & Clarke 2012b, Dollinger 2015, Dollinger & Fee 2017). In fact, while some scholars postulate a distinct variety 'Quebec English' (notably Boberg 2012, also Fee 2008), others, such as Poplack (2008) and Poplack et al (2006), refuse to accord it the status of a variety in its own right. What is clear is that, as Boberg puts it, English in Quebec 'is a minority language in every sense' (2012: 493), both numerically (with native speakers being a demographic minority in the province) and politically (with the language policies in place aimed at preventing its furtherance). Poplack (2008: 189) also directly imputes this minority status to the language legislation in place, in combination with the 'Anglophone exodus' (Castonguay 1998: 41), the migration of anglophone Quebecers out of the province in the wake of the Quiet Revolution. While all these factors may indeed contribute to the definition of Quebec English (or 'English in Quebec') as a minority language, it bears repeating that Anglophones have always been a minority demolinguistic group in the province (although at a time at a much higher rate of some 25% in 1851, and with the exception of the city of Montreal, which in 1851 had a 55% majority anglophone population, see Boberg 2012: 495), so that in a way, English has always been in the (numerical) 'minority' in Quebec. However, since it is the case that language policy has resulted in English losing some of its more overt political power in the province, and given this new sociolinguistic status in combination with its permanent status as the language of a numerical minority, it stands to reason to expect there to be some form of linguistic effect on the English spoken in the province, primarily, of course, in the form of influence from the majority language, French.

These influences, 'gallicisms', as Boberg (2012) calls them, are found at the phonetic, lexical, and grammatical levels. At the level of accent, differences between Quebec English and other varieties of Canadian English are small and limited to the vowel system: Boberg (2008) mentions the vowel /ɑː/ in words like *car* and *start*, which, when travelling from British Columbia to Newfoundland, is increasingly fronted to reach almost [ɐ] in Newfoundland (Boberg 2008: 143). This trend, however, does not hold for Quebec, where the vowel is closer to [ʌ], and very distinctively different from the neighbouring Maritimes as well as Ontario. A similar observation can be made about Quebec's status with respect to Canadian Raising. This feature, stereotypical of Canadian English as a whole, affects the closing diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ when occurring before voiceless consonants, whereby the starting point is raised to varying extents ([ɐ], [ʌ], or even [ə]) (Chambers 1973). This results in words like *about* and *price* being pronounced as [əbʌʊt] and [pɹʌɪs]. Of course, 'Canadian Raising' is neither restricted to Canada (Vance 1987, Britain 1997, Dailey-O'Cain 1997), nor is it systematic in all of Canada (see also Labov et al 2006): Quebec (together with Newfoundland, but unlike the neighbouring Maritimes) stands out for its lack of raising, therefore resulting in a distinct dialect region at least as far as this feature is concerned. Boberg (2010: 209) calls Quebec an 'interstitial region of uncertain status

between Ontario and the Maritimes', both of which show typical features of Canadian English. His explanation is that the Maritimes and Ontario are similar because of a shared history of permanent Loyalist settlement, which Quebec lacks.

At the lexical level, the number of French loanwords in the putative Quebec English has received some attention (see e.g. Manning & Eatcock 1982, McArthur 1989, Grant-Russel 1998, Fee 2008). Boberg distinguishes items that are due to the official status of French in the province, resulting in governmental bodies being referred to by their French names, even in otherwise English discourse. While this applies particularly to newsreaders and the print media, examples such as *cégep* 'senior high school', from the French acronym for *Collège d'enseignement général et professionel*, are being used by most of the Anglophone population without second thought, much like other abbreviations such as *SAQ* (pronounced [es eɪ kjuː]) for the *Société des alcools du Québec*, the provincial liquor board.[18] Other examples of lexical transfer come from the party political landscape, such as *péquiste* '*Parti Québécois* supporter', from the provincial education system, as in *garderie* 'daycare', *maternelle* 'kindergarten', and the *cégep* defined above. Further examples listed by Boberg (2012: 497) include *allongé* 'espresso coffee with extra water', *gallery* 'veranda', *terrasse* 'patio restaurant', *cash* 'checkout, till', *dépanneur* 'corner store', and *tisane* 'herbal tea'. The mention of *poutine*, the term for the Quebec delicacy of French fries with gravy and cheese curds (derived from the English word *pudding*), is also listed by Boberg as a 'Gallicism [that] has no English equivalent', with the appropriate caution that it has spread beyond Quebec into all of North America, and is, therefore, not restricted to Quebec English.

Boberg goes on to give a list of semantic changes that occurred in the putative variety of Quebec English that may be derived from French influence: *animator* 'children entertainer or meeting leader', *delay* 'amount of time given before a deadline', and *formation* 'education'. Influence is also seen in preposition use (*to abuse of something*), phraseology (*corner* as a calque on French *coin* to mark road intersections, e.g. 'we are on St. Catherine, corner St. Laurent'), and verb phrases (*pass* functioning like French *passer*, as in 'I will pass to the bank on the way home').

The features described in Boberg (2008; 2012) make a strong case for Quebec English as a distinct variety of Canadian English, even though many of the features are purely lexical. The fact that other scholars (Poplack 2008, Poplack et al 2006) reject this idea based on corpus linguistic evidence may be explained by the limited sizes imposed by corpora compilation and

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18. Except for Alberta and British Columbia, all Canadian provinces and territories feature a liquor monopoly in which hard liquor can be bought only in stores owned and operated by a provincial government agency. Interestingly, the SAQ was considering, at the time of writing, whether to allow bilingual signage in some outlets (Goldenberg 2016). Being a Crown corporation, it is part of the civil administration which, according to section 14 of the Charter, shall use only French in its signage. Possible exceptions are listed in a separate regulation, and include signs 'concerning activities similar to those of business firms', which 'may be both in French and in another language, provided that French is markedly predominant'.

by the fact that low-frequency forms need not necessarily be found easily by this method. There is also research that shows a reasonably large degree of ethnic variation in Quebec English, specifically in Montreal, and specifically between the Irish, Italian, and Jewish ethnic groups, a finding that Boberg (2004a) again attributes to the minority status of English in the province. Furthermore, recent research has even found regional variation within Quebec English beyond the Montreal metropolitan area, with ways of speaking particular to places such as the Gaspé region in eastern Quebec (Boberg & Hotton 2015).

Despite its status as the language of a minority within the province, English nonetheless enjoys a level of institutional support that other languages simply lack. This is due in part to federal language policy, which ensures official English–French bilingualism in federal institutions throughout Canada; constitutional provisions also mandate that both French and English may be used in the provincial legislature, and that laws must be enacted in both languages. It is also due to the historic presence of Anglophone Quebecers. Their community, arguably as deeply rooted in the province as the Francophone community, has been given special linguistic status by policies that ensure that educational, social, and health services are available in the English language to Anglophones. This has resulted in parallel infrastructures with hospitals, school boards, universities, retirement homes, etc., that serve exclusively the English-speaking minority, and are (entirely or partly) financed by the province.[19] These networks are of immense significance to the ageing monolingual population, as well as to create a sense of community among Anglophone Quebecers: school boards, in particular, are important, as they ensure the continuation of the Anglophone experience in the province – not an easy task given the many Anglophones who opt to send their children to French school (see above). This also explains why proposed changes to the way school boards are run (as semi-autonomous entities with their own elections) have been met with fierce opposition within the community (Meagher 2016). Finally, English is also implicitly viewed, by authorities, as part and parcel of the Montreal identity, as evidenced by a Quebec Superior Court decision in 2012 ordering a sushi bar to remove the word 'Fukyu' from its name. Presented as of Japanese origin (from 普及型 *fukyū(-gata)* [ɸɯᵝ.kjɯᵝ(gata)], lit. 'universal reach (form)', a type of movement sequences in karate), it was deemed inappropriate by some anglophone neighbours in the Côte-des-Neiges borough[20] for its possible English reading as [fʌk.ju]. The judge ruled the word 'clearly inappropriate given

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19. The status of this, after all, provincially 'non-official' language, English, can, therefore, not be compared with that of other non-official languages on the continent: Maurais (2010: 170) gives the example of several states in the USA whose policies, as recently as the 1980s, 'forbid supplying state or local services in a language other than English to clients who do not master the latter language'. In one particularly unsettling case, a Texas mother was barred from speaking Spanish to her child because, as the judge put it, it amounted to 'child abuse' (Chen 1995: 46, cited in Maurais 2010: 171). These instances are unlike anything that the Charter of the French language stipulated, even in its initial, most restrictive form.

20. An electoral district in which 78.4% of the population knows English (2006 census).

its meaning when pronounced *in a Montreal context*' (Lampert 2012, my emphasis), thereby taking the English pronunciation – rather than the French (official) or the Japanese (original) one – as the benchmark against which the word in question was evaluated.[21]

English also benefits from its status as the dominant language on the North American continent and as the primary global lingua franca (see chapter 3). Multinational companies operating out of Montreal are known to operate in English; in fact, the law allows companies to negotiate an agreement with the OQLF in order to be exempted from some of the francisation requirements (Marsan 2015). This should not come as a surprise, particularly for companies that conduct business primarily or solely in non-francophone countries. While the Charter of the French language was specifically passed to address this predominance of English in the commercial realm, it would appear that when very large corporations (and their tax revenues) are at stake (the '1% of companies' (Marsan 2015)), concessions may be obtained.

2.4 New Brunswick: a bilingual province

The language policies at work in the province of New Brunswick shall be described in a little more detail here, for it is, like Quebec, a province that is characterised by a rather unique demolinguistic profile and language policy. New Brunswick was visited by Jacques Cartier on his first voyage in 1534, and Champlain established the first permanent European settlements in 1604. What is now Maritime Canada (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) was claimed as part of the colony of New France and named 'Acadia', with settlers from France mingling with the aboriginal Mi'kmaq and Maliseet (Wolastoqiyik), with most settling in Peninsular Acadia (Nova Scotia). The colony saw its first decline after the War of the Spanish Succession, when the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) handed Nova Scotia to Britain. Mainland Acadia was conquered in the course of the French and Indian War with the fall of Fort Anne (present-day Fredericton, the capital of New Brunswick) in 1759.

The British conquest of Acadia was disastrous for the French colonists. A large number of Acadian settlers were deported in the course of *le grand dérangement*, a programme which saw 11 500 of the region's 14 000 Acadians forcibly removed to locations ranging from Quebec to Louisiana. This greatly reduced the Francophone population, which was replaced, shortly thereafter, by Loyalists fleeing the seceding American colonies. When Acadians were allowed to return to Nova Scotia in the late 1770s, most fertile land had been re-appropriated by arrivals from New England. The general wave of immigration to North America in the late 18th and early nineteenth century from the British Isles also affected Maritime Canada and with it

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21. One may speculate that it was precisely this English pronunciation – although couched within the obscure and appropriately 'exotic' spelling – that may very well have been the one intended by the sign-makers, bringing about (as it did) much publicity, a fact that may have played a role in the judicial decision.

New Brunswick, by bringing increasing numbers of English-speaking settlers. By 1871, the former French majority had been reduced to 16%. This number rose again after Confederation (in 1867; New Brunswick was one of the original four provinces, with Nova Scotia and Upper and Lower Canada, to merge into a larger federal unit that would eventually become the country Canada), reaching 24% in 1901 and 34% in 1931 (Forbes 2008).

Data from the 2006 census show that this proportion has somewhat decreased: 27% report 'French' as one of their ethnicities. There is the possibility that extra options in the census have influenced this number: for one, multiple responses are possible for ethnic origin, so that one can identify as both French and Scottish, for instance; also, the category 'Canadian', first introduced as an ethnic origin in the 1996 census, was chosen by 53% of the New Brunswick population as one of their ethnicities. The term glosses over the traditional language divide and can apply to persons of English, French, Aboriginal, or mixed heritage. The language data from the 2011 census offer more reliable measures. Those with French as their only mother tongue account for 32% of the population, those with English only 66% (only 1% claim both languages as their mother tongues). These numbers (one third French, two thirds English) are in line with the situation as it was in 1931, so that a certain degree of overall stability in the ethnolinguistic distribution can be observed. Knowledge of official languages, however, is unevenly distributed across language groups: 33% of the total population of New Brunswick claims knowledge of both French and English, but while 58% only know English, just 9% only know French. Monolingualism in French is, therefore, a minority phenomenon in the province, whereas bilingualism, while it exists among Anglophones at the rate of 15%, is much more common among Francophones (71% of them being bilingual and 28% monolingual in French).

Official language policy in New Brunswick exists under several statutory instruments. The first to be passed was the 1969 Official Languages Act, which made both English and French co-official languages and listed a number of fundamental linguistic rights, chief among them that service from the provincial government can be received in the language of choice. This act made New Brunswick the first and only province in Canada to become officially bilingual voluntarily (Manitoba, which, as explained on page 24 above, was founded as a bilingual province in 1870, had to be reminded of this fact by a Supreme Court decision in 1985). The 1981 Bill 88, the 'Act recognising the equality of the two official linguistic communities in New Brunswick', further cemented language rights, with the creation of separate (i.e. parallel) institutions in the cultural, educational, and social sphere. In addition to these provincial laws, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (CCRF), a fundamental component of the federal constitution introduced in 1982, guarantees official bilingualism in Canada and New Brunswick (s 16ff), making the province the only one that has its language policy status mentioned in the Constitution. In addition to the two languages being termed *official*, and the two language com-

munities enjoying equal rights, official bilingualism prevails in all branches of government, with parliamentary records and texts of laws available in both languages with equal authority. The Official Languages Act was revised in 2002, and the 'Office of the Commissioner of official languages for New Brunswick' was created in 2003. This office is the first port of call for complaints and concerns about the language rights of citizens in the province (similar to an official languages ombudsman, but with legal powers; an institution later adopted in Wales, see chapter 6). Since the early 2000s, a series of regulations and language policies have been implemented that regulate primarily issues of language at the workplace and the language of government services. Among them is a Court of Appeal decision from 2001 that mandates official bilingualism also at the municipal level. The province is, therefore, bilingual in its entirety, at all levels of government (municipal, provincial, and federal).

The official bilingualism in New Brunswick has resulted in a duplication of services in some instances, with sometimes unintended consequences. In 2015 and 2016, changes to the internal policy of Ambulance New Brunswick, the provincial Crown corporation running the first-response paramedic system, sought to ensure that at least one member of any two-person crew was bilingual. The additional paperwork and the perceived discrimination of unilingual employees led to protests from unions (Poitras 2016). Over the same period, the question arose whether school busses needed to be segregated by language. The legal situation is such that Francophones and Anglophones are given the same rights in terms of education. Therefore, there are parallel French and English school systems, a situation which extends to separate bussing services being available in French and English, i.e. Francophones take one bus and Anglophones another one, even when the busses cover the same catchment area, travel the same route, and go to schools right next to each other. The idea of making this parallel system more efficient, mooted by an anglophone provincial politician, was met with strong opposition from francophone quarters (Hazlewood 2015, Bissett 2016).

Nevertheless, New Brunswick stands out among Canada's provinces and territories for being the one with official language communities closest to each other in terms of size. A quick look back at Table 2.1 on page 29 shows that New Brunswick has, proportionally, the largest official language (mother tongue) minority; its French-speaking community (31.9%) is larger than any other province outside Quebec, larger even than Quebec's own English-speaking minority (7.8%). In fact, as far as mother tongue is concerned, Francophones in New Brunswick are proportionally more numerous than speakers of non-official languages in even the most immigrant rich provinces (27% in British Columbia, 26.3% in Ontario). Only Nunavut has a larger proportion who declare a non-official language as mother tongue (mostly Inuits, see page 25). In short, the vitality of the French language in New Brunswick, if not to be taken for granted as in Quebec, is not under threat from governmental policies, quite to the contrary –

a fact visible in the continued census data showing knowledge (and usage) of French in the province.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter began with an overview of the historical context in which Canada as a nation and, eventually, an independent country, emerged. The various layers of European settlement, combined with the political break that occurred after the transfer of sovereignty from France to Britain, are crucial elements in understanding the current linguistic situation in the country as well as the language policies in place. The French–English duality that characterises the history of confederation as well as its present-day language policy is generally recognised and has been institutionalised throughout the country in various ways. In contrast to these two major communities, the numerically and politically marginalised indigenous peoples have been given comparatively little place in the organisation of the country; their languages, with some notable exceptions, are left with little official relevance, and 45 of its currently 83 indigenous languages are severely or critically endangered (Moseley 2016); Lewis et al (2016) estimate that 34 are not being passed on through natural intergenerational transmission.

With respect to language policy, Quebec stands out from the other provinces in having a highly elaborate legal framework for regulating language within its borders, complemented by civil society groups supporting the policy (e.g. the recently established *Observatoire national en matière de droits linguistiques* 'National observatory on linguistic rights' (Université de Montréal 2016)). If the aim of the Charter of the French language was to revitalise its speech community, to valorise the French language, and to ensure its continued relevance in Quebec, then that aim can be seen as largely achieved: French is a majority language in the province, and its statuses as the only official language and as the mandated language of the workplace mean that it is unlikely to disappear in the foreseeable future. Anglophones and Allophones are required to learn French, a requirement that they willingly embrace in view of the benefits associated with bilingualism in Canada's two official languages – benefits that may be felt well beyond provincial borders. Language policy in Quebec is also tied to immigration policy, which has seen a shift towards migrants from the Caribbean and North and West Africa. Their numerical contribution helps avert the decline of Francophones both outside (e.g. in Manitoba, see Saba 2016) and inside Quebec (Drescher 2008). The extent to which these migrants decide to stay on in these localities depends much more on personal and economic factors than on the language policy of the Quebec state. Here, the transnational experience of migration trumps language nationalism.

3 Language planning and policy: theoretical background

THE present chapter presents the theoretical approaches to language planning, language policy, and identity politics that underpin this study. Previous research in the field is presented and reviewed. In addition to general theoretical approaches, given the focus of the study, works dealing with Canada and Quebec in particular are considered in more detail.

3.1 Theoretical approaches to language planning and policy

Before proceeding, a few terminological notes may be in order. The field of language policy and language planning is not well delimited and interdisciplinary in nature. The distinction between *language policy* and *language planning* is also not as clear-cut as it may seem: Hornberger (2006: 25) quotes Fettes (1997: 14), who defines language planning as 'providing standards of rationality and effectiveness', whereas language policy 'test[s] these ideas against actual practice in order to promote the development of better [...] planning models'. Fettes also made the case for the field to be called 'language policy and planning' (LPP), considering the two to be inseparable and unable to exist in isolation. Hornberger (2006: 25) demonstrates this by the uncertainty over whether 'planning subsume[s] policy', as argued by Fettes (1997), 'or policy subsume[s] planning', and over whether policy is the output of planning or the other way around, with evidence for both scenarios.

Actual definitions of LPP abound, of course. I shall here refer to Johnson (2013b), whose overview of the development of LPP research lists a number of scholars' own definitions of the field. He begins with Kaplan & Baldauf (1997: xi), who give a rather traditional, top-down definition of an intentional policy emanating from a (typically governmental) authority:

> language planning leads to, or is directed by, the promulgation of a language policy by government (or other authoritative body or person). A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, and practices intended to achieve the planned language change (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: xi)

A rather different approach is taken by Schiffman (1996), who defines policy as 'primarily a social construct'. Any explicit elements such as language legislation ('explicit *text*', emphasis

in the original) are grounded in 'other conceptual elements [...] the whole complex that we are referring to as *linguistic culture*' (Schiffman 1996: 276). The cultural element is crucial to Schiffman's conception of LPP, both in its 'textual' manifestation (i.e. explicit policies) as well as in its societal dimension of ideas and beliefs about language. Johnson (2013b: 5) highlights Schiffman's concerns about supposed causal relationships between language and policy: 'language policy research should not make causative claims about policy creator intentions, policy language, and policy outcomes without clear evidence' – language practice, he argues, may 'have arisen without, or in spite of, any policy support' (Johnson 2013b: 5). Johnson's next definition by Spolsky (2004) lends support to Schiffman's sociocultural approach by providing a model of three components in a given society's language policy: (1) language practice, (2) language ideology, and (3) language planning. The first is the 'habitual pattern' of sociolinguistic variation in the speech community, the second the sets of 'beliefs about language and language use',[1] and the third 'any kind of language intervention', or 'management' (Spolsky 2004: 5; see also Spolsky 2009a). Differences between this and Schiffman's approach reside in the fact that while for Schiffman, 'language policy is grounded in language beliefs and ideologies, Spolsky portrays such beliefs and ideologies *as* language policy' (Johnson 2013b: 6, emphasis in the original). Thus, policy subsumes ideology. Johnson then turns to McCarty (2004; 2011), whose sociocultural definition of language policy is one grounded in speaker interaction and negotiation. She defines language policy as 'a complex sociocultural process' (McCarty 2011: 8) that includes 'modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production, mediated by relations of power' (McCarty 2004: 72). This multi-layered approach (see also Ricento & Hornberger 1996: 419) differs from the top-down vs. bottom-up dichotomy often encountered in definitions of LPP. A more critical approach is taken by Tollefson (1991), who highlights the potential of language policy for social differentiation and the establishment and maintenance of power relations. 'Language policy is one mechanism for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources.' (Tollefson 1991: 16) It is, therefore, instrumental in establishing hegemonic language uses. These mechanisms of power establish inequalities, which, however, language policies can also resist (Tollefson 2013). Having reviewed these definitions, Johnson (2013b: 9) offers his own:

> A *language policy* is a mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language and includes:
>
> 1. Official regulations – often elected in the form of written documents, intended to effect some change in form, function, use, or acquisition of the language – which can influence economic, political, and educational opportunity;

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1. These beliefs are as varied and as diverse as usage. They need to be distinguished into (i) officially articulated beliefs, (ii) informally dominant or hegemonic beliefs, and (iii) minority or grassroots-level beliefs.

2. Unofficial, covert, *de facto*, and implicit mechanisms, connected to language beliefs and practices, that have regulating power over language use and interaction within communities, workplaces, and schools;

3. Not just products but processes – 'policy' as a verb, not a noun – that are driven by a diversity of language policy agents across multiple layers of policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation;

4. Policy texts and discourses across multiple contexts and layers of policy activity, which are influenced by the ideologies and discourses unique to that context.

(Johnson 2013b: 9, emphasis in original)

Table 3.1: Language policy types by Johnson (2013b: 10).

Genesis	*Top-down* Macro-level policy developed by some governing or authoritative body or person	*Bottom-up* Micro-level or grassroots generated policy for and by the community that it impacts
Means and goals	*Overt* Overtly expressed in written or spoken policy texts	*Covert* Intentionally concealed at the macro-level (collusive) or at the micro-level (subversive)
Documentation	*Explicit* Officially documented in written or spoken policy texts	*Implicit* Occurring without or in spite of official policy texts
In law and in practice	*De jure* Policy 'in law'; officially documented in writing	*De facto* Policy 'in practice'; refers to both locally produced *policies* that arise without or in spite of *de jure* policies and local language *practices* that differ from *de jure* policies; *de facto* practices can reflect (or not) *de facto* policies

In short, the concept of language policy needs to be understood as defined in various ways, as nicely summarised in Table 3.1, provided by Johnson (2013b: 10): the often-conjured 'top-down' dimension of a governmental agency dictating a policy that is then implemented 'further down' at the level of the populace is, to put it mildly, just one specific case of language policy, which has its 'bottom-up' counterpart, too. What is missing from this model is the recognition that 'top-down' policies may also originate from (transnational) private sector agents, for instance in the media and entertainment business, who are heavily invested in the dissemination of cultural and linguistic norms in tandem with their goods and services. 'Top-down' and 'bottom-up'

seem to be largely concerned with political power here, when in fact it could include a much wider array of power structures. While official regulations and policy texts are clearly relevant, the ideological dimension so important to Spolsky is also part of Johnson's view of LPP. Policy may operate at several distinct levels, with cross-influences possible: supra-national and nation-state level policies (e.g. the explicit 'official' and 'working' language policies of bodies such as the UN or the EU; 'official' or 'national' language policies in individual countries), language policies in sub-national territorial entities and non-territorial bodies (governmental or non-governmental), policies in companies of the private sector (e.g. the working language policies of large multinationals), but also policies (perhaps largely unwritten and ad-hoc, 'implicit' in Johnson's term) at the level of small and medium-sized enterprises, grassroots organisation, and all the way to family language policies and practices (King et al 2008). Interactions between these levels are perhaps best analysed by ethnographic means (see e.g. Johnson 2013a for a review of the literature on the ethnography of language policy).[2] If we take language ideologies, beliefs, and cultural constructs as part of an overarching language political framework, as done by Schiffman, Spolsky, and McCarthy (above), the initial governmentally-written policy document becomes a farcically small (albeit relevant) element in a complex system: language 'ideology' can be described as a (formal or informal) regulatory mechanism that is omnipresent in any society, whereas language 'policies' in their explicit form are an optional extra.

3.1.1 Language planning and policy models

A common distinction in language planning was introduced by Kloss (1969), who proposed two main types of planning: status planning and corpus planning; Cooper (1989) later added a third, acquisition planning. I shall briefly explain these here.

Status planning

Status planning deals with the social status of given languages, with functions given to or removed from particular varieties. Explicitly giving a language 'official' status, for instance in the form of a constitutional article or another statutory instrument, is an act of status planning: nothing material changes, but the status of the language does, which may well result in other changes (such as the medium of instruction in schools, the language preferred in official business, etc.). Languages may thus be given 'official' or 'national' status, and in some polities several language may be given different statuses (e.g. in Singapore, where all of Malay, Mandarin, Tamil, and English are 'official' languages, but only Malay is a 'national' language;

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2. Note how much of the discussion on such policy-making revolves around the idea of standard(ised) languages as monolithic entities, typically formulated from a monolingual perspective. Not much policy-making takes code-switching into account, for example.

Switzerland, where all of German, French, Italian, and Romansh are *Landessprachen* 'national' languages, but only German, French, and Italian are *Amtssprachen* 'official' languages; or Vanuatu, where Bislama is the 'national' language, all of Bislama, English, and French are 'official' languages, and English and French are 'principal languages of education' (Constitution of Vanuatu s 3(1))). Most often, conferring an explicit status such as 'official' or 'national' endows the language or variety in question with a certain legitimacy, raises their profile, and generally enhances their status in the hierarchy of languages. In some instances, such an enhanced status is the (sometimes more, sometimes less) explicit aim of the policy: a language, typically one that had previously been discouraged, or that has lost many speakers, is now actively promoted in an effort to revitalise it. This is the case in Wales, where Welsh, initially ignored, then co-official with English, is now the sole official language of the country, despite it being spoken by a mere fifth of the population. The increase in status (combined with measures in the education system) has, for the time being, halted its decline, and even slightly reversed it; the maintenance of the speaker base has given way to a spread of its domains of use. Ireland has followed a similar path with Irish, although the numbers there are much lower, so that the policy is more one of revitalisation than of actual maintenance. The language policy in Quebec is certainly also one of promotion of the French language, and of elevating its previously lower status with respect to English – the difference here is that French in the province is (and always has been) a majority language and its vitality is not threatened. Language promotion, therefore, is clearly often the main aim of status planning.

At the same time, however, official endorsement of one (or more) language(s) disenfranchises *other* languages, primarily those not explicitly mentioned in the status planning legislation: since German has official status in Germany[3] but Turkish is not mentioned, Turkish as a language has no official recognition in the country, for example. The language is simply tolerated – neither promoted as in the case of official recognition, nor proscribed, but simply ignored in the legislation. This is unlike another, rarer, type of status planning, outright proscription, where legal instruments are used to ban or reduce the use of a given language or variety. Catalonian, Galician, Basque, and all other languages except Castilian Spanish were banned in Francoist Spain (1938–1978), with active repression for users outside the home. Less aggressive (but more effective) are Singapore's guidelines banning varieties of Chinese other than Mandarin (such as Minnan and Cantonese), which removed them from mass media and the public sphere and established an annual campaign (the Speak Mandarin Campaign) that actively portrays Mandarin as the educated 'language' that connects all Chinese to their ancestral culture, whereas other varieties are dismissed as non-standardised 'dialects' unfit for such

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3. Though not at the 'constitutional' level, rather, subordinate legislation defines German as the *Amtssprache* 'official language' (Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz s 184, Verwaltungsverfahrensgesetz s 23(1)).

purposes. While in Spain the brutal repression of the regional languages during the Franco years has been largely redressed since with now increased vitality, Singapore's non-Mandarin varieties of Chinese have suffered great losses in their speaker bases, with some nearing extinction.[4] Other policies are more concerned with the 'purity' of a particular language, leading some authorities, e.g. those in Tajikistan, to issue bans on particular words considered 'foreign' or unnecessarily opaque (Agence France-Presse 2016, Гулхоҷа 2016).

It is useful to point out that status planning may take place at various geopolitical and administrative levels. Switzerland and Canada are cases in point, where the countries as a whole are officially bi- or multilingual, whereas the constituent sub-national entities (cantons and provinces) have different languages policies, ranging from official trilingualism (Grisons)[5] to monolingualism (Quebec). In both countries, municipalities represent a third level at which policy may operate, resulting, in Switzerland, largely in monolingual municipalities, even in bilingual cantons (such as Sion in Valais), and, in Canada, in bilingual municipalities in otherwise monolingual provinces (such as Westmount in Quebec). The result is a local bi- or monolingualism based on the territoriality principle (Kloss 1965, Grünert 2012), which assigns language(s) to specific geographical territories. Not all polities use this system, however. While there are sub-national entities in Wales (in the form of principal areas called counties or county boroughs), and the proportion of Welsh speakers differs greatly from one to the other (from 65% in Gwynedd to 7.8% in Blaenau Gwent, 2011 census), Welsh holds official status throughout the country, with no county-level differentiation. The same can be said for Singapore, which, due to its small surface area, lacks a meaningful sub-national layer comparable to the cantons, provinces, and counties discussed here. The country's districts, regions, urban planning areas, and constituencies are used for administrative purposes only. Since the heterogeneous population is mixed in all areas of the island and since ethnic enclaves have been deliberately 'planned away' by public housing policies (Leimgruber 2013a), language policy is one and the same throughout the city-state.

Corpus planning

While status planning alters the social status, the use, and the perception of language, and is, therefore, external to language itself, corpus planning is concerned with the form of language. The processes associated with corpus planning include standardisation (the selection

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4. Similar developments can be observed in the People's Republic of China, where Mandarin is promoted at the expense of other varieties of Chinese (Zhou & Sun 2004, Wong 2010).

5. The canton of Grisons (*Graubünden* in German, *Grigioni* in Italian, *Grischun* in Romansh) is officially trilingual in German, Romansh and Italian. Ironically, its name in English stems from its name in French, which is Switzerland's fourth national language and, for geographical (territorial) reasons, the only one not to be official in the canton.

of a language variety to serve as the standard to be codified and taught), codification (in the form of grammar), and graphisation (the creation or modification of a writing system). Corpus planning is carried out by various bodies: a well-known example is the *Académie française*, the official authority on the French language in France. It publishes the country's official dictionary, modernises French spelling (the latest 'rectifications' dating from 1990), and suggests neologisms, typically in order to offer alternatives to anglicisms. This latter concern is also a primary one of the Office québécois de la langue française (OQLF), the Quebec counterpart of the *Académie*, which offers a terminological dictionary, a *banque de dépannage linguistique* 'linguistic assistance database', and several other specialised publications, many available online. Not all languages have such academies, however. Corpus planning in English usage and vocabulary may be in the hands of respected publishing houses on both sides of the Atlantic and German uses the international *Rat für deutsche Rechtschreibung* 'Council for German orthography' and its dictionaries published by Duden; a common set of rules (vocabulary, orthography, grammar) nonetheless emerges.

'Elaboration' (Haugen 1983) is an important aspect of corpus planning beyond codification. It deals with the modernisation of vocabulary (French *courriel* for 'e-mail', Italian *elaboratore* for 'computer') and style (suggesting stylistic variants acceptable for particular levels of formality, for instance). In some instances, corpus planning may explicitly attempt to 'purify' a language from 'foreign' influences: this can be achieved through spelling reform, removing or adding graphemes reminiscent of other languages, or changing the writing system altogether (e.g. Korean moving from Chinese script to Hangul); offering substitutes to loanwords with a native etymology may be used in the lexicon. More common nowadays, however, is the issue of providing a complete lexicon able to cope with the terminological demands of everyday communication. Quebec's OQLF devotes much of its work to the *Grand dictionnaire terminologique*, a terminological database available online that takes both a prescriptive and a descriptive approach: it offers guidance for writers seeking the 'correct' French term, but also offers regional variants from Quebec, France, Africa, or elsewhere in the Francophonie.

Acquisition planning

Language acquisition (or education) planning is inseparable from the other two types of planning. Status planning (overt or covert) gives (or removes) status to a given language or variety, and acquisition planning ensures that these statuses are transmitted to language users. The focus on the state education system is only the most obvious one: compulsory primary education is the perfect place for policy to reach as wide an audience as possible, an audience that is also young and therefore represents language users of the present *and* the future. Adult language teaching may also be subsumed under this planning type: the efforts to revitalising Welsh in

Wales include an adult language teaching programme with a series of qualifications available, named *Wlpan* and loosely based on Israel's אולפן *Ulpan* 'studio' classes that equip immigrants with Hebrew language skills. In fact, language classes for adult immigrants are a feature of many Western 'destination' countries, and are often a pre-requisite for permanent residence or citizenship: Germany's *Integrationskurs* 'integration course', Quebec's *cours de francisation* 'francisation course', Sweden's *Svenskundervisning för invandrare* 'Swedish for immigrants', or Australia's Adult Migrant English Program are just four examples of state-sponsored and variably subsidised acquisition planning efforts aimed, primarily, at integration through the transmission of the polity's official language (see Wright 2008, Extra et al 2009 for a discussions on language and citizenship testing).

Acquisition planning in the wider sense also includes any presence of languages in the public sphere: in its policy aiming to promote Mandarin over other varieties of Chinese, Singapore declared Mandarin an official language, thus raising its status; its Mandarin language agency then produced vocabulary lists and other teaching materials (corpus planning), and Mandarin became a compulsory school subject for ethnically Chinese pupils (acquisition planning). Additionally, non-Mandarin varieties were removed from mass media and government officials and civil servants were encouraged to refrain from speaking 'dialect' in public. This erasure of the undesirable varieties removes or reduces input sources for the targeted language users, thus encouraging the shift towards the desired variety.

Integrative model

This three-way distinction between language planning and policy types (status, corpus, acquisition), going back to Kloss (1969) and Cooper (1989), is generally accepted in the LPP field. Another distinction is that of LPP approaches, proposed by Neustupný (1974), where policy approaches are distinguished from cultivation approaches. The former are concerned with planning at the macro level of nation and society, whereas the latter deal with planning at the micro level of personal use of language. While this distinction is reminiscent of the status–corpus dichotomy, 'the match is not perfect' (Hornberger 2006: 28): the inclusive approach by Haugen (1983) combines the LPP types (status and corpus) with LPP approaches (policy and cultivation), resulting in a four-fold matrix consisting of the selection of norms (at the intersection of status planning and policy planning), codification of norms (corpus planning and policy planning), implementation of function (status and cultivation), and elaboration of function (corpus and cultivation).

At this point it is useful to introduce the 'integrative model' proposed by Hornberger (2006: 29), which visualises the approaches and types mentioned above. The model is reproduced here in Figure 3.1. It shows the three LPP types (status, acquisition, and corpus planning) in the left-

Types	Approaches	
	Policy planning (on form)	*Cultivation planning* (on function)
	<u>SELECTION</u> Language's formal role in society *Extra-linguistic aims*	<u>IMPLEMENTATION</u> Language's functional role in society *Extra-linguistic aims*
Status planning (about uses of language)	**Officialisation** **Nationalisation** **Standardisation of status** **Proscription**	**Revival** **Maintenance** **Spread** **Interlingual communication – inter-, intranational**
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	**Group** **Education/School** **Literary** **Religious** **Mass media** **Work**	**Reacquisition** **Maintenance** **Shift** **Foreign/second language/literacy**
	<u>CODIFICATION</u> Language's form *Linguistic aims*	<u>ELABORATION</u> Language's functions *Semi-linguistic aims*
Corpus planning (about language)	**Standardisation of corpus** **Auxiliary code** **Graphisation**	**Modernisation** (new functions) **– Lexical** **– Stylistic** **Renovation** (new forms, old functions) **– Purification** **– Reform** **– Stylistic simplification** **– Terminology unification**

Figure 3.1: The Integrative framework proposed by Hornberger (2006: 29): language planning and policy types are in regular typeface, approaches in *italics*, and goals in **bold**; Hornberger's own comments are in those in (parentheses). The four elements of the matrix by Haugen (1983) are headed by <u>DOUBLE-UNDERLINED SMALL-CAPITAL</u> headings added by Hornberger.

most column, set against the two planning approaches (policy and cultivation planning). Haugen's four-fold matrix described above is highlighted by the following four headings: selection, implementation, codification, and elaboration. Within the six individual cells resulting from the combination of types and approaches, LPP goals are listed in bold: these goals, eleven of them first proposed by Nahir (1977; 1984), indicate the 'political direction' (Hornberger 1990: 21) – that is, the desired outcome – of the change envisaged by the policy and by the planning measures. Thus we find **proscription**, the more or less outright ban on a particular speech variety, as a policy goal characterised by the type status planning, the approach *policy planning*, and situated in Haugen's quadrant titled <u>SELECTION</u>. Similarly, the goal of **modernisation**, briefly touched on above, is situated in the <u>ELABORATION</u> quadrant, of the corpus planning type and the *cultivation planning* approach (i.e. concerned with language functions rather than form).

There are several advantages to Hornberger's integrative model, chief among them the holistic overview of the theory behind LPP – it takes established analytical frameworks and fuses them into a single model. The model also immediately renders individual components of LPP visible and shows their interconnectedness with one another. As with any model of this kind, actual definitions (of types, approaches, goals, etc.) need to be given separately, but the resulting interpretative Figure 3.1 may serve as a useful tool for LPP researchers, activists, and practitioners alike.

3.1.2 Current trends in language planning and policy research

A major theme in recent LPP research has been globalisation and the impact it may have on language use and language planning across the world. While the unit of analysis in many studies remains the nation-state, transnational migratory flows bring cultural and linguistic capital from around the world into contact. Therefore, no sociolinguistic reality is isolated from the other – globalisation makes available linguistic resources to users worldwide, and policies as to their uses naturally emerge in response to this diffusion.

As a result, much recent LPP research is concerned with the link between language, nation, and identity, and how this link is affected by ongoing processes of globalisation. The subtitle of Wright (2016), 'from nationalism to globalisation', is a first hint at the direction that the field is taking; the title of Duchêne & Heller (2012), 'Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit' further links the realms of nationalist pride with that of the capitalist quest for profit, both of which are ideologically linked in much of recent policy discourse. Blommaert (2006) is perhaps a useful starting point: instead of taking the four concepts in his chapter title ('language policy and national identity') for granted, he sets out to define them, beginning by untangling the concepts of 'state' and 'nation', which often combine to create the 'nation-state'. That this is problematic is illustrated by nationalisms existing in opposition to a given state (e.g. Catalonia

vs. Spain, Quebec vs. Canada), as well as states that exist without a 'nation' as their base (arguably the case in Germany, or in the several African countries where pre-existing 'nations' (i.e., ethnic communities, ethnolinguistic groups) found themselves in a single (post-)colonial state). Blommaert points out that with increasing globalisation, there is a perception that the 'nation-state' is diminishing in relevance, but he is quick to say that while this may be true for nations, it is not the case for states, which are in fact important actors in the process of globalisation. Non-state or supra-state actors such as the United Nations, the European Union, NATO, and the World Bank also have varying degrees of influence and control over the states in the 'traditional' sense. In short, a 'national' language policy may only be so in name, with tenets of the policy influenced by sub-state and supra-state considerations.

Work by Monica Heller (Heller 2010; 2011, Heller et al 2015) was instrumental in explaining this shift away from nationalism to 'post-national' forms of language planning and use. Much of it is premised on situating language in 'late capitalism', a period as well as a global economic reality defined by

> (a) capitalist expansion or globalisation, requiring the management of communication (involving producers, consumers, and national or supranational regulating bodies); (b) computerisation of the work process, requiring new kinds of language and literacy skills among workers; (c) the growth of the service sector, in largely communication-based forms; and (d) responses to the saturation of markets in the form of the development of niche markets (which require localised approaches often including a focus on linguistic specificity) and of the use of symbolic, often linguistic, resources to add value to standardised products.
> (Heller 2010: 104)

Language, therefore, becomes a 'commodity' that is both a crucial tool for communication at the local, regional, national, and global levels, but also a resource that can be used in the 'development of niche markets' by highlighting 'linguistic specificity' or using linguistic items for symbolic purposes, thereby enabling a real monetisation of language itself. Heller's prime site of work is Francophone Canada, particularly Ontario. Examples of 'post-national' uses of language include the use of language as performance in tourism-oriented 'local' festivals in eastern Ontario (Heller 2011: 151–153) and artisanal products that project a local, authentic origin (*produits du terroir*, see also Silverstein 2014), but marketed nationally and internationally, also by small-scale entrepreneurs selling these products at fairs around the globe (Heller 2011: 154–159). In short, much of the discussion in her book shows how language and identity in Francophone Canada are no longer inextricably linked, with the ideologies shifting 'from constructing language and identity as an inalienable heritage to constructing them as a sources of added value' (Heller 2011: 115). This is reminiscent of a trend in several subfields of linguistics, such as the study of the sociolinguistics of globalisation (with Blommaert (2010: 180–181) calling for the terms *language* and *linguistic feature* to be replaced by *voice* and *linguistic resources*)

or even world Englishes (with the concept of *variety* increasingly questioned, see Seargeant & Tagg 2011, Leimgruber 2013c).

These considerations have an impact on language planning and policy, too. Most explicit LPP activity (whether bottom-up or top-down) takes place within a standard language framework ('normative language policy', Peled 2014).

3.2 English language policy in multilingual settings

This section will look in more detail at the presence of the English language in polities where it co-exists with other languages, and how its role, and that of the language(s) it co-exists with, is regulated. Before considering the language political dimension proper, a brief historical outline of how and why English became the primary global lingua franca is presented.

3.2.1 English as the world's lingua franca

Wright (2004; 2016) offers a detailed overview of the historical background behind the emergence of two lingua francas, French and English, as well as the reasons for the decline of the former. The main argument of her chapter on French is that the spread of French as the prestigious European lingua franca of choice was a result not so much of conscious language planning by the French themselves, but rather a byproduct of the spread of French influence: 'French was learnt and used because its speakers had political, economic, and cultural clout' (Wright 2016: 138); the spread occurred because of expansionist military action and a strategic continental relevance, because of the economic effects of a large and productive nation, and because of the multiple cultural, scientific, religious, and philosophical contributions of speakers of French. As a result, the language became desirable among the educated élite, with courts all over the continent communicating among each other and even internally in French, leading to its erstwhile position as the preferred language of international diplomacy. It is only after World War I, and increasingly so after World War II (i.e., in the second half of the twentieth century) that French lost in importance on the worldwide stage, with the ascendence of the United States of America and the political, economic, and cultural power wielded globally by its English speakers. Also, it is only when French saw its international status decline that language policy measures were put in place, in France and abroad, aimed at strengthening its position: laws on the primacy of French in France were passed, and an ambitious programme of language promotion in a worldwide network (through agencies such as the *Alliance Française* centres and the intergovernmental organisation *Francophonie*) was established. However, these efforts have not proved entirely successful. The promotion of a 'multilingualism' policy in the European education landscape, with a view to push for the additional acquisition of languages other than

English, has had limited success, with learners devoting their efforts to 'acquire what they deem to be the most "useful" foreign language, and this is, at present, English' (Wright 2016: 148). Further afield, Wright gives the example of Vietnam, the former French colony and current member of the Francophonie, which has received attention and education funding from the French government in the endeavour to promote French in its education system. The fact that recent decades have seen more and more Vietnamese students shifting towards learning English, and even Chinese, rather than French, as their preferred foreign language, is a reminder, Wright argues, that language planning 'can only go with societal trends and not against them', and that 'lingua francas are less stable than national languages' (Wright 2016: 148, 152). The latter point is further evidenced by the fact that even though English may have displaced French as the international lingua franca of choice, it has done nothing to displace French in France among French speakers, where it remains the uncontested national language.

The case of English is somewhat different. Here the language began as the uncouth tongue of an insular people on the fringes of the continent, whose élite relied on French or Latin in order to access cultural capital beyond their borders. It is only with colonial expansion that English began to attract the attention of speakers of other languages: the military and political achievements of the Empire (a point previously made by Crystal 2003: 9–10), its influence as a trading power, advances in science and technology – both of which were greatly enhanced by the British Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and the resulting increase in economic weight – and systemic political and religious ideological influence all combined to gradually raise the profile of English and make it a language worthy of study; in other words, it is the same constellation of political, economic, technological, and cultural power that initially made English a lingua franca. Ironically, however, the global spread of the English language, although a byproduct of British imperialism and colonial expansion, carried on and even accelerated during and after the collapse of the Empire (a period Wright (2016: 160, 333) delimits by the 1946 independence of Transjordan and the 1997 'handover' of Hong Kong). The reason for this is that together with the fall of the British Empire came the rise of the United States of America, a former colony that happened to use the same language. The pre-eminence of the USA in all global matters of military power, political influence, cultural dissemination, and scientific and technological innovation, secured the position of English as the global lingua franca, even more so since the collapse of its only serious competitor, the USSR, in the early 1990s. Since then, the economic leadership of the USA has been such that its language has spread to all corners of the globe, and language learners worldwide seek to acquire it (see Philippson (1992) for an analysis of this spread in terms of 'linguistic imperialism').

Northrup (2013: 137–160) has an enlightening chapter 'Tipping points' that documents the 'globalisation' English experienced, particularly post-1990. He identifies four major contribut-

ing factors. First, the creation and subsequent spread of the World Wide Web, which brought the internet to the common user at home. English has, from its inception, held pride of place in the computer industry, beginning with input systems that were, for a long time, limited to a restricted set of Latin characters. More importantly, the development of the online world took place, initially, in English-speaking countries. While the internet is becoming increasingly multilingual, the predominance of English remains to this day with more than half of all internet content still being English. The fact that many national media agencies, including in China, Russia, and the Gulf states, are offering English-language online platforms is a further tribute to the English character of the online world. Secondly, the Soviet disintegration of the early 1990s saw a major geopolitical realignment in Eastern Europe and globally. The USSR broke up into its constituent parts, Eastern Germany joined the Federal Republic, and Russian as the imposed foreign language of choice was quickly replaced by the language that would enable communication with the West. The enlargement of the European Union to include former Eastern block countries further shifted the Union's linguistic balance towards English, with the language being increasingly used in EU institutions. Thirdly, changing political realities in Asia have also favoured English, beginning with the market reforms of China's Deng Xiaoping in 1978. The ensuing economic miracle resulted in increasing demand for English language education. English has also increased its reach in India, always a traditional ESL country, to its lower socio-economic strata, the language bringing the promise of upward social mobility. The lingua franca of Asia is now unquestionably English. Fourthly, English is firmly entrenched in the global higher education landscape. It is 'the new Latin in much of Europe' (Northrup 2013: 148), has become the academic lingua franca in Asia, and is expanding in the Middle East. European universities, connected through programmes such as the Erasmus student exchanges, as well as in an attempt to recruit fee-paying international students from within and beyond the EU, are offering an increasing number of postgraduate and undergraduate degrees taught in English – at times in decentralised campuses in Asia (viz. the many British university campuses in China and Malaysia). The student movement into traditional 'inner-circle' (Kachru 1985, see below) countries (USA, UK, Australia) has also grown, standing at around 1.3 million students in 2009 (Northrup 2013: 150). While in Europe, this has resulted in widespread trilingualism (almost always including English), in 'inner-circle' countries the effect has not been as strong although some bilingualism can be seen. Thus, as English is becoming a coveted and necessary resource in the academic context, it is being learnt by speakers of other languages, whereas speakers of English need not invest the time and effort.

Wright points out that this spread of English is not the result of a top-down language planning effort, on the contrary, the fact that English is the language most widely learnt in Europe is the result of 'a bottom-up, organic movement' of citizens 'demand[ing] that their education

systems provide English as a foreign language for their children, often in direct opposition to official education policies' (Wright 2016: 166). The use of English as a working language in supra-national institutions such as the United Nations Organisation (UN), the European Union (EU), or the Association of Southeast Asian States (ASEAN) further elevated the language to a position making it desirable for citizens seeking upward social mobility. Even for non-élite learners, English language proficiency became an important asset, as evidenced by the delocalisation of knowledge industries with the advent of present-day global communication methods: call centres in various Asian countries provide service to customers in Britain and the USA, and the tourism industry needs speakers at various levels of responsibility, who can interact in the lingua franca not just with native speakers (who may be a minority), but also with other speakers of English as a lingua franca (Schneider 2016). This latter point is of particular relevance and shall be discussed further below.

Wright's exploration of global lingua francas shows how French ceased to act as such, and why English currently holds the title. Her book's 2016 edition features an eighth chapter that was absent in the first, 2004 edition: 'Lingua francas for the New Millennium'. In justifying this addition, she explains that while at the turn of the millennium, the Cold War having ended, the USA remained as the sole superpower, there have been a number of geopolitical and global financial realignments in the past decade that warrant a closer look at what the future might hold for the position of English as the global lingua franca. Her prime focus is, unsurprisingly, China, where massive economic growth was only moderately hampered by the various economic crises since 2008. If economic power is a prerequisite for the spread of language, Chinese cannot be ignored; the country's productive capacity is immense and its market size the envy of investors around the planet. China is also increasingly becoming an important political player on the international scene, setting up large trade and investment networks in Africa and forging alliances with other 'developing' nations (a term Wright cautiously puts in quotation marks, seeing how ill-defined (World Trade Organisation 2016) a term it is). China is also increasingly projecting 'soft power' in the form of cultural productions and has set up a worldwide network of Confucius Institutes to transmit its culture and language to learners in almost every country. Wright (2016: 201) concludes her chapter by drawing attention to the fact that many factors that have helped French and English become lingua francas are present in the case of Chinese, which leads her to caution against completely dismissing its chances of achieving a global lingua franca status at some future juncture. Notice that for the present, however, China remains the country with the largest number of learners of English, estimated to be well over 300 million (Wei & Su 2012, Fang 2016).

That this is not necessarily going to happen is due to the extent that the globalised world has already incorporated the English language in many of its structures. As theorised by de Swaan

(2001), the world's languages can be arranged into a coherent system in which they are connected with one another on the basis of their communicative value, called the 'Q-value', which reflects each language's potential to connect its speakers with others. The rather complex calculation behind this Q-value[6] is less important here than the resulting system, which organises languages into four major realms: peripheral, central, supercentral, and hypercentral. At the periphery are the majority of the world's languages, spoken vernaculars, many of them unwritten, and several of them threatened by extinction. The central languages (about 100) are typically those of nation-states that accord them some sort of official or national status; they are standardised and have a writing system, they are afforded visibility and are being taught and learned; however, they have little significance outside the national frame. A good example would be Finnish. Supercentral languages are those of a group of thirteen languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swahili, and Turkish) that are widely spoken, serve as supra-national lingua francas, and are taught and learned widely as foreign languages. The hypercentral language is English: it is the hub of the system, the one through which speakers of other languages communicate. Thus, while a Senegalese may speak Palor[7] (peripheral) locally, a command of Wolof[8] (central) will allow communication within a wider geographical and social arena, and French (supercentral) will afford upward social mobility and access to an even larger number of speakers and functions inside and outside the country – a number that may be extended further through the acquisition of English (hypercentral), which enables connection with speakers from entirely different backgrounds, who themselves have made a similar acquisition path from their respective languages towards the 'hub' of the system.[9] The position of English at the centre of the system is unlikely to change rapidly, for a simple reason:

> Even if the hegemonic position of the US were to decline, English would continue to be the hub of the world language system for quite some time, if only because so many millions of people have invested so much effort in learning it.
> (de Swaan 2010: 72–73, quoted in Wright 2016: 221–222)

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6. The Q-value is calculated as follows: $Q_i = p_i \times c_i = \frac{P_i}{N^S} \times \frac{C_i}{M^S}$, where p_i is the prevalence of language i, defined as its number of speakers P_i divided by all speakers N^S in constellation S, and c_i is the language's 'centrality', defined as the number of multilingual speakers who speak i, C_i, divided by all multilinguals in S, M^S.

7. A threatened Niger-Congo (Cangin) language spoken by 10 700 people near Thiès, northeast of Dakar (Lewis et al 2016).

8. A Niger-Congo (Senegambian) language spoken by 4 million people in Senegal and The Gambia, predominantly urban and supra-regional (Lewis et al 2016).

9. For instance, a Chinese resident of rural Guangdong may speak Hakka (peripheral) locally, Cantonese (central) for wider province-wide communication, Mandarin (supercentral) for upward social mobility and national/regional communication, and English (hypercentral) to interact with the Senegalese in the previous example. This is, in fact, a less than impossible scenario, given China's recent interest in Africa, including in Senegal (Gehrold & Tietze 2011).

Framing language learning as 'investing effort', presumably with a view to some sort of return on this investment, brings the discussion of the pre-eminence of English as the global lingua franca into the economic realm. This is not a new approach by any means, with Marschak (1965) proposing the term 'economics of language', and a few other scholars following his lead (Vaillancourt 1985, Grin 1996, Breton 1998, Lamberton 2002). Grin (2006: 78) further defines the field as being concerned with the effects of language variables on economic variables (e.g. the influence of language skills on earnings) and vice-versa (e.g. the influence of goods prices on patterns of language use). An interesting contribution in the context of Quebec is that of Vaillancourt (1996), who presents evidence for income disparities based on the linguistic repertoires of speaker groups in the province between the 1960s and 1985. Shapiro & Stelcner (1997) presents an update to the 1990s, with the gap in average earnings between Anglophones and Francophones narrowing over time, and with bilinguals generally earning more than monolinguals (see the discussion in section 2.3.2). In sum, the focus on market forces in much of this research suggests a shift away from the nation-state as the primary actor in policy-making, or, rather, as the unit within which policy decisions have an effect: de Swaan's quote above very clearly explains that the national entity responsible for the present-day position of English as the most widely learnt language does not have control over the consequences of that position. This is a view that does much to redress the national/nation-state bias of many language policy framework.

3.2.2 The role of English in multilingual polities

The remainder of this section will now turn to the more specific case of English language policies in multilingual settings. More specifically, it is concerned with polities in which English co-exists *institutionally* with other languages. The world-wide spread of English as a lingua franca and as a language commonly taught, even in locales most remote from traditional 'native' speakers, means that the language itself is found, in various forms, almost anywhere on the planet. However, English only plays a reasonably institutionalised role in a definable subset of polities: there are, of course, the countries and territories where a majority of the population uses English as their first or dominant language. These polities are often subsumed under the 'inner' of Kachru's three concentric circles of English (Kachru 1985). While multilingualism in the inner circle is also of interest, including for language planning, it is in the 'outer' circle that the relationship between English and other languages is more likely to trigger intricate language policies and planning measures. Polities in the outer circle are those in which English plays an important institutional role, such as in the education system or the civil service; here, English co-exists with one or several indigenous or other languages, and their relationship is often regulated in one way or the other. Most of the countries or territories in this category

are former members of the British Empire, or were otherwise somehow part of the anglophone sphere of influence (e.g. the Philippines, which were a colony of the USA from 1898 to 1946).

Post-colonial settings are particularly useful for a comparison with the case of Quebec, since Quebec has been shaped by not just one, but two colonial powers – powers that were in conflict not only in North America (where they took political forms such as British North America and Nouvelle-France) but also in Asia and, crucially, Africa. Whereas Britain (and the USA) and its language ultimately prevailed in North America, the African continent remained, in part until twentieth-century decolonisation, virtually equally split between the two powers, French possessions clustering in the north and west of the continent (stretching as far south as Gabon and Congo, also including Madagascar and Djibouti in the east), and British ones in the south and the east (but also along the Gulf of Guinea, in Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia), barring the presence of Belgium (Congo), Italy (Libya, Somalia, Eritrea), Portugal (Mozambique, Angola), and Germany (Togo, Namibia, Cameroon, Tanzania), powers which at times acted as buffers between zones of British or French influence.

Cameroon is a particular case in which the dual colonial legacy in Africa is particularly visible. Populated by speakers of various Niger–Congo languages (part of the sub-groups Benue–Congo, Senegambian, Bantu, etc.; Lewis et al (2016) list 280 living languages in the country), the coast was explored by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, who named it for its abundance in shrimp (*camarões*, to this day its name in Portuguese, Pondi 1997). European traders and Christian missionaries followed, until Germany claimed the area in 1884. During World Word I, British forces invaded (from neighbouring Nigeria), and in 1916, German troops surrendered. After the war, in 1919, the former colony of German *Kamerun* was partitioned by the League of Nations into a French mandate and a British mandate: French Cameroon accounted for the larger geographical part, whereas British Cameroons consisted of two populous, narrow, non-continuous strips of land between French Cameroon and Nigeria. These mandates were converted into United Nations Trusteeships in 1940. The independence of French Cameroon in 1960 was followed by the break-up of British Cameroons, with the (largely Christian) Southern Cameroons merging with the République du Cameroun and thus forming the Federal Republic of Cameroon, whereas the (predominantly Muslim) Northern Cameroons became part of Nigeria.

During German colonial times, top-down language policy in *Kamerun* attempted to impose German onto the local population; this was largely ineffective, due to the resistance of missionary schools that taught principally in indigenous languages (Echu 2003: 34–35). The period of German rule was also comparatively short (beginning in 1884 and ending formally in 1916, but with wartime disruptions from 1914 onwards), which may also have played a role in limiting linguistic effects on the population. Much more effective was the French colonial language

policy: here, indigenous languages were ruthlessly removed from the education system, until only French remained as medium of instruction. This policy of assimilation resulted in French spreading throughout the country, thanks in no small part to the centralised planning of education by the colonial authorities (Bokamba 1991: 183). The situation in British Cameroons was very different indeed, in that indigenous languages were actively used as a resource in ruling the colony: British rule, emanating from Lagos in Nigeria, was locally enforced by the proxy of 'traditional authorities', resulting in 'indigenous languages [being] used alongside with English in schools' (Echu 2003: 35). Nonetheless, because English was used primarily in the later years of primary education (Todd 1983), a shift occurred to the effect that all-English schools expanded while vernacular schools declined over time, such that 'by 1959, 99% of children [...] were taught through the medium of English' (Echu 2003: 36). The shift to English-only education in primary schools was eventually made compulsory by a ministerial decree in 1958, issued by Southern Cameroons' autonomous government – i.e. not the 'British colonial masters [...] but Cameroonian political authorities' (Echu 2003: 36).

Immediately after independence, a territorial bilingualism emerged, with French official in the French regions, and English official in the English regions. After unification in 1961, both French and English became co-official at the federal level, as set out in the country's constitution (article 1(3)):

> The Official languages of the Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status. The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavour to protect and promote national languages.

Bilingualism is, therefore, recognised as important throughout the country, and not just as a reflection of the union of two monolingual (indigenous languages aside) entities. Nonetheless, the two linguistic regions remain separated on many issues,[10] education policy being one of them: the education systems inherited from Britain and France respectively cohabit uneasily even though they are formally merged in a single national system. Interestingly, the 'other' language is taught as an L2 in both systems, but in the francophone school system, English is compulsory up to the end of secondary school, whereas in the anglophone system, French is only compulsory up to O-Levels, two years before the end of secondary school (Echu 2003: 40). This results in higher rates of bilingualism among the francophone population, enabling them better access to bilingual education at state universities, and more cultural and linguistic capital in an African context where both French and English play an important role. Furthermore, the country's English-based pidgin, Cameroonian Pidgin English (CPE, also called

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10. There is also occasional social unrest, with parts of the anglophone minority voicing their discontent at 'oppression, marginalisation, and deprivation', protests that are oftentimes dealt with harshly by the central government (Maclean 2017).

Kamtok, widely described, see inter alia de Féral 1989, Kouega 2007; 2008, Wolf 2013 and the list in Hammarström et al 2016), is in use throughout much of the country, acting as a lingua franca in the west of Cameroon, but also in many large cities outside the west, where it comes into contact with the local lingua franca French. CPE exists in different forms in the anglophone and francophone regions; it is in a diglossic relationship with English in the former, but, of course, independent of French in the latter (de Féral 2009b). In many urban centres, a code has emerged that has been called *Camfranglais* or, more recently, *Françanglais* (de Féral 2009a;b), which, while primarily a French-based youth variety with anti-language characteristics, contain several items of English origin – not just loanwords in the traditional sense, which are subjected to French inflectional morphology, but also grammatical markers such as aspect markers (e.g. *Il do les longs discours en waitant*, de Féral 2009b: 563).

In short, Cameroon does not exhibit the kind of sophisticated, multi-layered official language policy present in Canada and Quebec. It does, however, illustrate the interactional dynamics of the two ex-colonial languages French and English. The demographic advantage in both Quebec and Cameroon may be to the Francophones, but English does make inroads into language practices on the ground, in the form of language learning (both inside and outside the formal education system) as well as in code-switching and the resulting mixed language practices. The reasons for this are probably to be found in the respective national, continental, and global role played by both English and French: paraphrasing de Swaan (2001), the combination of this hypercentral language with the supercentral language French ensures an optimal total communicative value that enables supra-regional communication with the potential for upward social mobility.

The relationship between French and English is a special one, more so than, say, between French and German, or even English and German. The previous section made that abundantly clear: French is special in that it is second only to English in its colonial-legacy global spread. The reasons why English prevailed as the world's lingua franca were explained in section 3.1.2. Notwithstanding the postwar global realignment resulting in the language system having English at its 'hub', French, still being 'supercentral' (de Swaan 2001), has communicative value. This fact is seen in the continued vitality of the language outside its traditional European (and Quebec) base, with large swathes of Africa where proficiency in French brings membership in civil society and upward social mobility. Combined with English, a very interesting linguistic repertoires results, giving access to a wide range of interlocutors from a variety of backgrounds. This is recognised by speakers on the ground in both Quebec and much of Africa.

Other language combinations may well be equally promising: consider the geographical spread of Spanish, for instance, which covers most of South America (except Brazil), Central America, and the southern third of North America (Mexico). This would endow it with a sim-

ilar communicative value as French commands. And it does indeed stand to reason that, for speakers of Spanish in Latin America, the addition of English to their repertoire enables them to communicate in practically the entirety of the Americas. Nonetheless, in the anglophone part of the Americas, the same combination Spanish–English seems to be viewed not at all unambiguously. On the one hand, it is the first or second language of no less than 13% (41 million) of the population of the USA, and it is the most widely taught and learned 'foreign' language in the country. Some jurisdictions within the country have adopted bilingual policies in public signage; New Mexico publishes its laws in both English and Spanish. On the other hand, there is a strong bias in the way in which this bilingualism is perceived: its élite form, consisting of native English-speaking citizens of the USA acquiring competence in Spanish, is perceived as desirable and a lot of effort (immaterial as well as financial, from various stakeholders) is invested in the learning process (Saiz & Zoido 2002). When it comes to another form of bilingualism, namely, that of native Spanish speakers, more so for first-generation immigrants from Latin America who learn English in order to function in their new environment, but also in the case of later generations who have no formal exposure to Spanish outside the home, attitudes are less positive (Gynan 1993). Undoubtedly, much of this bias is a reflection of real-world socio-economic and sociolinguistic realities, which, in the USA, mean that without a solid command of English, upward social mobility, be it only through the educational system, is close to impossible. Spanish-language provisions in many states are such that much government-issued information may be available in both English and Spanish (and, potentially, other languages too), and the sheer size of the hispanophone population may enable daily interactions without much trouble in Spanish alone, but the systemic predominance of the English language results in those not proficient in it being marginalised in more respects than one.

A similar point may be observed in other, more vocally officially bilingual polities: the country[11] of Wales (on which more in chapter 6) has a single official language, Welsh; although with the reality of 80% of its population not being able to speak it, the overall language policy is one of institutional bilingualism aimed at revitalising the language and increasing its speaker base. In Wales, bilingualism is seen as eminently desirable, with parents eager to enrol their children in the Welsh education system (rather than the parallel English one), or at least in schools that teach Welsh to a high standard. This holds true for both Anglophones and Cymrophones, although attitudes towards Welsh may be less enthusiastic in the predominantly anglophone southeast. Bilingualism affords employability in many sectors as well as in the civil service. Notwithstanding the high status Welsh is endowed with, proficiency in

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11. The four *countries* of England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland together form the *state* United Kingdom; despite being a largely centralised unitary nation state, its constituent countries have some legislative, executive, and judicial power 'devolved' to them, resulting in a top-down version of limited federalism in all but name.

English remains paramount: the 20% of the population who can converse in Welsh can also do so in English – Welsh monolingualism is non-existent. The ability of every Welsh bilingual to communicate with other English speakers in the United Kingdom is taken for granted, and may well contribute to the positive (and at worst benignly indifferent) attitudes towards Welsh, which is not perceived as a 'threat' to English language dominance. This situation differs quite drastically from Quebec, then, where the language promoted by policy, although that of a large majority, perceives English as an existential threat to its survival.

3.2.3 Advocacy vs. pragmatism in English language policy

It may be worth distinguishing two general motivations behind English language policies. A first motivation can be situated within the framework of linguistic *advocacy*, a term defined by Baugh (2006: 697) as linguistic research 'resulting in findings that support greater equality and opportunity for members of the corresponding language community'. It shares features with language *activism*, defined as 'energetic action towards preserving and promoting linguistic diversity [and] supporting language rights' (Florey et al 2009: 14), although the latter suggests a more directly involved political action than the former, which merely seeks to provide research findings that inform or support particular changes in language policy. Many policies whose aim is language revitalisation may be situated in this advocacy framework: Irish language policy of the 1960s is one such instance, with policy documents overtly referring to 'idealism' as 'the mainspring of the language policy' (Mac Giolla Chríost 2008). Negative language attitudes are a prime target of linguistic advocacy: as pointed out by Lewis & Trudell (2008: 272), 'local perceptions of what the language is appropriate for can be influenced' by appropriate action such as promotion in the education system, greater visibility in the mass media, and positive positioning among influential segments of the population. That the idealism found in policy documents is not always replicated in the realities on the ground (Engelbrecht et al 2016) is expected, and can be explained by the policy stipulating goals towards which reality ought to strive.

The other motivation behind language policies can be called pragmatism, in the sense of focussing on the practical effects of language choices. Singapore, for instance, pursues a governmental language policy approach that has often been described as quintessentially pragmatic, focussing on the economic value of the English language in the globalised market economy (Tan 2006), making the policy largely utilitarian or functionalist (Chua 1985, Tan 1994, Dixon 2005; see also Ooi 2010 for a discussion of 'political pragmatism' in Singapore). In fact, pragmatism is openly discussed as a virtue in policy-making, as reflected in this 2003 quote from the then Minister of Education:

> [An] important principle is that whatever we do in education, we should remain pragmatic, not doctrinaire, in our approach. We should, as the Chinese would say, 'seek truth from facts'. Where the evidence shows that we are not achieving what we set out to gain, we change methods. Where the aims are no longer relevant to circumstances, we revise the aims.
>
> (quoted in Tan 2006: 50)

Policies such as the treatment of English in the Welsh context can also be considered pragmatic, in the sense that they are concerned with the practical side of the linguistic reality: since 80% of the population is monolingual anglophone, actively discouraging the use of the language would not be feasible. English, therefore, remains a language that can be used in all instances of public life in Wales. In this context, to call the promotion of Welsh 'idealism' would not be entirely accurate either, and 'advocacy' is better suited. As Orman (2008: 92) makes clear in his explication of South African constitutional multilingualism,[12] the apparent idealism and advocacy in constitutionally declaring eleven languages official is in fact deeply pragmatic in ensuring that the previously advantaged Afrikaners could not claim a 'downgrade' of their language post-apartheid, and thus reducing resentment and preventing ethnic strife. The promotion of the Welsh language can be seen as equally pragmatic in terms of revitalising the cultural fabric of a large rural part of the country, and recognising Cymrophones as full linguistic members of the citizenry.

Not all policies labelled 'pragmatic', however, have the revitalisation of endangered languages as their goal. On the contrary, in many instances, diversity is seen as an impediment to effective communication nationwide, with resulting policies promoting a unified standard with 'practical value' against demoted vernaculars. Singapore's language policies, among other aspects, include the promotion of Mandarin at the express expense of other varieties of Chinese, relegated to the role of 'dialects'. The ethnically heterogeneous city-state was confronted, after decolonisation, not only with a population of Sinitic, Malayo-Polynesian, Dravidian, and Indo-Aryan speakers, but also with an ethnically Chinese population that was divided along linguistic lines, speaking mutually unintelligible varieties (primarily Southern Min (Hokkien, Teochew, Hainanese) and Cantonese). Government policy was to redefine the population in terms of three major ethnic groups (Chinese, Malay, and Indian), each with their own official language (respectively Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil). Mandarin was thus promoted not only to official language status, but also to the status of 'mother tongue' of the Chinese ethnic group, regardless of the actual languages spoken by members of that ethnic group. As a result, the 'dialects' were removed from the education system, shunned by politicians in their speeches, discouraged in public space, and eventually banned in the mass media. The reason given is usually

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12. South Africa has eleven official languages: English and Afrikaans, as well as the nine African languages Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu.

the very practical concern to 'unite the Chinese community' (Bokhorst-Heng 1999: 169–170; Leimgruber 2013b: 8), although in recent years the opportunities afforded by proficiency in the language of the emerging economic superpower China have been more prominently highlighted. It is this economic pragmatism which is also at the core of another central language policy of the city-state: that of the 'working language' status of its fourth official language, English. In the words of the country's founding father,

> We are the only country in the region that uses English as our *working language* [...] This has given our young a strong advantage [...] all speaking the international language of commerce and trade, English, and their *mother tongues*, Chinese, Malay, Tamil and others *as their second languages*
> Lee Kuan Yew, quoted in Ramesh (2011), my emphasis

The rather unique categorisation of the term *mother tongue* as a 'second language' will be discussed at more length in chapter 6; what is of interest here is the position of English as quite separate from the other official languages. While the mother tongues are typically framed as being repositories of cultural traditions and values, English is ethnically neutral, devoid of (especially 'western') cultural connotations, and 'divorced from emotional ties' (Alsagoff 2010: 341). This division of labour in the linguistic repertoire of the idealised Singaporean is explained in the following quote from 2000 by the country's current Prime Minister:

> Our common working language is English – the language of global business, commerce and technology. But it is the mother tongue which gives us a crucial part of our values, roots and identity. It gives us access to our cultural heritage, and a world-view that complements the perspective of the English-speaking world
> Lee Hsien Loong, quoted in Alsagoff (2010: 341–342)

The element of advocacy in this view of linguistic behaviour is only topped by the very pragmatic view of English being in fact used exclusively for the economic advantages it endows its users with. It is beyond doubt that the high levels of proficiency in English found in the population of Singapore, as well as its widespread use in the country, have contributed to the island-state's considerable economic achievements, international competitiveness, and global connectedness. However, English has become more than a simple tool to further its speakers' and their country's wealth: it has achieved the status of a dominant home language for much of the population, displacing at the same time many other languages and – in combination with the concurrent rise in Mandarin in the Chinese population – contributed to a loss of linguistic diversity, at least among the younger generation (Leimgruber et al under review). Crucially, its local use has resulted in the emergence of a localised English vernacular, often referred to as 'Singlish', which has, in turn, become a target of governmental policies (Wee 2003; 2011a) – a pragmatic response, since the use of non-standard English is perceived by many policy-makers

as hindering acquisition of standard English, thereby jeopardising the economic performance of the country, which is seen as premised on high levels of English proficiency.

Advocacy and pragmatism as motivations of LPP are not mutually exclusive. The pragmatic, utilitarian approach of policy-makers towards English in Singapore is met with the advocacy motivation of users of Singlish who gleefully draw on its resources to index local authenticities (Leimgruber 2013b), an advocacy strongest among those speakers who are pragmatic enough to have acquired the standard in the quest for upward social mobility. In Quebec, the difference is one of geographical scale: within the province, advocacy in the language policy rests on the sheer demolinguistic weight of French, as well as its historical presence in the territory. Outside the province, pragmatic considerations prevail: official Quebec's lack of support for French-speaking minority rights outside its borders is motivated by a political consideration that such support would result in equal demands from its own English-speaking minority – an advocacy approach would seek to further the cause of Francophone Canada nationwide. Furthermore, the presence of English within Quebec itself is, at times, met with a pragmatic stance: large multinational corporations have the possibility of negotiating francisation terms with the OQLF, and the province's official administration does offer essential services in English – income tax return forms, for instance, are easily available in English, as is much of the administration's online presence. Clearly, this kind of language planning at the lower echelons of officialdom, less visible than legislation affecting the linguistic landscape, for instance, has important repercussions on users and uses of the languages involved.

At the level of the actual language user, of course, much more informal flows of linguistic resources are involved. The spread of vernacular forms of English, for instance, has shown that elements from one clearly restricted social and geographical variety can become 'part of', or at least be drawn upon by speakers of completely unrelated varieties (Mair 2013), given the transnational and, increasingly, virtual nature of contemporary migratory flows.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter began with an overview of the theoretical approaches used for the study of language planning and policy (LPP). LPP is typically viewed as a process in which several actors are involved, from governmental agents in the top-down decisions often commented on (particularly in the case of the language laws of Quebec), to the education system, the media, interest groups, and the larger local, regional, national, continental, and global factors that influence language use in individual speakers. Several authors have attempted to provide definitions of LPP as a whole, with ensuing divergences in how terminology is applied. Johnson (2013b: 10) provides a useful typology of LPP, rendered above in Table 3.1, that distinguishes actors ('genesis')

from vectors ('means and goals'). A further, more complete model is that provided by Hornberger (2006: 29), whose Integrative model (Figure 3.1) combines the traditional approach of status, corpus, and acquisition planning with the binary distinction of form–function approach. This supposedly all-encompassing model of LPP would appear to be primarily concerned with top-down intervention, sidelining other actors in the process, and not paying much attention to 'unofficial, covert, *de facto*, and implicit mechanisms, connected to language beliefs and practices, that have regulating power over language use' (Johnson 2013b: 9). Current trends in LPP research have been identified in the realm of globalisation and its impact on language use and the concurrent legislation in a context of 'late capitalism' (Heller 2010: 104).

In its second section, this chapter explored the reasons behind the pre-eminence of the English language on the global scene today, contrasting it with the French language and its previous status as the lingua franca of much of educated Europe in previous centuries. The World language system (de Swaan 2001) explains why the English language, having achieved the status of the system's 'hub' or 'hypercentral' language as a result of the political, economic, and cultural dominance of, first, the British Empire and, second, of the United States of America, is unlikely to lose this position for the foreseeable future, even in the event of the USA losing its position as the political, economic, and cultural hegemon. A closer look at how the presence of English in multilingual polities has been managed followed, drawing attention to the top-down policies in place as well as to the grassroots strategies deployed as a result of societal multilingualism. A final subsection considered the possible distinction between an advocacy-based and a pragmaticist approach to LPP, contrasting, among others, the advocacy in the revitalisation-oriented LPP of Wales with the pragmatism of English-dominant planning in Singapore.

In the case of Quebec, the 'local' effect of legislation whose (at least initial) purpose was to rectify a (perceived or real) sociolinguistic injustice was important in changing the linguistic realities in the province: French became an essential asset for anyone wanting to be employable in Quebec, with many Anglophones becoming bilingual, and many even sending their children to all-French schools despite being eligible for English-medium education. The anglophone minority group further suffered from an important post-Bill 101 emigration to other provinces (primarily Ontario), thus both reducing the size of the community and weakening the provincial economy – the economic powerhouse of Toronto, reasonably close by, also has a stronger pull factor for those international migrants who know more English than French. At the same time, however, the external, global factor of English predominance in the world language system left its mark on the province as well, with English becoming an increasingly important component in the province's linguistic repertoire: statistics report 26% bilingualism in Quebec in 1961, 35% in 1981, and 43% in 2011 – numbers that suggest an increasing number of Francophones

likely to add English to their repertoire, since the proportion of Anglophones in the province, if anything, has dropped over the decades since the 1960s.

In short, these processes show how LPP studies, in considering twenty-first century societies, need to take into account new realities that transcend the old 'one nation – one language' paradigm of nineteenth- and twentieth-century nation-building periods. This monolingual equation has come under pressure from both outside forces through the processes of globalisation described above, as well as inside forces stemming from increasing population diversity and the resulting political, cultural, and linguistic action of minority groups. An all-encompassing policy framework is needed that takes these elements into account, and moves beyond the traditional nation-state as the sole unit of analysis.

4 Data and methodology

THIS short chapter consists of three sections: the first describes the three types of data used in this study (questionnaire data, linguistic landscape documentation, and ethnographic fieldwork), and the way in which they were collected, as well as a fourth source of psycholinguistic data. The second section explains the methodological framework applied in the course of the data analysis, the results of which will be presented in the following chapter 5. A final section elaborates on the rationale for the research design of the study.

4.1 Data

4.1.1 Questionnaire survey

A questionnaire survey was used in order to elicit responses to a number of attitudinal statements, as well as to obtain a comprehensive picture of informants' linguistic repertoire. The use of questionnaires in language attitudes surveys has a long history, beginning perhaps with Lambert et al (1960) and including research by Baker (1992) on attitudes to Welsh, English, and bilingualism in Wales, by Oakes (2001) on language and national identity in France and Sweden, and by Garrett et al (2003) on attitudes to Welsh and dialects in Wales, among many others. Building on earlier research (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970, Oppenheim 1992), they refine the questionnaire as a methodological tool and show how Likert scales, in particular, offer valuable insights into language attitudes. Yet more recent theoretical approaches to the study of language attitudes can be found, for instance, in Garrett (2010) and Prikhodkine & Preston (2015). The design of the questionnaire used in this study had to take into account its length, the choice and phrasing of the attitudinal statements, and the type of Likert scale to be used.

A pilot study was conducted over two weeks in September 2012, in the course of which a first version of the questionnaire was trialled in downtown Montreal, with a target sample size of 100. Data collection was achieved by approaching passers-by on busy streets in the neighbourhood of Concordia University, primarily on Saint Catherine Street W and de Maisonneuve Boulevard W between Atwater Avenue and Crescent Street, as well as in the underground tunnels of the métro station Guy-Concordia and Atwater. Strategic positioning in areas with high human traffic but also with enough space for completing the questionnaire resulted in a satis-

fying return rate of ninety-six respondents in nine days of fieldwork. This experience showed the feasibility of recruiting a substantial number of informants through face-to-face interaction, leading to the assumption that the same would be true of an online questionnaire (something that did not materialise, see below). Further, reactions and responses to the pilot questionnaire helped to refine the questionnaire for the actual study: the initial idea of asking detailed information about the domains of use of individual languages in the repertoire was abandoned due to its time-consuming aspect both during questionnaire administration and data analysis. Also, the question 'mother tongue' was abandoned because it was deemed to be a duplicate of subsequent questions (e.g. in the form of proficiency rankings). Attitudinal statements also had to be revised, as some were ambiguously phrased or unsatisfactorily translated.

Confident with the experience from the pilot, where a substantial number of informants were contacted in a relatively short time, the medium for the survey in the main study was chosen to be an online questionnaire, with a targeted sample size of 300. The expected benefits were substantial: no geographical restriction on participants (allowing Quebecers from outside Montreal to take part more easily), ability to take the survey in the comfort of one's home rather than standing in the street, increased anonymity, and, most crucially, the absence of a need for data entry, all online survey tools automatically generating spreadsheets with the data ready for analysis. An online tool (SurveyMonkey®) was therefore selected, a subscription payed for in order to gather more than the minimum number of responses and use additional options, and the questionnaire created, in both languages, to fit the online survey format. The survey went online on 2013-11-20, and was advertised among colleagues at McGill University and Université de Montréal, their students, their Facebook friends, and even on posters placed in public libraries and sports venues on the West Island. When, in mid-April 2014 (i.e., with another four month left in the country), it still had only around 120 useable respondents, an alternative had to be found. A research assistant was hired, trained, and sent out into the streets of the metropolis, with a paper-based questionnaire available in English and French. After her first nine days, beginning on 2014-05-20, forty-five informants had taken part, after twenty days, this number had risen to 125, thereby overtaking the online survey. It was clear that this method of data collection was more effective. The research assistant would concentrate her fieldwork in the spring months, and, apart from using her own network and asking passers-by in the street, squares, and shopping centres (or 'malls'), would seek out groups of people sitting together relaxing in parks. Once someone had agreed to take part, their friends in the group would generally take part too, thus maximising the return on effort. This way, by the end of August 2014, she had collected a total of 490 responses, not including twenty that were incomplete or otherwise unusable, from locations in Downtown, Westmount, and on the West Island. Including the online survey, 652 participants completed the questionnaire.

There is agreement in the literature that past a certain length, responses to questionnaires tend to diminish in quality (i.e., they become less reliable, e.g. by respondents becoming more likely to give identical answers to several Likert items) and the return rate drops. The placement of questions is important, too: according to the literature review in Burchell & Marsh (1992), an early position in the questionnaire tends to have beneficial effects both numerically and qualitatively on the responses. Their own study, however, rejects this argument, and even finds an inverse correlation, with responses to open-ended questions increasing significantly with time (Burchell & Marsh 1992: 241). As far as length is concerned, however, there does seem to be agreement that too long a questionnaire may result in distorted results, reduced response quality, or a reduced willingness to even take part (Herzog & Bachman 1981, Iglesias & Torgerson 2000). The questionnaire used for this study was deliberately kept short at seven pages, including the cover page with privacy and ethics information, shorter, for instance, than Kircher's nine pages (Kircher 2009: 230–247). The questionnaire was advertised as taking 'a maximum of 20 minutes' for the online version; when addressing potential participants in the streets and parks of the city, the assistant initially mentioned ten minutes. The actual time taken by respondents was, indeed, always less than twenty minutes for the online version, but no such data was recorded for the on-street data collection (the online survey tool automatically records the times at which the survey was started and ended, but this was not deemed a useful or important measure when the paper-based questionnaire was administered). The questions were also kept to a manageable number: three demographic questions, four scales and two open-ended questions per language used (at least two, maximum five languages), one ranking task, and thirty-two Likert items for the attitudinal questions. The return rate was satisfactory, in that only twenty participants in the paper-based questionnaire failed to complete the survey, whereas several more did so in the online questionnaire (in which case they were eliminated from the analysis).

The statements for the Likert items in the attitudinal parts of the questionnaire (detailed below) cover a range of topics, most prominently language policy, language use in public life, multilingualism, and varieties of both English and French in a regional, continental, and global context. The balance of the three parts (with twelve statements on policy, nine on English, and eleven on French) reflects the relative importance of these issues in the study, but also the complexity of variation in the two languages French and English. Varieties of French in Quebec, for instance, require considerable attitudinal analysis, given the sociolinguistic relationship existing in the province, both historically and presently, between localised varieties and the exonormative standard they are often compared with (which may be 'European French', *français de France*, or *français international*). The existence of this sociolinguistic differential, which, for a long time, put Quebec French in a position subordinate to that of the exonormative standard,

gave rise to the 'double linguistic insecurity' francophone Quebecers had to live with, as high-lighted by Kircher: not only was French 'second to English, the language of upward social and economic mobility', it was also 'strongly depreciated *vis-à-vis* French from France, which was the only model of reference' (Kircher 2009: 77, italics in the original). The section on English va-rieties likewise queried attitudes towards purported national varieties (British, Canadian, and American); an additional statement sought to elicit whether a Quebec variety of English was deemed to exist. The statements in the questionnaire were identical in both language versions. Translation was undertaken in the direction from English to French, with the original English being adjusted post-translation, if required, when the resulting French translation compared unsatisfactorily with the initial phrasing. A local native speaker of French was tasked with a re-reading of the translation, and suggested a number of improvements.

For the sections on language attitudes, each item was a statement presented to the informant for evaluation along a Likert (1932) scale. The design of the scale itself, ultimately resulting in seven levels, including a central 'neutral' ('neutre'), was based on two reflections. Firstly, opinion differs on the ideal number of levels on such a scale. Dawes (2012) found a tendency for slightly higher mean scores in scales with five and seven levels than in scales with 10 levels. Cox (1980), on the other hand, shows seven to be the 'optimal number', based on an analysis showing the higher number nine to only marginally add precision. Furthermore, a 10-point scale would unnecessarily fill the questionnaire with visual clutter, whereas a 5-point scale would result in a less fine-grained analysis than with the additional two levels (Finstad 2010) and, crucially, in an even number of levels. This leads to the second reflexion, related to the presence of the central 'neutral' option. I consider this justified because 'the respondent can legitimately adopt a neutral position', and because the number of other response alternatives adequately reduces the tendency for overuse of the neutral response (Cox 1980). Similarly, the presence of the additional 'don't know/not applicable' ('ne sais pas/pas applicable') option 'outside' of the scale (being positioned to the right of the 'fully disagree' option) provides a true alternative for respondents not wishing to commit themselves to a position on the scale.

The questionnaire, then, consisted of the following four parts (the full questionnaires are given in appendix B (English version) and appendix C (French version)): 'about you', 'general questions', 'questions about English', and 'questions about French'. A cover page gave informa-tion about the research project and the researcher, with a link to the project website, as well as the usual ethics and data protection information. Participants were told that they were allowed to keep this cover page for themselves for future reference, although few chose to do so. At the very end of the questionnaire, after the last part, respondents were given the option to give their e-mail address should they wish to receive a summary of the findings. In what follows, I present the contents of the four parts of the questionnaire.

Part 1 – About you

This part asked firstly about basic demographic information. Age rather than date of birth was used for anonymity purposes, age being enough of an indicator for statistical analysis. For gender, respondents were given a choice of 'male', 'female', and 'other', following feedback from one participant who pointed out that some (though not they themselves) might not feel comfortable identifying with one of the binary male–female options; in actual fact, nobody ticked the 'other' box. In order to geographically constrain the sample of informants, a question 'were you born in Quebec' was asked, and, if the 'no' box was ticked, an additional question informed on the number of years spent living in Quebec. This is particularly important given the large number of transitory migrants in the metropolis where most data collection took place: besides the four universities in the immediate vicinity of the fieldwork site, which draw large numbers of students from other provinces, from the United States, and from other continents, the city is a magnet for professionals and migrants from all over the world, who may have arrived decades or just a few weeks ago. This data point having been collected, it was easy to subsequently eliminate from the data collection those deemed to not have been in the province long enough to be of interest for the purposes of this study. In this instance, a cut-off point of ten years was taken, resulting in seventy-four participants being excluded and 578 remaining for data analysis.

Informants were then asked to rate their speaking, listening, reading, and writing abilities on a scale from 1 ('non-existent') to 10 ('perfect') in the languages English, French, and up to three additional languages that they could to specify. In addition to this proficiency self-assessment, they were asked at what age they began speaking the language, and with whom they use it. A final question asked informants to rank their languages 'from the one you know best to the one you know least', on empty lines next to a number from 1 to 5. This ranking was then taken into account, in preparing for data analysis, to create the three speech communities 'Anglophones', 'Francophones', and 'Allophones'.

Part 2 – General questions

Parts 2, 3, and 4 sought attitudinal responses to statements concerning language use and policy in Canada, Quebec, and Montreal, as well as general language attitudes towards English and its varieties (Part 3) and French and its varieties (Part 4). Part 2, entitled 'General questions' gave the statements[1] below, and asked respondents to indicate their agreement with each statement on a 7-point Likert scale with the following options, arranged horizontally from left to right

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1. Note that the headings of the three parts use the word 'questions', which is, technically, incorrect. Rather, informants are presented with statements, as per Likert (1932). This discrepancy, however, was not pointed out by any participant, nor did it seem to adversely affect the data collection process.

in this order: 'fully agree' ('entièrement d'accord'), 'mostly agree' ('très d'accord'), 'agree moderately' ('plutôt d'accord'), 'neutral' ('neutre'), 'disagree moderately' ('plutôt pas d'accord'), 'mostly disagree' ('pas très d'accord'), and 'fully disagree' ('pas d'accord du tout'), and the additional option 'don't know/not applicable' ('ne sais pas/pas applicable'). The statements themselves were the following:

1. Life in Montreal is easy for someone who speaks only English.
   (Il est facile de vivre à Montréal pour quelqu'un qui ne parle que l'anglais.)

2. I like it when service personnel greets me with 'Bonjour, hi'.
   (J'aime qu'on me salue avec «Bonjour, hi» dans les magasins.)

3. Bilingualism is an advantage for Montreal.
   (Le bilinguisme est un avantage pour Montréal.)

4. I think carefully about which language to use when first speaking to someone I don't know.
   (Je fais très attention à mon choix de langue lorsque je parle à quelqu'un pour la 1ère fois.)

5. It is important to know French if you live in Quebec.
   (Il faut savoir parler le français pour vivre au Québec.)

6. It is important to know English if you live in Montreal.
   (Il faut savoir parler l'anglais pour vivre à Montréal.)

7. It is important to know French if you live in Montreal.
   (Il faut savoir parler le français pour vivre à Montréal.)

8. I am proud that Canada has two official languages.
   (Je suis fier que le Canada ait deux langues officielles.)

9. Bill 101 was necessary.
   (La Loi 101 était nécessaire.)

10. The aim of Bill 101 is to diminish the importance of English in Quebec.
    (La Loi 101 a comme but de réduire l'importance de l'anglais au Québec.)

11. Speaking more than one language makes you more intelligent.
    (Quelqu'un qui parle plus d'une langue est plus intelligent.)

12. Speaking more than one language is a disadvantage.
    (Parler plus d'une langue est un désavantage.)

These statements address issues of general language policy (especially 8, 9, and 10), the respective importance of the two languages (1, 5, 6, and 7), personal use and attitudes towards language use in the city (2 and 4), as well as general attitudes towards multilingualism (3, 11,

and 12). Item 2 makes reference to the greeting generally used in downtown stores and cafés; 'bonjour, hi' has become something of a marker of Montreal identity (Sedivy 2012). It was included here because of its high profile, being emblematic of the everyday bilingualism in the city, but also because of a comment by the provincial government's minister in charge of language policy at the time, Diane de Courcy, who suggested that measures were needed to curb the use of the greeting, calling it an 'unacceptable slide […] into institutional bilingualism' (Scott 2014). This comment, quickly rebutted by other government ministers (Montgomery 2014), has resulted in a discussion in the media about the merits of the proposition (Bock-Côté 2014, Wilson 2014), a discussion that has further heightened the profile of the greeting, but did nothing, presumably, to stem its use. Related to this statement is item 4, where linguistic uncertainty is addressed: the choice of the language of first contact can be difficult, and the greeting 'bonjour, hi' does not help much, as it puts the onus of language choice on the addressee. The statement here seeks to elicit respondents' awareness of the issue and how difficult this challenge of constantly having to choose a language is perceived to be.

The results from this data collection exercise will be analysed quantitatively in chapter 5. Some off-record reactions from participants heard during the on-street data collection phase, however, may warrant mention here to underline the adequacy of the items in this part of the questionnaire. Thus, in response to item 10 'The aim of Bill 101 was to diminish the importance of English in Quebec', one Francophone responded 'c'est évident!' ('it's obvious', i.e. obviously the case), whereas another said 'pas du tout' ('not at all'). Similarly discrepant reactions were observed among Anglophones, resulting in the non-categorical reactions described in the next chapter. The same can be said for item 9 'Bill 101 was necessary', to which one young Francophone responded 'non, ça m'énerve' ('no, it annoys me'). Some respondents, therefore, held some fairly strong views on one or several statements, such as one angry Anglophone who, refusing to take part in the pilot study, explained that the entire linguistic 'mess' in the province was 'the fault of the PQ nazis and their leader Pauline Marois' (referring to the Premier and leader of the Parti Québécois in power at the time) before storming off.

Part 3 – Questions about English

Part 3 presented nine statements on the English language, its varieties, and on their potential attributes. Agreement was again measured along the same 7-point Likert scale as in part 2, with an additional 'don't know/not applicable' option. The individual items were as follows:

1. Canadian English is different from American English.
   (L'anglais canadien est différent de l'anglais américain.)

2. Canadian English is more beautiful than British English.
   (L'anglais canadien est plus beau que l'anglais d'Angleterre.)

3. Anglophone Quebecers have a distinct way of speaking English.
   (Les anglophones du Québec ont une façon de parler l'anglais qui leur est propre.)

4. English is a necessary asset in a modern society.
   (La langue anglaise est un atout nécessaire à la vie dans une société moderne.)

5. It is important to know English in Canada.
   (Il est important de savoir parler l'anglais au Canada.)

6. Knowing English allows me to communicate with people from all over the world.
   (Savoir parler l'anglais me permet de communiquer avec des gens partout au monde.)

7. English is a beautiful language.
   (L'anglais est une belle langue.)

8. English is a useful language.
   (L'anglais est une langue utile.)

9. Knowing English helps in getting a good job.
   (Savoir parler l'anglais aide à trouver un bon travail.)

Item 1 elicits the level of agreement to the idea that Canadian English is different from American English, not a point that is as straightforward as it might seem from a sociolinguistic perspective (Boberg 2010, Dollinger & Clarke 2012a, Walker 2015). A more affective element is brought in with item 2, where the purported Canadian English is described as more 'beautiful' as British English. Item 3 states that there is a local, provincial variety of English spoken by anglophone Quebecers, another case that is debated among linguists, with some disagreeing (Poplack et al 2006) and others agreeing (Boberg 2012). Items 4–6 and 8–9 are statements aimed at revealing attitudes towards the 'utilitarian' value of the English language in general (with it being described as 'modern', 'important' in Canada, 'useful', and helping in 'getting a good job' and in international communication). Finally, item 7 addresses the aesthetic quality of 'beauty' ascribed, in this statement, to the entire language English.

Part 4 – Questions about French

In this final part, eleven statements on French were used, and agreement measured along the same 7-point Likert scale as in the previous two parts. The individual items were:

1. Quebec French is a dialect of European French.
   (Le français québécois est un dialecte du français européen.)

2. Quebec French is more beautiful than European French.
   (Le français québécois est plus beau que le français européen.)

3. Quebec French is more authentic than European French.
   (Le français québécois est plus authentique que le français européen.)

4. European French is more correct than Quebec French.
   (Le français européen est plus correct que le français québécois.)

5. People respect me more when I speak French in a Quebec accent.
   (On me respecte plus quand je parle français avec un accent québécois.)

6. French is a necessary asset in a modern society.
   (La langue française est un atout nécessaire à la vie dans une société moderne.)

7. It is important to know French in Canada.
   (Il est important de savoir parler le français au Canada.)

8. Knowing French allows me to communicate with people from all over the world.
   (Savoir parler le français me permet de communiquer avec des gens partout au monde.)

9. French is a beautiful language.
   (Le français est une belle langue.)

10. French is a useful language.
    (Le français est une langue utile.)

11. Knowing French helps in getting a good job.
    (Savoir parler le français aide à trouver un bon travail.)

There is a certain amount of symmetry between part 3 and part 4. Clearly, the statements concerning the varieties of two individual languages, French and English, had to be adapted – the comparison between Canadian English and American English, for instance, had to be replaced with a comparison between Quebec French and European French. On the other hand, statements concerning 'utilitarian' aspects or issues of aesthetics could be used in both cases, changing only the language involved. Items 1–5 deal with the sociolinguistic relationship between Quebec French and what I have termed 'European French' (for simplicity's sake and in following Kircher 2009): statements compare their relative beauty (2), authenticity (3), and correctness (4). Item 1 puts Quebec French in a dialect–standard position *vis-à-vis* European French, and item 5 ascribes local (perhaps covert) prestige to Quebec French. Items 6–11 reflect the same statements as in part 3 on English: utilitarianism, importance, international communication, beauty, usefulness, and value on the job market.

4.1.2 Linguistic landscape survey

Linguistic landscapes is a comparatively new field, having been coined in 1997 in a study on the vitality of French in the physical cityscape of Montreal (Landry & Bourhis 1997). The field has developed dramatically since then, to include a variety of approaches (some quite remote from the original definition, as will be shown); the groundwork can be said to be found in volumes such as Shohamy & Gorter (2009) and Shohamy et al (2010), and Gorter (2013) offers a comprehensive overview of the field. The baseline definition of 'linguistic landscape' is the following:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.
> (Landry & Bourhis 1997: 25)

There is a historical dimension to linguistic landscapes, of course: Coulmas (2009: 13) argues that publicly visible language is as old as writing and urbanisation themselves, citing Babylon, Egypt's Rosetta Stone, and Persia as archaeological examples of present-day concerns about linguistic landscapes such as sequential order, language choice, and linguistic hierarchy (Coulmas 2009: 18). Nonetheless, the origins of the modern field of linguistic landscapes is usually taken to be the article by Landry and Bourhis above, not least because of their introduction of the term *linguistic landscape*, which has become the default name of the field (some, such as Spolsky (2009b), prefer the term *linguistic cityscape*, because of the urban focus of many of the studies). Landry and Bourhis' definition may need updating, as pointed out by Gorter (2013: 191), to include new types of signs that were recently made available by technological developments, such as 'electronic flat-panel displays, LED neon lights, foam boards, electronic message centres, interactive touch screens, inflatable signage, and scrolling banners'.

Research on linguistic landscapes has covered a variety of approaches, most of them succinctly summarised in Gorter (2013). The focus is often on urban environments, typically on shop signs, sometimes from a comparative perspective. The intentional activity behind linguistic landscaping was investigated by Dasgupta (2002), and Singh (2002) puts linguistic landscaping on a par with spelling reform in a larger framework of language planning. Shohamy & Gorter (2009) is an edited volume with an overview of the 'scenery' of linguistic landscapes research, with chapters taking approaches ranging from sociology (Ben-Raphael) and economy (Cenoz and Gorter) to language ecology (Hult). Many times the aim was to document linguistic minorities and assess their vitality (a primary aim of Landry & Bourhis 1997, see also Cenoz & Gorter 2006, Puzey 2009).

The locus of linguistic landscape research, while concentrated largely on urban spaces (Coupland 2012 being a notable exception), spans almost the entire globe. Israel is a place which

has received a lot of attention (Spolsky & Cooper 1991, Ben-Rafael et al 2006, Shohamy 2006, among others), but so have cities elsewhere: Montreal, Washington, Bangkok (Huebner 2006), Hong Kong (Jaworski & Yeung 2010), Tokyo (Backhaus 2007), Singapore (Tan 2014), Seoul (Tan & Tan 2015), or Suzhou (Li 2015), to mention a few. This is not surprising, seeing as it is in urban settings that the linguistic landscape is at its densest, with signs fulfilling a variety of purposes ranging from purely informative, top-down discourse to 'transgressive' (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003) attempts at contesting public space. As mentioned above, this urban character of much linguistic landscape research has led some to use the term *linguistic cityscape* (Gorter 2013: 191, Spolsky 2009b).

The methodologies used in the field of linguistic landscapes are varied and there are no single accepted standard operating procedures for data collection and analysis, with quantitative and qualitative approaches equally un-standardised. Even the definition of what might constitute the basic unit of analysis is open for discussion. A certain number of categories are nonetheless commonly used to describe signs found in the linguistic landscape. Authorship is such a category, with Landry & Bourhis (1997) distinguishing *private* and *governmental* signs, Backhaus (2007) using the terms *official* and *non-official*, and Ben-Rafael et al (2006) preferring *top-down* and *bottom-up*. Another category relates to the language(s) on the sign: typically the number of languages is considered, as well as how they compare in size, position, and translation (as e.g. in Reh (2004), who distinguishes duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping, and complementary multilingualism). The function of the sign is another category; Landry & Bourhis (1997) introduce the distinction between 'informative' and 'symbolic' function, although Scollon & Wong Scollon (2003: 119) distinguish between 'indexical' and 'symbolic'. Scollon & Wong Scollon further consider three types of discourse that the text on signs may fall into: a first 'municipal regulatory or infrastructural discourse', found for instance in directional road traffic signs or signs prohibiting certain activities, a second 'commercial discourse', comprising signs that seek to advertise or sell goods or services, and a third 'transgressive discourse', which is inherently bottom-up in that it contravenes the (written or unwritten) rules on who has ownership of public space, such as in the case of graffiti or illegally erected billboards or posters.

For the present study, a survey of the linguistic landscape in the city of Montreal as well as in surrounding areas was carried out. Data points from elsewhere in the province and beyond were also collected for comparative purposes. There is a reasonably long history of linguistic landscape studies in Quebec: after all, the landmark article by Landry & Bourhis (1997) dealt with Quebec, and both authors were based at Franco-Canadian universities. Further studies investigated particular elements of the linguistic landscape (Backhaus 2009, Dagenais et al 2009, Lamarre 2014), and, accordingly, differed in the methodology used. One set of studies worth mentioning is that commissioned by the Office québécois de la langue française (OQLF) in its

five-year evaluation of the linguistic situation in the province. The latest study (Bouchard 2012), building on a similar one from 1999 (Conseil de la langue française 2000), takes a very elaborate approach to actually charting the linguistic landscape in the city of Montreal. Focussing on commercial signage, it distinguished businesses located on streets and inside shopping centres. For the former, it used Canada Post's forward sortation areas (FSA, the left-hand component of postal codes) as basic units of analysis within which a random selection of businesses was carried out. Each of these businesses' address served as a reference point from which all businesses were observed that were located on the same side of street and within a stretch of the street between two intersections (a 'block', as it were). Thus, 2 894 businesses with their own street access were observed. Another 631 businesses located inside shopping centres ('mall', 'complex', 'plaza', 'place') were selected for observation, following a precise path to be taken by the researcher along the floor plan of the centre, selecting every other business. An observation sheet was used to record the name and address of the business, as well as the languages used on the sign and the relative size of the languages.

There are obvious advantages to this type of study, not least the large database, and the geographical spread achieved through this kind of sampling. The data in Bouchard (2012) allows for a reasonably fine-grained picture to emerge when plotting, for instance, the percentage of business signage per FSA that does not comply with legal requirements on a map of the island of Montreal. The resulting visual representation offers a valuable overview of the situation on the ground, with, in this case, higher levels of non-compliance downtown and on the West Island. There are also, however, significant challenges: in order to collect these almost 3 500 observations over the course of a combined fifty-two days, ten fieldworkers were recruited and subjected to three-and-a-half days of training, including test runs. The financial limits imposed on the present study would not have allowed a scope of comparable extent.

For the purposes of this study, therefore, a less ambitious programme was set up. Firstly, it went beyond 'simply' documenting the *affichage commercial* 'business signage' of Conseil de la langue française (2000) and Bouchard (2012) to include signs erected by federal, provincial, and municipal government, non-governmental organisations such as cultural and neighbourhood communities, as well as low-level, transitory signage in the form of hand-written notes and graffiti. That these are of interest in the study of linguistic landscape has been established elsewhere (Pennycook 2009, Blommaert 2013). Secondly, it took a more pragmatic approach to selecting the geographical extent of data collection, which can be divided into three main components:

1. Systematic case studies, in which a given street was observed on its entire length. Signs were recorded at the rate of one per block, on alternate sides of the street. The streets subjected to this way of collecting data were rue Sainte-Catherine (11.2 km in Hochelaga,

Ville-Marie (downtown), and Westmount), rue de l'Église (1.3 km in Verdun), and boulevard Saint-Jean (7.5 km in Pointe-Claire, Dollard-Des Ormeaux,[2] and Pierrefonds).

2. Non-systematic observation of signs of interest in ethnic neighbourhoods (specifically, Chinatown, Shaughnessy Village, Jean-Talon, and Little Italy). The wide range of community languages used and on display in these areas motivated this choice, particularly the relevant presence (or absence) of French and English.

3. Non-systematic observation of signs of interest in any context on and off the island of Montreal. This included principally the suburbs of Greater Montreal (Laval, North and South Shore, Longueuil, and Vaudreuil-Soulanges). For comparison with urban Greater Montreal, rural locations with substantial anglophone populations were visited and documented (Wentworth, Gore, Lachute, and Morin-Heights in the Laurentides, and Escuminac, New Carlisle, Shigawake, and Cascapédia on the Gaspé Peninsula). Finally, visits to Québec, Tadoussac, Mont-Tremblant, and locations in the Montérégie, as well as to Ottawa and Toronto (both in Ontario) and Moncton (in New Brunswick) presented a modest opportunity for further comparative additions to the linguistic landscape database.

Each individual sign of interest was photographed with a GPS-enabled camera phone. The photographs were then transferred onto a computer, and the Exif data[3] extracted to provide a timestamp (date) and geolocation (latitude and longitude) for each image file. A database was created in the form of a Microsoft® Excel spreadsheet listing the file name, date, and geolocation of the image, as well as the following additional information on the textual content of the image: language codes (E = English, F = French, O = Other), 'other' language(s), author, type, size of French text relative to English, size of French text relative to other language, size of English text relative to other language, text on the sign, translation type, site (indoor/outdoor). A column 'Municipality' was added, based on the geolocation data, in order to simplify the search and sorting facility. All text on the sign was entered in Unicode format, including text in languages that neither the research assistant working on the database nor I are proficient in.

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2. The spelling ⟨Dollard-Des Ormeaux⟩ is the one preferred by the provincial Commission de toponymie (http://www.toponymie.gouv.qc.ca/ct/ToposWeb/fiche.aspx?no_seq=388462) and the one used herein. However, ⟨Dollard-des-Ormeaux⟩ is also commonly found, including on the city's own website (http://www.ville.ddo.qc.ca) and in road signs marking the entrance to the municipality. Informally, ⟨DDO⟩, and, in English, [ˈdɒləd], are widely used.

3. The Exchangeable image file format, short 'Exif', is a standard that specifies the formatting of metadata in image files taken by digital cameras. The standard applies to a wide range of metadata, which will be limited by the information provided by the camera itself. This can include the date and time, camera settings (model, aperture, exposure, flash mode, ISO speed, focal length, etc.), geolocation (latitude, longitude, altitude, image direction, etc.), and much more that is not relevant to this study. Only latitude and longitude, as well as the date, was deemed of relevance for the purposes of data analysis.
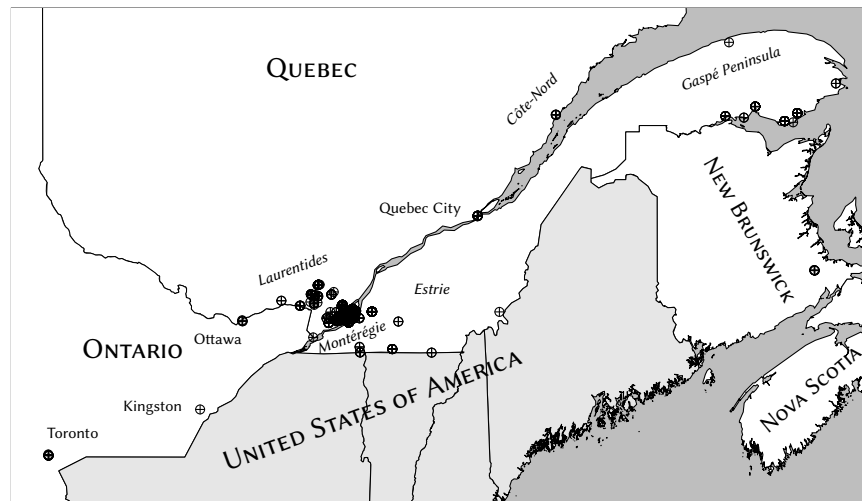
Figure 4.1: Locations of the 1 101 signs photographed. Note the clear bias towards Greater Montreal, as well as the relative sparsity of data from other parts of the province.

A network of informants helped in identifying scripts and checking their meaning and comparability to other languages present on the sign. In some cases involving South Asian scripts, online OCR technology was used to recognise the text and to assess its validity via online dictionaries and other resources. The final database contained 1 101 images with corresponding data.

Of these 1 101 images, 844 were recorded in Greater Montreal (753 on the island and ninety-one off-island), seventy-one in the Laurentides (north of Montreal), and fifty-one in the Montérégie (between the Saint Lawrence River and the border with the USA). Ninety-four were taken on the Gaspé Peninsula, twelve in the region of the city of Québec, four on the Côte-Nord (Tadoussac, specifically), and one in Estrie. A further sixteen come from Ontario (principally Toronto and Kingston) and eight from New Brunswick (Moncton). Their location is given in Figure 4.1.

In addition to this primary photographic linguistic landscape database, a research assistant was tasked to record the language(s) used on stop signs in the municipality of Pointe-Claire. These standard-issue octogonal signs, featuring white text on a read background, are ubiquitous on Canadian roads at virtually all intersections that do not have traffic lights. They also differ from other road signs in that they have language on them: the word STOP is used in all of English Canada, whereas Quebec typically uses ARRÊT (although both words are legal in the province). 'Bilingual'[4] signs with both STOP and ARRÊT can be found in Quebec too, although

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4. The word *bilingual* needs to be in quotation marks here, since both *stop* and *arrêt* are words that exist in French, and only the former exists in English. Since road signs under provincial legislation in Quebec are in French only,

they are officially considered redundant, whereas they are in general use in New Brunswick and on land administered by the federal government (e.g. airports and ports in Montreal, border crossings, etc.). Actually bilingual signs using aboriginal languages in conjunction with an official language can be seen on Indian Reserves and in Nunavut. In Quebec, the responsibility for installing and maintaining road signs lies with the level of government in charge of the respective road: federal on bridges, airport and port land, provincial on motorways (*autoroutes*, 'highways'), and municipal on other roads. A simple drive around the island of Montreal shows the seemingly random distribution (on regular, municipality-administered roads) of stop signs featuring a single STOP, a single ARRÊT, and a combination of both (almost always with French on top, see Figure 4.2 for examples). In order to probe the randomness of this distribution further, all stop signs within the confines of the municipality of Pointe-Claire were recorded by a research assistant using Google Street View, and then compared to a similar database of the municipalities of Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie and Montreal West. Google Street View data presents its own challenges, chiefly the time lag between photography and viewing for data collection purposes. Google provides the year when the picture was taken, but the year of latest picture available may differ from one street to the other in the same municipality. In the present case, data collection took place in 2014, based on pictures taken between 2009 and 2014. In total, 1 270 signs were recorded, of which 940 in Pointe-Claire, 112 in Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie, and 218 in Montreal West.

To supplement the linguistic landscape data, elements of the linguistic *sound*scape (Schafer 1977, Rösing 2000, Scarvaglieri et al 2013) were collected in a highly specific context, taking into account only pre-recorded announcements on public transport in the city (on the métro system run by STM, the Société des transports de Montréal) and the Greater Montreal area (on the suburban train network run by AMT, the Agence métropolitaine de transport). Operationally, much like in Backhaus (2016), the entire network was travelled and notes were made of the pronunciation of upcoming station names – with a particular focus on ostensibly English names (the pronunciation of *McGill* as ['mɛgil] first drawing my attention to the phenomenon of a clearly (European) French phonetic form used on what was, initially, an English surname). The STM's sixty-eight and the AMT's fifty-one (at the time) stations were travelled through and their pronunciation noted down. Sound recording was deemed impractical due to the high amount of background noise that foiled any attempts at creating useable recordings. The resulting 119 observations contained eighteen that were deemed of English etymology (e.g. *Pine Beach*, *Beaconsfield*, *McMasterville*, etc.). The overall strategy observed, as will be discussed later, is to francise the pronunciation as completely as possible, something that reflects the poli-

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the use of both STOP and ARRÊT on the same sign is, in the view of language planners, not a display of bilingualism but of redundancy.

Figure 4.2: Four kinds of stops sign found in the province. Top left: standard ARRÊT sign, Mile-End; top right: STOP sign, Kahnawà:ke; bottom left: STOP/TESTAN sign, Kahnawà:ke; bottom right: ARRÊT/STOP sign, Roxboro.

cies in place within the two transport companies, policy documents having been obtained by directly asking for them.

4.1.3 Ethnographic fieldwork

In order to obtain a better understanding of actual language use on the ground, instead of relying entirely on self-reported data in the questionnaire, a short ethnographic survey was conducted in six cafés belonging to the same international chain, distributed across the island in francophone (Rosemont), anglophone (Dollard-Des Ormeaux, Westmount), allophone (Saint-Laurent, Mile-End), and downtown (Place Ville-Marie) neighbourhoods. The methodology of linguistic ethnography has been well documented (see e.g. Eckert 1989, Green & Bloome 1997, also Howell 1973), and the study of service encounters as a locus of linguistic practice has also received previous attention (Bailey 1997, Lau & Ting 2013, Félix-Brasdefer 2015).

Service interactions were observed between staff members and customers over the course of one hour on five different days in each of the locations, resulting in thirty hours of data collection yielding information on 1 094 interactions. The modus operandi, after purchasing a beverage, consisted in positioning myself at a table in proximity to the counter where the greeting and ordering took place, opening a portable computer (an innocuous pastime in this kind of setting), and recording the data into an Excel spreadsheet. The data recorded, besides the

time and location, included the greeting offered by staff, the response given by the customer, the language of the order, and the language of one subsequent turn. Notes were added in the case of customers who entered in a group already speaking in a particular language, to account for potential influence on the staff greeting which normally initiates the interaction.

4.1.4 Psycholinguistic experiments

Research into the linguistic landscape, as described above, has, by now, a tradition of about two decades. Much less is known, however, about how people are actually impacted by the linguistic landscapes. It is one thing to seek to achieve, through legislation to that effect, a predominantly French linguistic landscape in a city like Montreal, but quite another to analyse the extent to which this regulation, this 'linguistic landscaping' (Singh 2002, Backhaus 2007) has (or not) had an impact on the reading or viewing behaviours of people who view the signs. This is what motivates the preliminary study described here into what parts of the linguistic landscape people perceive, notice, or encode, and whether different languages or texts in the linguistic landscape are equally noticed or encoded by everyone. I am here drawing heavily on the findings in Leimgruber et al (forthcoming) and Vingron et al (forthcoming). It is a legitimate question to ask, for instance, whether a native French-speaking resident of Montreal notices the presence of English words on French signs (and vice versa), or if there are differences in the way text in different languages are viewed, and if there are differences, what they are. Could it be, for instance, that a native English speaker is used to seeing French in the prominent position on a sign (as per the law), and therefore overlooks it in an attempt to seek English text on the same sign? If anything, this would run counter to the intent of the policy, and may, at worst, result in misreadings should the predominant language somehow contain information different from the non-predominant language, as may often be the case (Reh 2004).

Some exploratory work on what readers 'notice' on signs in the linguistic landscape has touched on emotive responses to items in the LL (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009), others on 'affect' in more general (Wee 2016), yet others have considered the potential impact of the linguistic landscape on language learning (Malinowski 2015). Research on 'language awareness' (Candelier 2003, Perregaux et al 2003), when applied to the linguistic landscape as done by Dagenais et al (2009), takes an educational approach to signs in the linguistic landscape, typically in the form of student/pupil documentary activities of languages in their neighbourhood. The kinds of signs and the languages thereon that end up in the documentation, when compared with the researchers' own documentation, sheds some light on which elements of the linguistic landscape gather most attention by this specific group of viewers. Also of interest is a study by Lamarre et al (2012), in which researchers presented participants with signs showing instances of 'bilingual winks' or puns, that is, instances of linguistic creativity where English and French

cunningly meld into a hybrid form that can be interpreted as belonging to either language (e.g. a *shoe* shop named 'chou-chou', where a French term of endearment is pronounced like the reduplicated product being sold, 'T & biscuits', which can be pronounced felicitously in both languages, or even a sign saying 'U&I', which reads as 'you and I' in English but has no meaning in the French [y.e.i]). Their findings suggest that while respondents derive a guilty pleasure from decoding the wordplay, the 'hidden' layer of English text often needs to be pointed out directly (at least to French-speaking respondents). While this ethnographic survey of passers-by in the city does attempt to capture some degree of 'noticing' information that is present in the linguistic landscape, it does so through accessing the conscious articulation of thought processes on the part of the informants. Moreover, in those instances where the 'wink' is not noticed, attention is deliberately drawn towards it. Which elements or language is first activated or noticed by the participant is not unambiguous.

Therefore, while ethnographic fieldwork offers an already advanced view of language *use* on the ground, a cognitive approach has the potential to further inform our understanding of speakers' actual *subconscious* processes in a bi-/multilingual context such as Quebec. Specifically, images of signs from Montreal's linguistic landscapes (signs monolingual in French and in English, as well as bilingual signs) were presented to subjects while they had their eye movements tracked. This preliminary study of six subjects (three francophone and three anglophone), explained in more detail in Leimgruber et al (forthcoming) and Vingron et al (forthcoming), whom I am paraphrasing here, consisted of 130 trials during which 60 images were shown. Images were randomised and viewing periods lasted eight seconds. Each viewing period was followed by a screen asking participants to use their gaze to make a judgement about the informativeness or aesthetics of each image. The question and the numbers from 1 to 7 would appear and participants had to fixate on the number that corresponded to the rating they wished to make for two seconds. The experiment consisted of two blocks: in the first, participants were asked how informative they found each image and in the second, how aesthetically pleasing they found the image. The order of the question blocks was counterbalanced. During each viewing period, participants' eye movements were recorded using an Eyelink 2000 desk mounted eye tracker.[5] In addition to having their eye movement recorded, participants were asked to fill out a version of the LEAP-Q language experience questionnaire (Marian et al 2007) asking them about language proficiency and usage.

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5. An eye tracker works by first emitting a low-grade infrared light to the eye. It can then record the reflections from the front and back of the cornea, based on which it can calculate where the eye is fixating.

4.2 Methodology

Each of the data components was analysed using its own methodology. In the case of the language use and attitudes questionnaire, the Excel database compiled by the research assistant was converted into a comma-separated values file (.csv) in order to import it into the RStudio programme (RStudio Team 2012), an environment for running the statistical programming language R (R Core Team 2015). The sophisticated nature of this programme enables powerful statistical tests to be run on the dataset, and to be plotted in visually informative ways. A first qualitative impression of tendencies in the attitudinal data, for instance, was made possible by the use of the likert package (Bryer & Speerschneider 2014), an extension ('package') to the base R programme that makes the processing of a Likert-based database comparatively easy and allows for the results of answers to Likert items to be plotted in a simple and intuitive way. The choice of statistical tests was made based on the correlations to be investigated: for the most part, responses to Likert items were treated as ordinal data, calling for non-parametric tests such as the Mann–Whitney *U* or the Kruskal–Wallis tests. In some instances, Likert scales were converted to numerical values, e.g. in order to more clearly correlate with language proficiency, in which case a linear model was used. The tests used for individual correlations are stated together with the results in the following chapter.

For the linguistic landscape data, the photographic image files had their metadata extracted and listed in an Excel spreadsheet. The pictures themselves were analysed by a student assistant and additional data and textual content were input in the spreadsheet. The methods used during the analysis were primarily qualitative in nature, and included the comparatively straightforward issue of 'predominance', a concept also used in the provincial legislation regarding language on signage, but here primarily concerned with the idea of the hierarchy of languages on the sign (i.e., respective placement, relative text size (as a ratio), text type and font, parallelism in 'translation'), as well as the geographical, sociological, and sociolinguistic context of the sign itself (location in a particular neighbourhood, whose population may speak a particular language or languages and may come from a particular socio-economic stratum, whose urban planning context puts it in a given land use setting). More complex elements taken into account include the level of government (if any) responsible for the sign in question, the target audience of the sign, and the intended effect of a particular instance of word play used. A more simplistic, quantitative angle has been added in order to get an impression of the weight of each of French and English in the various neighbourhoods visited.

The ethnographic component as well as the results from the eye-tracking experiment were, similarly to the attitude questionnaire, easily and efficiently processed in R. This enabled a breakdown of language use by geographical location in the first instance, and by speaker group

in the second instance. It also allowed for appropriate statistical modelling (language selection based on the language used by the speaker initiating the spoken encounter, gaze movements and fixation points over time and speaker groups).

4.3 Research design

As has become obvious, a rather eclectic collection of methods is being used in this study, ranging from 'traditional' sociolinguistic and language attitudinal questionnaires and established ethnographic methods to more recent elements in the form of linguistic landscape and soundscape methods, and even laboratory-based methods in the form of eye-tracking experiments. The choice of these methods is motivated by the desire not only to incorporate cutting-edge methodologies with more established ones, but also to fully utilise the potential offered by different approaches to the same questions. The results from a large questionnaire can be meaningfully complemented by the more targeted findings of an ethnographic survey. Elements from the linguistic landscape and from the soundscape offer another layer of interpretation, which can be usefully tapped in order to understand the larger language political context, as well as the ways in which policy is implemented, experienced, and created by various stakeholders – from governmental actors to small shopkeepers, and including private enterprises of various sizes as well as semi-public transit agencies, for instance. Finally, psycholinguistic experiments have the potential to shed light on the cognitive processes underlying language issues. Particularly in the context of a multilingual, yet highly regulated linguistic landscape such as the one in Montreal, the way in which top-down policies have an effect (or not) on the reading of the landscape are worth exploring. Therefore, rather than fragmentary, this integrated four-pronged methodological approach results in numerous surplus benefits in the analysis and discussion of the research questions at hand, with individual research components informing one another instead of standing on their own.

5 Language planning and policy in Quebec: analysis

THIS chapter will analyse the data whose collection and methodological challenges have been presented in chapter 4. It begins with a section detailing results from the questionnaire survey (with a subsection on demolinguistics and linguistic repertoires and one on language attitudes), including a quantitative analysis with relevant significance tests. A second section presents results from the linguistic landscape survey, correlating it with language distribution in geographical space, and considering the language choices made by sign-makers in terms of size, placement, and 'predominance'. This is followed by a section considering the linguistic 'soundscape', i.e. the audible language heard, for instance, on public transit announcement systems. A fourth section reports findings from an ad-hoc ethnographic survey of service encounters in various locations on the island of Montreal. Finally, the results from an eye-tracking experiments involving participants viewing images of the linguistic landscape will be presented.

5.1 Questionnaire survey

The questionnaire survey, described in more detail in section 4.1.1, was administered to a total of 652 informants. After elimination of 74 who had been resident in the province for less than ten years, 578 were retained for data analysis. Of these, 136 took the online questionnaire and 442 were interviewed in person. The personal contact thus resulted in three times as many responses as the online questionnaire. Overall, 422 respondents took the questionnaire in its English version, and 156 in French. The age of informants spread from 18 to 91, with a median of 33. There were 44% male and 56% female respondents.

The reasons for the discrepancy in the numbers of respondents taking the questionnaire in English and in French are threefold. Firstly, the data collection was initially aimed at answering a series of research questions about Quebec's anglophone and allophone minorities. Therefore, the emphasis was put on gathering responses primarily from these communities, complemented by responses from members of the majority francophone community. Secondly, the selection of research sites for the on-street data collection resulted in a certain bias towards

Table 5.1: Questionnaire survey informant distribution across speech communities and data collection method.

	Online	On-street	Total
Anglophones	89	266	355
Francophones	39	129	168
Allophones	8	47	55
Total	136	442	578

the neighbourhoods of the two anglophone universities in downtown Montreal, as well as the western suburbs. While collection was also carried out east of boulevard Saint-Laurent, more central locations prevailed. Thirdly, there were a few instances in which otherwise francophone respondents were interviewed with English questionnaires, because the French versions had been used up: in these cases the assistant would translate the questions orally as they were being asked. In the following sections, the sample's general demographics and language repertoire will be considered in more detail.

5.1.1 Demolinguistics and linguistic repertoires

It would have been tempting to use the language the questionnaire was filled in to decide on the informant's 'mother tongue', or rather 'speech community', as I shall be calling it henceforth.[1] However, practical concerns meant that this is not a satisfactory solution: for one, Allophones (speakers whose primary or native language is neither English not French) would have been forced into one of the two major groups. Also, there were instances where, during data collection on the ground, the student assistant ran out of French questionnaires, and administered an English-language questionnaire to an otherwise French-speaking informant. In order to decide on the speech community of an informant, therefore, the first port of call was the respondents' own ranking of their languages. If they put English as their first language, they were considered Anglophone, and so forth. In the case of the few respondents who put both English and French as their 'first language', the language of the questionnaire was used. With this method, three groups (Anglophones, Francophones, Allophones) were created, with 355, 168, and 55 members respectively. Table 5.1 shows the distribution of the sample across speech communities and data collection method.

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1. This term has been chosen because it is malleable and easily redefined (Meyerhoff & Strycharz 2013). *Ethnolinguistic group* was deemed to include a dimension (ethnicity) that need not be present or relevant in the Quebec context.
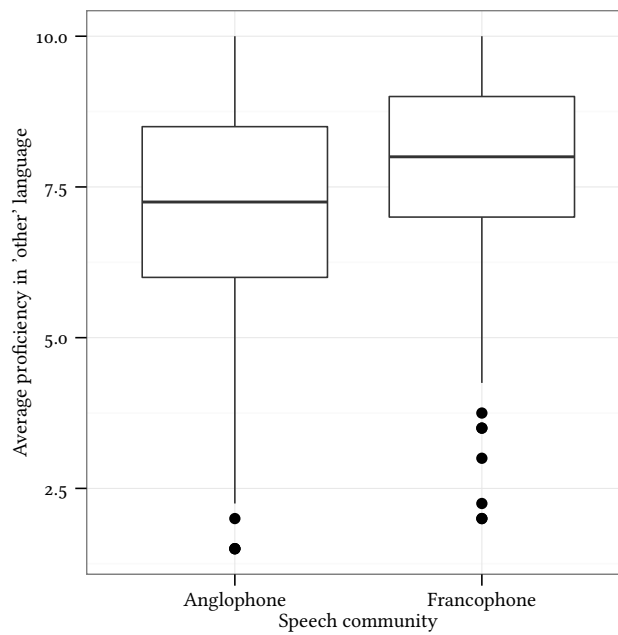
Figure 5.1: Self-declared proficiency in the 'other' language.

The three speech communities present a similar age profile: there is a central tendency to-
wards the mid 30s in all three, and all three have ranges from 18 to above 80. For practical
purposes, four age groups were created: 'youngest' (18–24), 'young' (25–44), 'old' (45–64), and
'oldest' (65 and above). The reason for these groupings is the introduction of language legisla-
tion in the 1970s, some 40 years ago, thus creating a 'pre-Bill 101' generation (old and oldest
age groups) and a 'post-Bill 101' generation (young and youngest age groups).

The section on language repertoires and proficiency is more interesting. Informants were
asked to rate their proficiency in the four skills listening, speaking, reading, and writing in
English and French, as well as in up to three additional languages that they could specify them-
selves. A first result is that Francophones declare a high level of proficiency in French, and
Anglophones are high level of proficiency in English. This may be self-evident, but it serves
as proof that the selection criteria for assigning informants to speech communities were not
totally baseless. The self-declared proficiency in the second language (i.e. French for the Anglo-
phones and English for the Francophones) shows a more nuanced picture. As can be seen from
Figure 5.1, it would appear that Francophones declare higher levels of proficiency in English
($\bar{x}$ = 8.00) than the Anglophones in French ($\bar{x}$ = 7.25).

Informants had the option of specifying up to three other languages they had in their reper-
toire. The distribution across age groups is quite revealing. While there was a single mono-

Table 5.2: Number of languages self-reported, by age group.

	Number of languages				
	1	2	3	4	5
'youngest' (18–24)	0	59	95	36	11
'young' (25–44)	0	62	85	20	18
'old' (45–64)	0	54	44	16	11
'oldest' (65+)	1	41	19	4	2
Total	1	216	243	76	42

lingual speaker in the sample (an Anglophone aged 66), most were multilingual, as shown in Table 5.2. The two older age groups were predominantly bilingual, with some trilinguals and few users of four or five languages. In the two younger age groups, on the other hand, there were almost twice as many trilinguals as there were bilinguals, with smaller but still quite remarkable numbers of quadrilinguals and pentalinguals.

There is variation in proficiencies across age groups. Focussing on the Francophones and Anglophones and their respective proficiency in English and French (i.e., the 'other' language), and distinguishing age groups from the data in Figure 5.1, we see in Figure 5.2 that there is a trend, in both speech communities, for higher levels of proficiency in younger groups. The trend is significant among Anglophones ($p < 0.0001$, Kruskal-Wallis rank sum test) but not among Francophones ($p = 0.3195$); this suggests a more dramatic change across generations among English speakers, with increasing knowledge of the majority language French among the young. The biggest gap is between the oldest age group (65+) and the second-oldest (45–64), where the median leaps from 5.25 to 6.75, whereas the difference between the other three groups (18–24, 25–44, and 45-64) is not as large, spanning just 6.75 (45–64) to 7.75 (18–24), with the second-youngest group (25-44) being very close indeed (with a median of 7.5) to the youngest group.

The Allophones require a different kind of measure rather than age group: it is more likely that the amount of time spent in the province has an impact on their proficiencies in either French or English than simply their age. This measure of time spent in Quebec ranges, in years, from 10 to 61 for those not born in the province;[2] not included in this range are those Allophones (born in the province or not) whose language ranking (see the first paragraph of this section on page 100) allowed a classification as either Francophone or Anglophone. The hypothesis that there is a linear correlation between the time spent in Quebec and proficiency

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2. Participants who had been living in Quebec for less than ten years at the time of the survey were excluded from the analysis. See section 4.1.1.
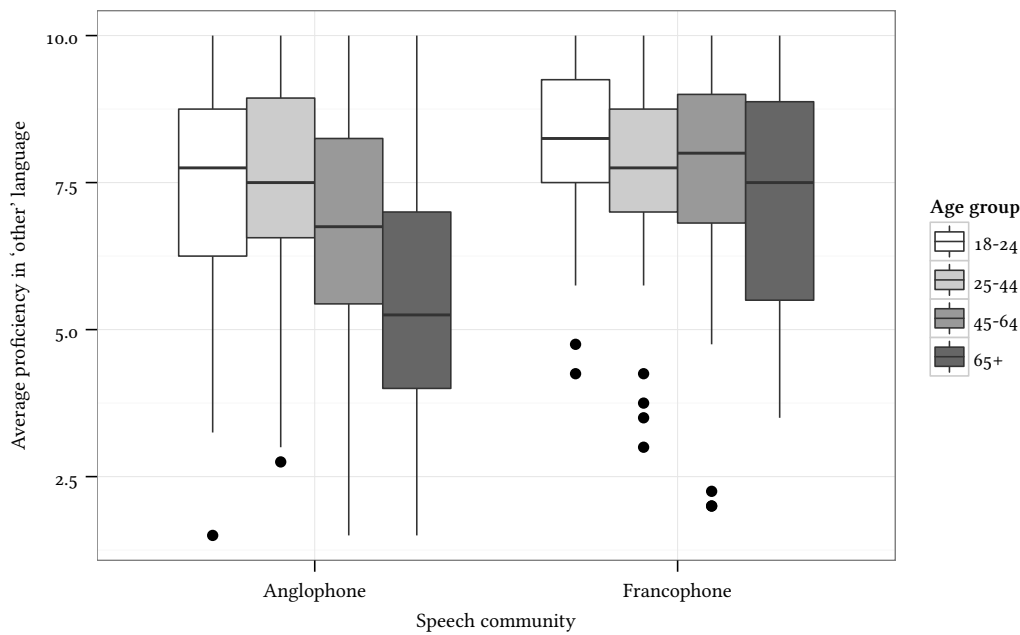
Figure 5.2: Self-declared proficiency in the 'other' language, by speech community and age group.

levels in either French or English had to be refuted (p = 0.1163 for French and p = 0.324 for English); the correlation remains non-significant when subjecting the time spent in Quebec to a logarithmic correction (in order to rectify the non-normal distribution along the years axis, resulting in p = 0.1191 for French and p = 0.2648 for English) as well as when using a Spearman rank correlation test (p = 0.5912 for French and p = 0.0522 for English). In short, the time spent in Quebec by the Allophones in this sample is not a predictor for their proficiency in either of the two official languages. This does not say anything about those proficiencies, which are generally above the midpoint of 5.5: the median in French is at 7 ($\bar{x}$ = 6.49) and at 8.75 in English ($\bar{x}$ = 7.97).[3] This points to knowledge of the languages quite possibly being acquired and perfected before arrival in the province, and that residence in the province does not (beneficially or adversely) affect proficiency in these languages. A final point worth noting is that for

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3. The same holds true when considering oral proficiency only (taking the average of speaking and listening proficiencies), with no significant correlations found – the only exception being Spearman's rank correlation test, which returns p = 0.0206 for English, suggesting a mildly significant effect of length of residence on English oral proficiency. In light of the negative outcome of the preceding battery of tests, however, this single correlation will not be considered further here.

Likewise, literacy (the average of the writing and reading proficiencies) does not correlate significantly with the number of years spent in the province (all tests p > 0.07).

Allophones, the level of proficiency in one of the two official languages does not have an effect on the level of proficiency in the other language: it could have been the case that high levels of English would diminish the incentive to learn French, or vice-versa, resulting in lower self-reported proficiency in the affected language, but no such significant correlation was found (p = 0.7091).

The size of the linguistic repertoire does, of course, correlate with the speech community. It stands to reason, for instance, that Allophones are more likely to be multilingual than either Francophones or Anglophones. Indeed, there are only two bilingual Allophones; most are trilingual (30 informants), eleven are quadrilingual and thirteen are pentalingual. Most Anglophones are bilingual (151) or trilingual (137), whereas most Francophones are trilinguals (76) or bilinguals (64), with twenty-three quadrilinguals. This can be explained by a large number of second-generation immigrant respondents who, in addition to French (primary language) and English, possess additional knowledge of their parents' language(s) – something also found among Anglophones, although, it would appear, to a lesser extent.

As can be seen in Table 5.3, the actual languages, other than French and English, listed by the informants come from a wide variety of families, although there is a clear bias towards the three Indo-European languages Spanish (169 users), Italian (53), and German (45). That Spanish is a common additional language in all of North America is not a surprise, and the large Italian community in Montreal explains that language's second place. German might be explained by the dissemination vector: students at the Alexander von Humboldt German School in Baie-D'Urfé, a minority of whom comes from German-speaking households, but all of whom take German language classes, were given, in the course of an outreach activity at their school, the online questionnaire and asked to disseminate it in their network. Arabic (27 users) is common among the many recent immigrants from francophone northern Africa. Taken together, Mandarin, Cantonese, Taishanese, and the generic 'Chinese' would also number thirty-four users. Languages from South Asia (Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, Sinhalese) account for twenty-three. Swahili, Hausa, Igbo, Mina (a Chadic language spoken in Cameroon), Twi, and Yekhee are languages spoken in anglophone and francophone (for Mina) Africa; they number six users here. There are five users of aboriginal Canadian languages (two Inuktitut, one each of Cree (unspecified), Kanien'kéha, and Naskapi). In addition, two respondents (not included in the table) claimed to know Old Persian and one mentioned Ancient Greek. A user of Portuguese felt the need to specify it as 'Portuguese (Brazilian)', and one informant indicated 'Sicilian (Italian dialect)'. They where classified here under Portuguese and Italian respectively.

Table 5.3: Language rankings, arranged by total number of users.

Language	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Total
English	350	176	40	4	1	571
French	165	329	63	8	5	570
Spanish	6	15	102	42	4	169
Italian	1	4	34	10	5	53
German	3	2	28	9	3	45
Arabic	9	2	9	3	4	27
Hebrew	1	3	6	3	2	15
Japanese	1	1	4	4	4	14
Russian	2	2	3	5	1	13
Cantonese	1	2	9	0	0	12
Mandarin	1	2	4	4	1	12
Greek	2	1	6	1	1	11
Portuguese	1	4	3	2	1	11
Farsi	2	1	3	1	2	9
'Chinese'	1	1	7	0	0	9
Haitian Creole	2	5	1	0	0	8
Romanian	2	1	2	2	0	7
Tamil	1	1	4	1	0	7
Yiddish	0	2	3	1	1	7
Tagalog	3	2	1	0	0	6
Vietnamese	2	1	3	0	0	6
Polish	1	1	3	0	1	6
Armenian	1	2	2	0	0	5
Urdu	1	1	2	0	1	5
Punjabi	1	1	1	1	0	4
'Creole'	0	0	3	1	0	4
Hindi	0	0	2	2	0	4
Bulgarian	3	0	0	0	0	3
Swedish	1	2	0	0	0	3
Hungarian	0	0	1	1	1	3
Korean	0	0	0	3	0	3

Table 5.3 *continued*: Language rankings, arranged by total number of users.

Language	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Total
Bengali	1	0	1	0	0	2
Inuktitut	1	0	1	0	0	2
Jamaican Creole	1	0	1	0	0	2
Mauritian Creole	0	1	1	0	0	2
Catalan	0	1	0	1	0	2
Serbian	0	1	0	1	0	2
Croatian	0	0	1	0	1	2
Swahili	0	0	1	0	1	2
Sinhalese	1	0	0	0	0	1
Taishanese	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ukrainian	1	0	0	0	0	1
Laotian	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mina (Besleri)	0	1	0	0	0	1
Lithuanian	0	0	1	0	0	1
Naskapi	0	0	1	0	0	1
Turkish	0	0	1	0	0	1
Twi	0	0	1	0	0	1
Yekhee (Afenmai)	0	0	1	0	0	1
Cree	0	0	0	1	0	1
Danish	0	0	0	1	0	1
Igbo	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mohawk (Kanien'kéha)	0	0	0	1	0	1
Quechua	0	0	0	1	0	1
Slovak	0	0	0	1	0	1
Azeri	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hausa	0	0	0	0	1	1
Irish	0	0	0	0	1	1

Each informant was asked to 'Please rank your languages from the one you know best to the one you know least'. Of the sixty-three respondents who did not put French or English in first place, nine indicated Arabic, six Spanish, three each of German, Tagalog, and Bulgarian, and two each of Russian, Greek, Farsi, Haitian Creole, Romanian, and Vietnamese. The remaining first-ranked languages all do not exceed one user each. The two speakers of Inuktitut are

interesting in the way they ranked their languages, as well as in the language combinations: the first (ID639) uses English, French, Inuktitut, and Kanien'kéha, and the second (ID646) uses Inuktitut, English, Naskapi, and French. This means that the five users of aboriginal languages in Table 5.3 are actually just three, with the two combinations just given and a third using English, French, German, and Cree. This latter respondent (ID396), a 41-year-old male, actually self-rates his proficiency in Cree (which he started learning at 38) at an average of 2 (out of 10), well below his proficiency in German (4.25), French (7.5) and English (10). This is in stark contrast with Inuktitut user ID646, a 75-year-old male who self-rates his Inuktitut at 10 (using it as a native language in his family), his English at 9.75, his Naskapi at 2.75 (learnt at age 11 and used with his cousin's siblings), and his French at 1.5., and user ID639, a 64-year-old male who speaks English (10), French (7.5), but Inuktitut only with other Inuits (3.25), much like Kanien'kéha (4).

A similarly close analysis would be possible, if tedious, for all informants. Generalisations, however, can be made as to the more common language repertoires in this sample, taking their internal ranking into account: English-French bilingualism is the most common at 13%, followed by French-English bilingualism at 5%. Repertoires beginning with English-French-Spanish (5%) and French-English-Spanish (4%) come next. There were also 3% that began with English-French-Italian. The remaining 70% include variations thereof and other combinations. A final point of interest is that 27% have repertoires where English ranks first and French second, and 11% where French ranks first and English second. This means that 38% of the sample have both of the two official languages of Canada as two of the languages they know best, regardless of any additional languages they may be using.

5.1.2 Attitudinal responses

Three sections of the questionnaire asked attitudinal questions (see appendix B): Part 2 contained twelve general questions on language practices, realities, and policies in Quebec and Canada, part 3 queried attitudes towards English (nine statements, specifically on Canadian English), and the eleven items in part 4 did the same towards French (and Quebec French in particular). Statements were presented to informants, to be answered on a 7-point Likert scale (7 = 'fully agree', 1 = 'fully disagree', 4 = 'neutral'), with a 'don't know/not applicable' option. The responses from the entire sample to the three parts is given in appendix D (Figures D.1, D.2, and D.3).

When considering the Anglophone, Francophone, and Allophone speech communities, it appears that there are significant differences in four statements. Firstly, in the statement 'It is important to know English if you live in Montreal' Francophones are significantly more

Table 5.4: Statements where age had a significant effect on agreement levels.

	p-value	Tendency
I like it when service personnel greets me with 'bonjour, hi'.	0.0340	agreement ∝ age
It is important to know French if you live in Quebec.	0.0003	agreement ∝ age
It is important to know French if you live in Montreal.	0.0029	agreement ∝ age
I am proud that Canada has two official languages.	0.0046	agreement ∝ age
Bill 101 was necessary.	< 0.0001	agreement ∝ age
Speaking more than one language makes you more intelligent.	0.0198	agreement ∝ $\frac{\text{age}}{1}$
Canadian English is different from American English.	0.0010	'older' agree more
Canadian English is more beautiful than British English.	0.0045	'old' disagree more
English is a necessary asset in a modern society.	0.0008	'older' agree more
It is important to know English in Canada.	0.0003	'older' agree more
Quebec French is a dialect of European French.	0.0310	'young' disagree most
French is a necessary asset in a modern society.	0.0022	agreement ∝ age
It is important to know French in Canada.	0.0486	agreement ∝ age
French is a beautiful language.	0.0081	'youngest' agree less
French is a useful language.	0.0364	'youngest' agree less

likely to disagree than Allophones and Anglophones (p = 0.0156).[4] Secondly, in 'Bill 101 was necessary', Francophones are significantly more likely to agree than the other two groups, whereas Anglophones are more likely to disagree and Allophones are equally distributed on the two sides of the neutral axis (p = 0.0181). Thirdly, Francophones are again more likely to disagree with 'The aim of Bill 101 is to diminish the importance of English in Quebec' than the other two groups (p = 0.0052). Lastly, there is more disagreement from the Francophones with the statement 'People respect me more when I speak French in a Quebec accent' (p = 0.0019).

Gender seems to play a negligible role in attitudinal responses. There are differences, of course, including some that are statistically significant: both 'Knowing French helps in getting a good job' and 'I am proud that Canada has two official languages' had significantly more women agree than men (p = 0.0062 and p = 0.0043 respectively). Men were more likely than women (p = 0.0040) to agree with 'Quebec French is a dialect of European French'. Interestingly,

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4. A Kruskal-Wallis test was used for this comparison. This non-parametric test is particularly suited for the analysis of variance in ordinal data such as Likert type data. Since there are three groups (speech communities) that are being compared, the Mann-Whitney (Wilcoxon rank-sum) test could not be used here, as it is limited to two groups.
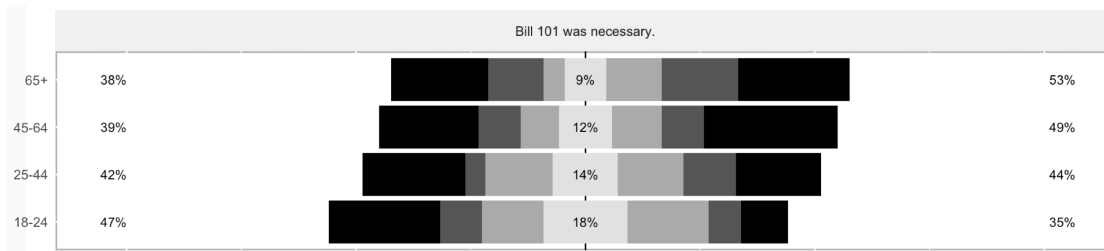
Figure 5.3: Age-grading in agreement levels to the statement 'Bill 101 was necessary'. Increasing disagreement to the left of the scale, increasing agreement to the right; neutral responses in the centre.

women were less determined than men in agreeing that 'Speaking more than one language makes you more intelligent' (p = 0.0085).

Age plays a role, too. Table 5.4 shows the fifteen instances where the age of the informant had a significant effect on their agreement with the statement. The tendency is given in the right-most column, which shows that for the first five statements, agreement is proportional to age, i.e., the older respondents agree more than the younger respondents. 'Bill 101 was necessary' has the highest significance rating, and, as can be seen in Figure 5.3, displays a very regular pattern of agreement increasing proportionally with age (p < 0.0001). This is perhaps unsurprising, given the situation at the time of the introduction of the legislation, when there was a quite clear sociolinguistic stratification along linguistic lines, with Anglophones in higher positions, Francophones further down, and bilinguals in between. The need to address this situation, as well as the general sociolinguistic status of the French language in the province, seems to be regarded as more justified by respondents who lived through that era. The present-day situation, with French being firmly entrenched in all aspects of life in Quebec, results in the 'youngest' age group only agreeing at 35%, and a record 18% even being neutral to the question.

Correlations exist at more detailed levels of analysis. Figure 5.4, for instance, shows that, when treating the Likert responses as numerical values, Anglophones' average self-declared proficiency in French correlates significantly (p < 0.0002) with their level of agreement with the statement 'I think carefully about which language to use when first speaking to someone I don't know'. The more proficient Anglophone informants are in French, the more they feel unsure about which language to choose when initiating a conversation. The same holds true for Francophones' proficiency in English, which also correlates significantly with their level of agreement to the same statement (p < 0.0015). Similar results can be obtained when adding factors to the analysis: thus French proficiency among 'young' (25–44 years of age) Anglophones correlates significantly with agreement to the statement 'Bill 101 was necessary', to take but one example.
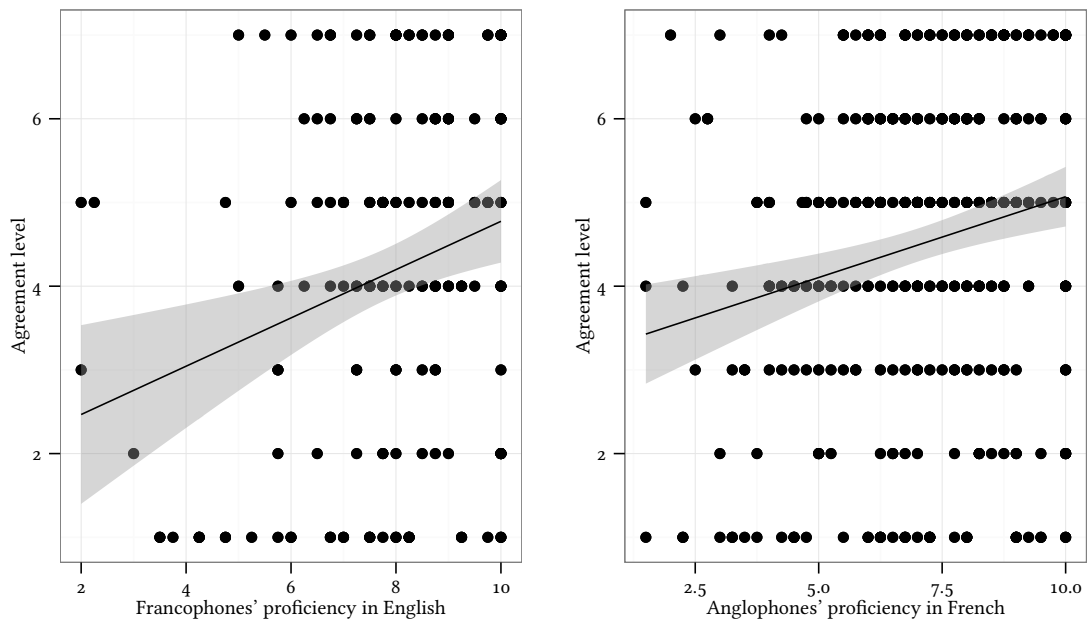
Figure 5.4: Correlation between average self-declared proficiencies in the 'other' language and agreement levels with the statement 'I think carefully about which language to use when first speaking to someone I don't know'. Francophones: $R^2_{adj} = 0.05368$, $p = 0.001462$, Anglophones: $R^2_{adj} = 0.03646$, $p = 0.0001961$.

The statement 'Bill 101 was necessary' does, in fact, warrant further attention. The age-grading shown in Figure 5.3 may show a nicely monotonous increase of agreement with age, which was explained above by the historical context in which informants were born: the sociolinguistic situation of French in Quebec having changed, over time, from one of a disadvantaged workers' language to a respected and promoted language, the necessity of the legislation to bring about this change, now firmly achieved, may seem less obvious to the younger generation that did not directly experience this particular period of disenfranchisement. When, however, the three speech communities are teased apart and their internal age-grading considered in more detail, a much more nuanced picture emerges: as can be seen from the new Figure 5.5 (page 111), in which three graphs show the three speech communities' agreement levels by age group, there are in fact quite distinct differences. First of all, age is not a significant predictor of agreement for the Allophones, whose agreement levels fail to display as much as a tendency across age groups – differences are not significant (Kruskal-Wallis rank sum test, $\chi^2 = 6.58$, $p = 0.3617$). However, in the case of the Francophones, age *is* a significant predictor ($\chi^2 = 17.26$, $p < 0.0084$). Most importantly, the youngest age group has a much lower agreement
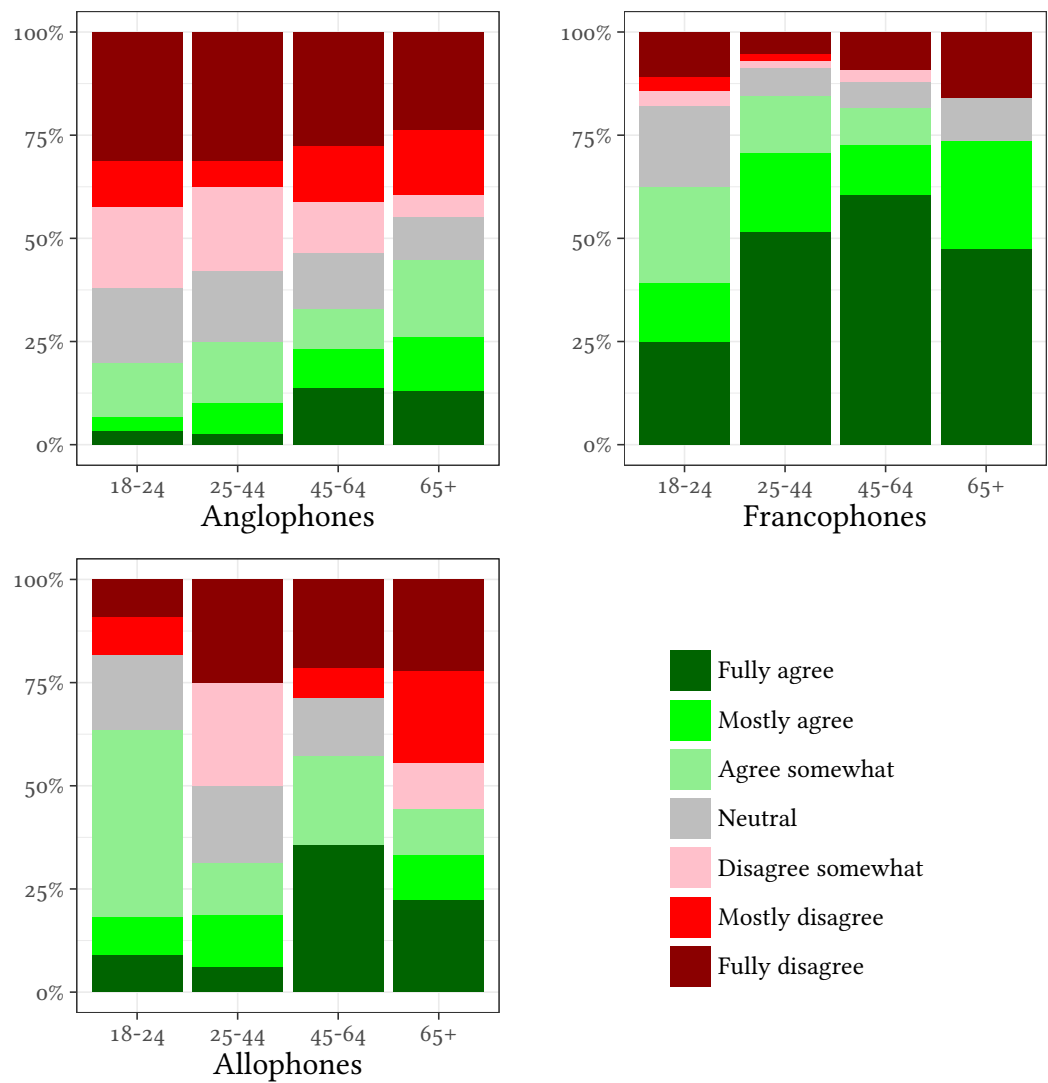
Figure 5.5: Age-grading across speech communities in agreement levels to the statement 'Bill 101 was necessary'.

rate than their elders, though interestingly, this rate is lower for the 65+ age group than for the intervening groups. This quite clearly indicates that the need for legal action to support the use of French in Quebec is not accepted as much among young Francophones as among the pre-Bill 101 generation – even though overall, all Francophone age-groups tend towards agreement. In stark contrast, the Anglophones tend towards disagreement, but here too, age is a very significant predictor (Anglo χ^2 = 18.60, p < 0.0050), and the tendency is quite obvious: younger generations disagree more than older generations. An explanation for this trend might be that older Anglophones are more aware of the historical context, in which French was in a precarious sociolinguistic situation with English in a dominant position, a situation that needed to be addressed. This state of affairs having now been reversed, the legislation is seen as distinctly less necessary by young Anglophones.

By way of a summary of this section, it would appear that average language users in present-day Quebec have at their disposal a solid range of codes from which to choose. French and English are the obvious languages present in the sample (not least because they were the languages of the questionnaire), but many if not most respondents have at least partial knowledge of additional languages. Also unsurprising is the tragic absence of aboriginal languages. Age-grading is evident in that older generations tend to be bilingual, with younger generations having more varieties at their disposal.

As far as attitudinal responses are concerned, it seems clear that both age and speech community have an effect on at least some of the attitudinal questions raised in the questionnaire. Results point to the fact that language legislation, put in place four decades ago to raise the profile of the French language, is deemed less relevant by younger generations. This is in accordance with previous work on the topic (Bourhis 1984, Oakes & Warren 2007), and also reflected in some of the commentary found in the Quebec press, both francophone and anglophone: the public discussion, when it does not revolve around issues of language policing where the OQLF is blamed for overzealousness (as e.g. in the *pastagate* case, when an Italian restaurant was reprimanded for using the word *pasta*, deemed Italian, on its menu, see Vessey 2016) or (in the francophone press) fears of creeping anglicisation, does recognise the high levels of bilingualism among the anglophone population as well as the generalised acceptance by Anglophones of the *fait français* 'French fact' in Quebec. The findings in this section, therefore, are a reflection of the wider current sociolinguistic situation in the province.

5.2 Visual language in public space: Quebec's linguistic landscape

Quebec is unique for being a pioneer in including linguistic landscape in its language legislation. While other jurisdictions have legislated the use of language in public space, the provisions of the 1977 Charter of the French language (Bill 101, whose evolution since 1977 was discussed in section 2.3.1), famously cover a wide range of visual manifestations of language. The most relevant ones here are those dealing with public signs and posters and commercial advertising.

The Charter regulates these aspects rather broadly. Section 58 stipulates (my emphasis):

> L'affichage public et la publicité commerciale doivent se faire en français.
>
> Ils peuvent également être faits à la fois en français et dans une autre langue pourvu que le français y figure *de façon nettement prédominante.*
>
> Toutefois, le gouvernement peut déterminer, par règlement, les lieux, les cas, les conditions ou les circonstances où l'affichage public et la publicité commerciale doivent se faire uniquement en français ou peuvent se faire sans prédominance du français ou uniquement dans une autre langue.[5]

The term *markedly predominant* being unclear, there is a 'Regulation defining the scope of the expression "markedly predominant" for the purposes of the Charter of the French language' (chapter C-11, r. 11). This convoluted title contains a mere six sections, two of which have been repealed. The first simply stipulates the following (my emphasis).

> Dans l'affichage de l'Administration et dans l'affichage public et la publicité commerciale affichée faits à la fois en français et dans une autre langue, le français figure de façon nettement prédominante lorsque le texte rédigé en français a un *impact visuel beaucoup plus important* que le texte rédigé dans l'autre langue.[6]

Section 1 having defined 'markedly predominant' as 'much greater visual impact', Sections 2 to 4 then set out to clarify this further, explaining what is required for the text in French to have this 'much greater visual impact' (both language versions are in the official wording):

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5. Public signs and posters and commercial advertising must be in French. They may also be both in French and in another language provided that French is *markedly predominant*. However, the Government may determine, by regulation, the places, cases, conditions or circumstances where public signs and posters and commercial advertising must be in French only, where French need not be predominant or where such signs, posters and advertising may be in another language only. (official English text, my emphasis)

6. In signs and posters of the civil administration, public signs and posters and posted commercial advertising that are both in French and in another language, French is markedly predominant where the text in French has a *much greater visual impact* than the text in the other language. (official English text, my emphasis)

2 Lorsque les textes rédigés à la fois en français et dans une autre langue sont sur une même affiche, le texte rédigé en français est réputé avoir un impact visuel beaucoup plus important si les conditions suivantes sont réunies:

i l'espace consacré au texte rédigé en français est au moins 2 fois plus grand que celui consacré au texte rédigé dans l'autre langue;

ii les caractères utilisés dans le texte rédigé en français sont au moins 2 fois plus grands que ceux utilisés dans le texte rédigé dans l'autre langue;

iii les autres caractéristiques de cet affichage n'ont pas pour effet de réduire l'impact visuel du texte rédigé en français.

3 Lorsque les textes rédigés à la fois en français et dans une autre langue sont sur des affiches distinctes et de même dimension, le texte rédigé en français est réputé avoir un impact visuel beaucoup plus important si les conditions suivantes sont réunies:

i les affiches sur lesquelles figure le texte rédigé en français sont au moins 2 fois plus nombreuses que celles sur lesquelles figure le texte rédigé dans l'autre langue;

ii les caractères utilisés dans le texte rédigé en français sont au moins aussi grands que ceux utilisés dans le texte rédigé dans l'autre langue;

iii les autres caractéristiques de cet affichage n'ont pas pour effet de réduire l'impact visuel du texte rédigé en français.

4 Lorsque les textes rédigés à la fois en français et dans une autre langue sont sur des affiches distinctes de dimensions différentes, le texte rédigé en français est réputé avoir un impact visuel beaucoup plus important si les conditions suivantes sont réunies:

i les affiches sur lesquelles figure le texte rédigé en français sont au moins aussi nombreuses que celles sur lesquelles figure le texte rédigé dans l'autre langue;

ii les affiches sur lesquelles figure le texte rédigé en français sont au moins 2 fois plus grandes que celles sur lesquelles figure le texte rédigé dans l'autre langue;

2 Where texts both in French and in another language appear on the same sign or poster, the text in French is deemed to have a much greater visual impact if the following conditions are met:

i the space allotted to the text in French is at least twice as large as the space allotted to the text in the other language

ii the characters used in the text in French are at least twice as large as those used in the text in the other language

iii the other characteristics of the sign or poster do not have the effect of reducing the visual impact of the text in French.

3 Where texts both in French and in another language appear on separate signs or posters of the same size, the text in French is deemed to have a much greater visual impact if the following conditions are met:

i the signs and posters bearing the text in French are at least twice as numerous as those bearing the text in the other language;

ii the characters used in the text in French are at least as large as those used in the text in the other language

iii the other characteristics of the sign or poster do not have the effect of reducing the visual impact of the text in French.

4 Where texts both in French and in another language appear on separate signs or posters of a different size, the text in French is deemed to have a much greater visual impact if the following conditions are met:

i the signs and posters bearing the text in French are at least as numerous as those bearing the text in the other language;

ii the signs or posters bearing the text in French are at least twice as large as those bearing the text in the other language;

iii les caractères utilisés dans le texte rédigé en français sont au moins 2 fois plus grands que ceux utilisés dans le texte rédigé dans l'autre langue;

iv les autres caractéristiques de cet affichage n'ont pas pour effet de réduire l'impact visuel du texte rédigé en français.

iii the characters used in the text in French are at least twice as large as those used in the text in the other language

iv the other characteristics of the sign or poster do not have the effect of reducing the visual impact of the text in French.

In short, French text needs to be twice as large as text in another language, and any 'other characteristics' should 'not have the effect of reducing the visual impact of the text in French'. This provision avoids circumventing the spirit of the Charter such as in the extreme fictional example of having huge French text in light pastel yellow, on which is superimposed a bold-face dark red English text, even if it is smaller than half the size of the French text.

5.2.1 Geographical distribution of language

For the purposes of this study, 1 101 photos of signs were taken in municipalities on the island of Montreal, in the surrounding metropolitan region, as well as in Québec and more rural settlements in the Laurentides, Estrie, and Gaspésie regions. Images from Moncton NB and Ottawa ON complement the database. The exact location and the methodology employed to collect and organise this photographic evidence were discussed in section 4.1.2. I shall simply reproduce here in Figure 5.6 the location of the signs from the Montreal metropolitan region.
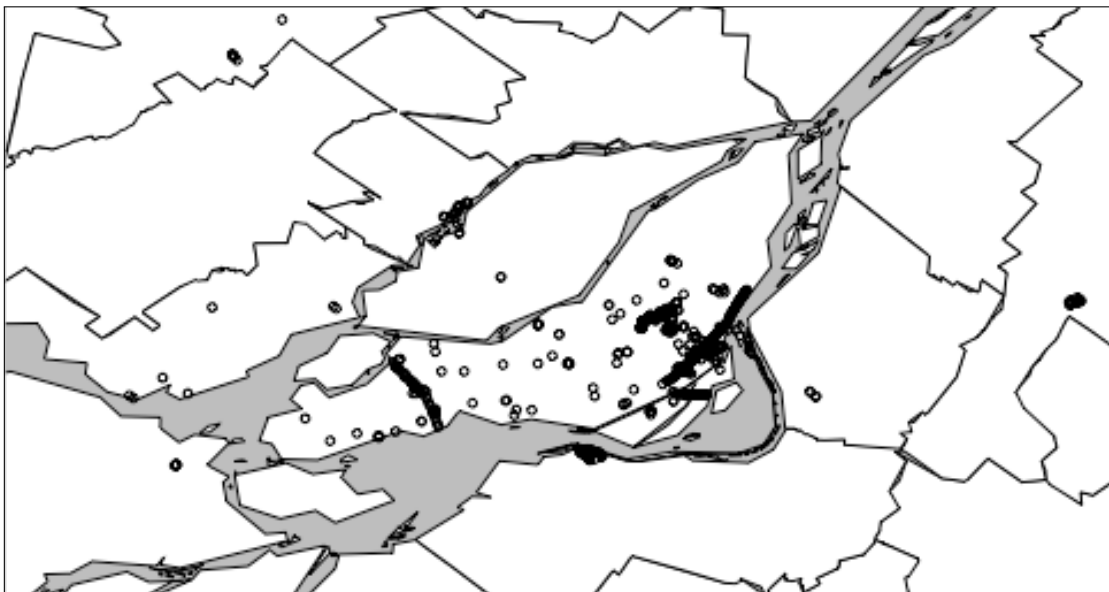
Figure 5.6: Geolocation of the signs collected in the Montreal metropolitan region.

This current section will concentrate on the geographical dimension of the signs and the languages thereon: differences are noted between monolingual and bilingual municipalities, municipalities located on and off the island, and neighbourhoods traditionally settled by a given ethnic group. Before considering the linguistic landscape itself, it is instructive to take into account the actual distribution of languages used by speakers on the ground. To this end, census data offers a meaningful insight into the languages actually spoken. For the 2011 census considered here, Statistics Canada (2011b: 16) used online questionnaires (60% of households), mailed paper questionnaires (20%), personally delivered questionnaires (18%), and personal interviews (2%). The census asks three questions relating to language (from Statistics Canada 2011a), relabelled, respectively, 'knowledge of official language', 'home language', and 'mother tongue':

1. Can this person speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation? (four options: English only, French only, both English and French, neither English nor French)

2. a) What language does this person speak **most often** at home? (three options: English, French, Other – specify)

   b) Does this person speak any other languages **on a regular basis** at home? (four options: No, Yes – English, Yes – French, Yes – Other to specify)

3. What is the language that this person first learned at home **in childhood** and **still understands**? (three options: English, French, Other – specify)

A fourth indicator used by Statistics Canada, 'first official language spoken' (FOLS), is derived from the answers given to the three census questions: if the answer to 'knowledge of official language' is 'both English and French', then the answer to 'mother tongue' is taken into account. If here too, the answer is ambiguous, 'home language' is taken into account. The resulting classification creates four groups: English, French, English and French, and neither English nor French. The usefulness of this indicator is that it provides simple and straightforward information about a crucial aspect of federal government services, namely which language to use in communication with its citizens: whereas mother tongue and home language may not necessarily be very telling indicators in the case of speakers of non-official languages (Allophones), the method behind FOLS creates a unique language indicator for the entire population, speakers of official and non-official languages alike.

The map in Figure 5.7 shows the distribution of speakers who have French only as their FOLS in Quebec, showing high proportions in the entire inhabited section of the province. The large grey area is the Nord-du-Québec region, which, while accounting for half of the province's territory, counts only 1% of its residents, mostly First Nations and Inuit peoples. These often
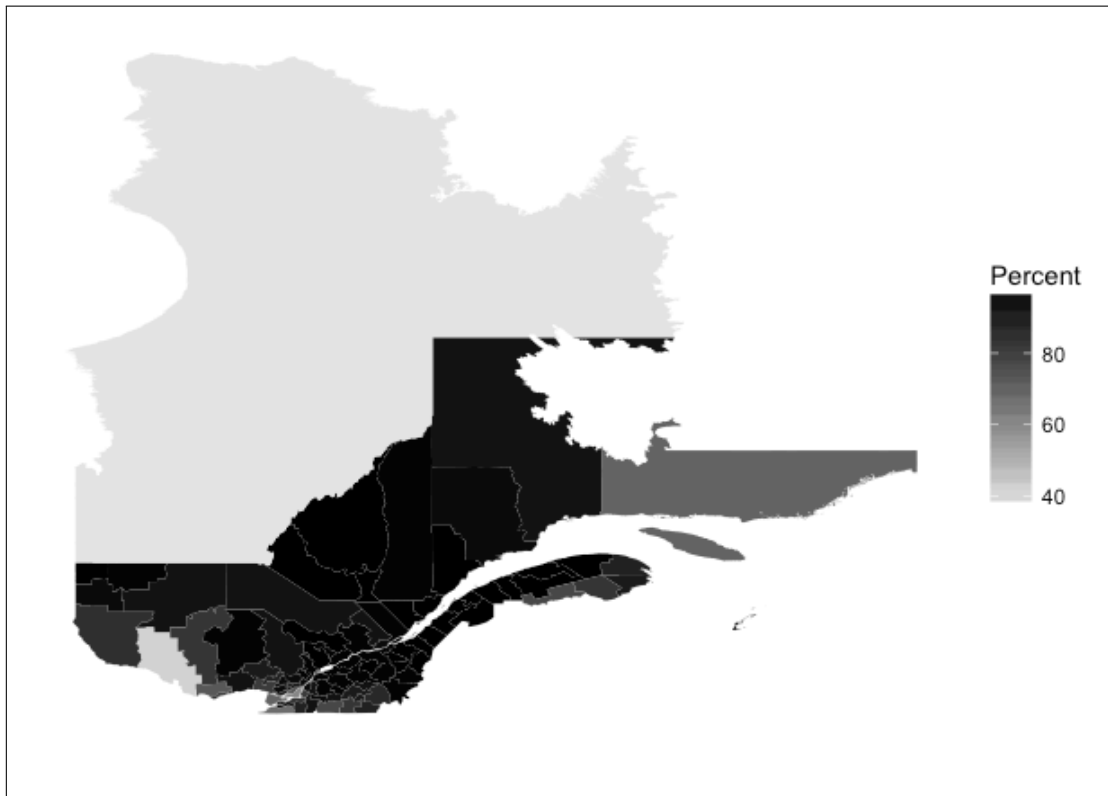
Figure 5.7: Percentage of speakers who have French as their first official language spoken, province of Quebec.

have English as their FOLS. Lower proportions of French FOLS can also be observed in the Côte-Nord, the eastwardly protruding area on the northern shore of the Saint Lawrence River. This region is badly connected to the rest of the province: Route 138 from Québec to Blanc-Sablon (on the border to Newfoundland and Labrador) is interrupted between Kegashka and Old Fort, a stretch of coastline 425 km long with isolated communities connected with each other only by ferry. This means that residents' interactions with Newfoundland are more intense than with Quebec itself, which certainly explains the lower French-only FOLS proportion in this area.[7]

The focus shall here be on the metropolitan region of Montreal. First, Montreal is characterised by a comparatively high degree of multilingualism on several indicators: the percentage of speakers who claim both French and English as their FOLS is 8%, whereas it is 3% for the province and 1% for the whole of Canada. Speakers who claim more than one mother tongue

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7. The isolation of that area has led to the mayor of Blanc-Sablon to table the issue of secession from Quebec to join Newfoundland and Labrador, citing lack of resources and attention from the provincial government (CBC News 2014). Building work on the missing stretch of Route 138 is underway, with the eventual goal of filling the entire gap (Premier ministre du Québec 2011).

Figure 5.8: Percentage of speakers declaring English as their only mother tongue, Montreal Census Metropolitan Area.

make up 4% of Montreal, but only 2% of each of Quebec and Canada. There is also a higher percentage of native trilinguals in Montreal (i.e. speakers of both French, English, and a non-official language) than in the other two polities: 0.4% versus 0.2% in Quebec and 0.1% in Canada. The reason for this is clearly to be found in the fact that the city acts as a port of first call for new immigrants to the province: 33% of the population has a mother tongue other than French or English, as opposed to 12% in Quebec and 19% in Canada.

The languages spoken in the Montreal region show a certain geographical distribution. There is, traditionally, an east–west split with French more dominant in the east of the island (i.e., downstream), and English more present (if not dominant) in the so-called West Island. Census data seems to support this to some extent: Figure 5.8 shows a clear bias towards western census tracts of the area for respondents citing English as their only mother tongue. The census further shows the geographical distribution of Allophone communities: in Figure 5.9, the proportion of respondents with a language other than English or French as a home language is shown to be higher in certain areas of Villeray–Saint-Michel–Parc-Extension and Côte-des-Neiges–Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. Pockets are also found in the Downtown area and off-island in Brossard (South Shore) and in Chomedey (Laval).

The linguistic landscape in Montreal patterns to some extent on this demolinguistic distribution. A first example of how this is visible is found along rue Sainte-Catherine (Saint

Figure 5.9: Percentage of speakers declaring a language other than French or English as their home language, Montreal Census Metropolitan Area.

Catherine Street), an east-west thoroughfare, 11.2 km long, leading from rue Notre-Dame Est in Hochelaga to boulevard de Maisonneuve Ouest in Westmount. After 6.3 km it intersects with boulevard Saint-Laurent, the north-south axis that traditionally divides the city in two, at which point its name changes from rue Sainte-Catherine Est to rue Sainte-Catherine Ouest; it ends some 5 km later in Westmount. Along this stretch, the street passes through residential, commercial, and industrial areas. It is noted as a major shopping street in the Downtown area.

Data was collected in a systematic fashion on rue Sainte-Catherine, by taking one picture of a sign on every block (i.e., between every intersection), on alternate sides of the street, where possible. A total of 150 signs was collected, which can be initially categorised in the following simplistic way: 59 signs were monolingual French, 11 monolingual English, 23 were bilingual in French and English (their content being the same), and 13 included languages other than French and English. The photos discussed in this section are printed in appendix A.

Considering now the geographical distribution of these signs, monolingual signs show a clear pattern: there are more monolingual French signs in the east, and more English-only signs in the west. In fact, there is only one monolingual English sign east of boulevard Saint-Laurent (see Figure A.1). Bilingual signs follow a different, but perhaps related pattern: ignoring size and placement, as one moves from east to west, signs increasingly include English (see Figure A.2).

Furthermore, even signs with languages other than French and English seem to occur more frequently in the western portion of the street. Again, by simply considering the languages present on those signs, it appears (perhaps unsurprisingly) that most are found along the Downtown stretch of rue Sainte-Catherine, as shown in Figure A.3. The presence of a 'new Chinatown' in the area known as Shaughnessy Village (between rue Guy and avenue Atwater) certainly accounts for some of these: there is a large number of Asian restaurants (Korean, Chinese, Japanese, etc.) with signs that include exactly these languages. In the stretch of rue Sainte-Catherine roughly between rue Crescent and rue de Bleury is the main downtown shopping area, featuring a wide range of shops (upmarket as well as middle-range). Here, the international nature of many chain stores is emphasised by their use of English (typically concurrently with French), but also by some signs, such as the one in Figure A.4, where many (non-local) languages are displayed, presumably in an attempt at indexing globalism and situating the store in a globally-connected economy. The directly utilitarian nature of the multilingual announcement (e.g., by appealing to speakers of those languages among the passing tourists and shoppers) is not the primary concern, given that other signage in the store does not feature all those languages. Rather, it connects the locally-sited store to a global identity marked by the use of a seemingly wide array of languages (or at least including many non-local languages).[8]

This first analysis shows how the languages on the signs are a reflection of the languages actually spoken on the ground (compare with Figure 5.8). It is instructive, however, to take a closer look at the data, rather than settling for the rather straightforward categories used hitherto. For instance, the larger number of bilingual signs in the western portion of rue Sainte-Catherine also reflect a non-physical reality beyond mother tongue percentage: the fact that there is an intermunicipal boundary at the intersection with avenue Atwater, where the street crosses into the city of Westmount. Westmount is an officially bilingual municipality (as per section 29.1 of the Charter of the French Language, see chapter 2). As such, the rules on which languages are allowed on official signage are different from those in non-bilingual municipalities. While French still needs to appear first, English is not required to be in a smaller font. Further, it would appear that bilingual municipalities on the island of Montreal make it a point to include English in all their signage whenever possible. Therefore, signs such as those in Figure A.6 abound, whereas they would be illegal in non-bilingual municipalities.[9]

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8. It is worth noting that there is some bias in the choice of these eight languages: The presence of French and English is expected (with French more prominent and more complete than the others), but the others limit themselves to Indo-European languages (Spanish, Polish, Czech, German) and two Asian languages written in non-Latin script (Chinese (新品) and Korean). The fact that the Korean is displayed in mirror-image (웅도ㅆ instead of 새로운) might further point to its primarily semiotic (rather than linguistic) role here: it is an index of globalisation, achieved through ostensible multilingualism (see e.g. Blommaert (2010: 29–30)).

9. Another example of how bilingual municipalities deal with signage can be found in Pointe-Claire. All recent stop signs on the municipality's territory carry the word STOP rather than the more common ARRÊT in the city of

Looking beyond rue Sainte-Catherine for a moment, a similar administrative boundary can be found, this time combined with a physical boundary, on the other side of the Saint Lawrence River. The Mercier Bridge leads from the borough of LaSalle in Montreal to the Kahnawà:ke Mohawk Territory. Indian Reserves are not subject to the provisions of the Charter of the French Language, and, given that the main language spoken in Kahnawà:ke is English, it is no surprise that the linguistic landscape in the reserve is predominantly English. This holds true for traffic signs (the stop signs alternate between stop and the bilingual testan/stop) as well as commercial signage, which may be entirely in English or with the additional use of Kanien'kéha. French can be found too, typically in road signs (e.g. a toutes directions modifier sign under a bilingual testan/stop sign) but also on commercial signage and advertisement.

It would appear, therefore, that the relationship between linguistic landscape and actual language 'on the ground' is mediated at least partly by the legislation in place in a given space. Official language status at various levels of government and the applicability of laws to special cases such as Indian Reserves all leave visible traces in the linguistic landscape. Beyond purely administrative geographical boundaries, however, there are also economic, demographic, and social factors that combine to influence sign-makers: the English presence on Downtown signs is different from that on Westmount signs, which is also different from the French presence on signs in these and other places.

5.2.2 Languages, 'marked predominance', and linguistic creativity

The legislation (see pages 113ff) does not detail the situation of a sign that contains text in more than French 'and in another language'. However, the website of the Office québécois de la langue française has a 'frequently asked questions' section, which includes a question 'Quel est le régime actuel en matière d'affichage?'.[10] Here a passing mention is made of several languages (my emphasis): 'la loi impose de faire usage du français dans l'affichage public, tout en admettant l'utilisation concurrente d'une autre langue, *ou d'autres langues*, à condition que le français conserve un impact visuel beaucoup plus important',[11] and, crucially, 'il faut que le texte français conserve un impact visuel beaucoup plus important par rapport aux autres

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Montreal and elsewhere in the province. Having been informed by the provincial transport ministry of the norms with regards to these signs, i.e. that both STOP and ARRÊT are officially possible but the simultaneous use of both was not, the Pointe-Claire City Council 'opted for the word "Stop" both because it is recognized as a French word and also because it was deemed a more international term' (personal electronic communication, Legal Affairs and City Clerk Department, City of Pointe-Claire, 2014-06-04).

10. 'What is the current legal situation for public signs and posters?' (my translation)

11. 'the law requires French to be used in public signs and posters, while at the same time allowing the use of another language, or other languages, as long as French keeps a much greater visual impact' (my translation)

messages visibles en même temps'[12] (http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/charte/questions_freq/rep_32.html). This wording seems to imply that French needs to be larger not just than a single additional language, but than all other languages combined – unlike on the sign in Figure A.4, and unlike the letter of the law in the regulation cited above.

It has already become clear that while there is no shortage of French-English bilingual signs, many are found with more than two languages, with or without French or English.[13] In the absence of a clear legal guideline, several options are chosen by sign designers: there are signs where French is larger than all other languages combined (with a varying ratio, not always 2:1), signs where all languages, including French, are of the same size (Figure A.5), very few signs where English predominates, but several others where a third language is larger than both French and English (Figure A.7 and A.8).

In some instances, there is ambiguity as to which language a particular part of the sign belongs to. This may well be intentional: the creative respelling of the main word on the sign in Figure A.9, for instance, very cleverly avoids putting it into either the French or the English realm: the spelling as ⟨identi~t⟩ can be read as *identité*, [idãtite], in French or as *identity*, [aɪˈdɛntɪti], in English. The final syllable, where the French and English spellings differ, has been replaced with ⟨t⟩, which is read as either [te] in French or [tiː] in English. The onus is therefore on the reader of the sign to assign a language to the word, because the other two smaller words under it, *atelier* and *boutique*, are felicitous in both languages as well. The example in this sign is an example of clever language-avoidance that, though by no means very frequent, is not rare either: Figure A.10 uses the same device with the sequence 'T&BİSCUİTS', where a word (*biscuits*) common to both languages is combined with the letter T (pronounced *tea* [tiː] in English and *thé* [te] in French, both with the same meaning) and an ampersand to achieve the same effect of ambiguity as to the language actually in use.

Especially in Montreal, bilingualism is often highlighted by non-governmental actors. The signs of the federal and provincial governments and administration are clearly regulated: federal institutions, in Montreal as everywhere in Canada, use both official languages in their signs, and provincial Quebec institutions use only French. The bilingualism found on signs governed by federal legislation, therefore, is not very interesting beyond the fact that they contain all information in both languages, with text of the same size, and with French first in Quebec and English first in the rest of Canada (an case of same-sized parallelism). The fact that private and commercial authors often make it a point to include English on their signs to the

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12. 'the French text must keep a much greater visual impact than the other messages visible at the same time' (my translation)

13. The list (in no particular order) of languages found on signs in the database is as follows: French, English, Greek, Arabic, Russian, Portuguese, Chinese, Tagalog, Vietnamese, German, Spanish, Polish, Italian, Turkish, Macedonian, Romansh, Latin, Hindi, Japanese, Tamil, Farsi, Korean, Punjabi, Bengali, Urdu, Hungarian.

extent allowed by the law (and sometimes beyond) tells us something about the position of English in the city of Montreal, as does the fact that certain areas of the city are more likely to feature such signs. Consider Figure A.11 (in the appendix on page 254), which is in an underground corridor connecting Westmount Square, a commercial and residential development in Westmount, with the Atwater métro station, which is located exactly on the intermunicipal border between Westmount and Montreal. The sign itself is on the Westmount side of the border. The text, 'METRO ATWATER METRO' is intended to be bilingual: *Métro Atwater* is the French half, and *Atwater metro* is the English half. *Atwater*, the proper noun (shared with *avenue Atwater* above the station), being by its very nature identical in the two languages, has been used a single time in the middle, with the convenient difference in French and English modifier-noun order enabling the symmetrical construction on this sign. The exact same symmetrical bilingualism, this time with a (literally) central adjective and surrounding identical nouns, can also be observed in Figure A.12, where the name of a food court in the centre of a Downtown shopping complex is given as 'DISTRICT CENTRAL DISTRICT'. The potential problem with both of these signs is that their homographic French and English components are of the same size: the two instances of *metro* and of *centre* are exactly identical, meaning that none of their respective instantiations is 'markedly predominant', nor does one have a 'much greater visual impact' than its counterpart (with the exception of placement, in that the adjective-first oder is the one found in French, which might therefore be read first). Technically speaking, they would be in violation of the regulation. This holds true also for the directional sign in Figure A.11, because even though it is sited in Westmount, an officially bilingual municipality, only municipal bodies are exempt from the requirement of the Charter's section 58. As this directional sign is in a commercial building, it does not fall under the category that allows equally-sized bilingual signs.

The treatment of *Atwater* as a proper noun in Figure A.11 is the only possible choice. The street was named after Edwin Atwater (1808–1874) and as such, no translation is possible. The status of a noun as proper or common is not always as straightforward, however. In the officially bilingual municipality of Wentworth (population 502, 57% English mother tongue), situated just over an hour's drive west-northwest of Montreal, there is a lake traditionally called Lake Black (location 45° 45' 05" N, 74° 20' 20" W). According to personal communication from the municipal office, upon the officialisation of the local toponymy by the provincial administration, the suggestion was made to rename the lake to Lac Noir. This was swiftly countered by the assertion that the lake was named after a person called Black, leading to the official name now being Lac Black. That this was not done everywhere is reflected in the Commission de toponymie's database, which lists several former 'Black, Lac' that have had their names replaced (though not always with *noir*): Lac Noir in Mulgrave-et-Derry, Lac Dawson in Milles-

Isles, Lac Noiret in Wentworth-Nord, Lac Aubin in Lac-Normand, Lac Noir in Lac-Pythonga, or even Grande rivière Noire (formerly Big Black River) in Saint-Pamphile, Baie Noire (formerly Baie Black, i.e. 'Black Bay') in Notre-Dame-de-Pontmain, and Ruisseau Noir (formerly Ruisseau Black, i.e. 'Black Creek')[14] in Dégelis.

In yet other instances, a pre-existing English common noun has been reanalysed as a proper noun. Located in the village of Frelighsburg in the Eastern Townships, close to the border to Vermont (USA), the building in Figure A.13 sports the sign 'LE "GRAMMAR SCHOOL"'. Predictably, it used to serve as the local English school, but has been used, since 1963, by the local tourist information office and as an arts exhibition venue. The sequence *grammar school* has, in this instance, been recast as a proper noun, further evidenced by the quotation marks, and embedded in a French noun phrase introduced by the article *le*. This way, the original English building descriptor has been turned into the building's name, which, being a proper noun, can be referenced to in French much in the same way as *Atwater*.

5.3 Audible language: linguistic soundscape

As mentioned at the end of section 4.1.2 (page 93), soundscape data was collected in the form of announcements on the Greater Montreal public rail transport network. The entire urban and suburban network was travelled in order to make a note of the pronunciation of, specifically, station names in announcements. These announcements were either pre-recorded or spontaneous. Pre-recorded announcements were the norm in the urban underground rail network (run by the STM, the Société des transports de Montréal), whereas in the suburban trains run by the ATM (the Agence métroplitaine de transport) a mix of pre-recorded and spontaneous announcements were observed. The list of stations, together with their observed pronunciations, is given in appendix E, with separate lists for the STM network (appendix E.1) and for the ATM network (appendix E.2).

Before looking at the actual results from these observations, it is worth pointing to the legal framework regulating them. For one, transit authorities (among them the STM) are listed in the Charter of the French language as bodies that are part of the government's civil administration, and, therefore, subject to the stricter language regulation in force for these bodies, as set out in chapter IV of the Charter. For instance, section 14 states that 'agencies of the civil administration and the services thereof shall be designated by their French names alone', which means that even in otherwise entirely English texts (as produced both by governmental bodies/agencies and in the mainstream English-language press), the name of such bodies,

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14. *Creek* here in its non-British sense 2.b of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edition, 1989), i.e. 'a tributary river; a rivulet'.

including that of the Société des transports de Montréal, will be in French. Transit authorities such as the STM are also subject to tighter regulation of the language used on signage: 'The civil administration shall use only French in signs and posters, except where reasons of health or public safety require the use of another language as well' (s 22). In a similar vein, the ATM, which is not listed as a transit authority in the charter, falls under its definition of 'semipublic agencies', which include all 'air, ship, bus and rail transport enterprises' (Schedule, s B.1) into the sub-category 'public utility enterprises'. These agencies have their own set of rules set forth in chapter V of the Charter, where section 30 states that they 'must arrange to make their services available in the official language'.

Both the STM and the AMT have their own internal language policies; an 18-page document, entitled 'Politique linguistique', was made available by the AMT upon request. The document consists of four main sections, dealing with (i) language use in written communication, (ii) the language of services offered to the public, (iii) the language of work, and (iv) the specific form of the administrative language. In written communication, the general principle (s 1.2.1) is that only French is used in internal and external documents, although (as s 1.2.2 states) another language may also be used *au besoin* 'when necessary', this being *dans un esprit d'ouverture* 'in a spirit of openness', specifically towards the 'Anglophone community of Quebec'. There is, therefore, a recognition of Anglophones as a community (although only Quebec Anglophones, not anglophones from elsewhere), a community that may be granted the privilege of being addressed in their language. Beyond these general principles exist actual *rules*, which state that written communication with companies based in Quebec, with the federal government, and with foreign governments shall be in French only. Exceptions are companies based outside of Quebec that do not use French as the language of work (i.e., including e.g. most American companies but excluding companies from France); communications to foreign governments whose working language is not French may include a translated version, but only on paper that does not include the AMT header and logo and without signature. Communication with Aboriginal communities are written in French and in the community's language or English; in this case all versions are signed and printed on paper with the company's header. Information sent by anonymous mailing (i.e., not to a named recipient) may only be in French; it is only upon explicit request that documents in another language may be mailed to a named recipient.

Section 1.3.13 deals with *affichage et signalisation* 'signs and signage' and makes provisions for the linguistic landscape of stations and on rolling stock, mandating the exclusive use of French in electronic or old-style information panels. Exceptions are safety messages, where 'another language' may be required, but where French must predominate. Explicit mention is made of federal railroad regulations, which may mandate the use of both French and English; in this case, French needs to appear *de façon évidente* 'evidently' (that is, not 'predominantly'

Figure 5.10: Signs inside an AMT carriage on the Vaudreuil line. The electronic information panel displays the next station (in French only). The poster admonishing passengers to give up their seats to persons in need is in French only, too. The sign displaying information on how to carry out an emergency call is bilingual, with French slightly larger than the English version and placed above it.

as per Bill 101, but, presumably, appearing before or above English, as is customary for federal institutions in Quebec). This is illustrated nicely in Figure 5.10, which shows three signs appearing on the inside of an AMT carriage: the following station's name is announced in French only, as is the information on the poster reminding passengers to let those in need have the priority seats. Only the sign with emergency information, in this case how to make an emergency call, features both French and English, here with French slightly larger than English and placed above it.

Beyond these rules on written communication, the policy document has a section on the language used in services offered to the public. The general principles (sections in 2.2) here are that (i) the status of French as the official language of Quebec should be reflected in employees' contacts with the public, but that (ii) anyone is free to use another language upon request from an interlocutor, whereas (iii) there should be no assumption that someone wishes to be addressed in another language or that they are not proficient in French. Building on these principles, the rules themselves deal with interaction between employees and members of the public: first spoken contact should always be in French (s 2.3.1), the initiation of written contact should always be in French (s 2.3.2), upon receipt of a letter written in another language, it is permissible to reply in that language (s 2.3.3), and messages on telephone answering machines

are in French but may be in another language if accessible separately (s 2.3.4). Crucially, there is no specific mention of announcements on trains or platforms, although it could well fall under the purview of section 2.3.1, which states that first spoken contact should always be in French.

The policy document's section on working language is essentially a reiteration of the rights set out in the Charter of the French language, i.e. the right of workers to use the French language in the discharge of their duties, but also of the obligation of the employer to ensure its employees know French and to provide them with the necessary training in language proficiency (oral and written) as well as with a working environment conducive to the use of French (e.g. through the availability of French language software). A final section *Clarté et correction de la langue administrative* 'clarity and correction of the administrative language' takes a more corpus planning approach, the general principle being that the company and its employees should strive to use correct French (*un français correct et conforme au bon usage*), with specific rules prescribing the use of the terminology officially normalised by the OQLF.

What emerges from the policy document, then, is a desire to regulate or advise employees in their interactions (spoken or in writing) with the public, but it does leave out the element of spoken announcements in trains and on platforms. This special form of communication is, of course, not actual spoken 'interaction', the communication being quintessentially unidirectional. Nonetheless, it is language, and spoken language at that, which, by its very nature, has the added complexity of pronunciation thrust upon it. This means that an otherwise ambiguous word, such as, for instance, *train*, cannot be left unspecified for language (French or English), as could be done in solely visual linguistic landscape (as exemplified above in the *identi-t* case). The word is pronounced, and, therefore, needs to take either of the forms [tɹeɪn] or [tʁɛ̃], thereby audibly putting it into the realm of English or French. In the case of station announcements on trains, transport companies have to make a choice, for even in the case of toponyms, which can be thought of as proper names not typically confined to a single language, the accent employed will be subject to a given number of phonotactic and other phonological rules which will more or less straightforwardly assign it to a given language.

Beginning with the STM network, there is an observable attempt to render the pronunciation as close as possible to a French norm. All announcements are pre-recorded, which eliminates the problem of idiolectal influences on particular realisations of toponyms. Most station names in the urban STM network are actually derived from odonyms, i.e. street names of the street, road, or other thoroughfare that intersect with the train line at the station. In Quebec, odonyms, being a subset of toponyms, are regulated by the Commission de toponymie du Québec, a government body created by the Charter of the French language and attached to the OQLF (s 122), which is in charge of standardising and officialising place-names in the province. Toponyms have an official form and orthography (though no mention of pronunciation is made), and the

public administration is meant to use this official norm. Footnote 2 on page 91 explained this for the Montreal suburb of Dollard-Des Ormeaux, which has been officialised as such, even though general usage (including by the city administration itself) differs widely on how many hyphens (if at all) should be used, and which elements get capitalised. The STM, however, being a public body part of the civil administration, is intent on using the official versions, as is clear from the list of station names in appendix E.1: the names are typically the odonym of the intersecting road stripped of their generic but maintaining the preposition linking it to the specific (as in *rue de l'Église*, which led to the station *De l'Église* – exceptions to this rule exist, such as *Cadillac* or *Champ-de-Mars* (which are missing the official *De* and *Du*)). The rules set out in the *Guide de l'affichage odonymique* (Bisson & Richard 2004) call for the use of a capital letter on the specific part of the odonym, whereas the generic and prepositions are in lower case, except when at the beginning of a sentence or a new block of text.

When it comes to pronunciation, a French accent is chosen for all STM stations. This is the obvious choice for the vast majority of names, since they are of French etymology; station *De l'Église* is naturally pronounced [də legliz]. It is with names that are of non-French origin that decisions had to be made. It just so happens that non-French toponyms in Montreal are often of English etymology, such as in the case of the métro stations *Atwater* and *McGill*, derived from English surnames, which are pronounced, in the STM announcements, as [atwatɛʁ] and [mɛgil] respectively, rather than their (Canadian) English versions [ˈætˌwɔɾɹ] and [məˈgɪl]. Other stations that may appear to feature English names are actually derived from odonyms named after early French colonial settlers or officials, as shown in Table 5.6: *Cadillac* is not pronounced like the American car manufacturer, but like the Francophone founder of the city where the automobile company was headquartered (and after whom the company was named). Similarly, *Guy*, which is a reasonably common name in both French and English, is, here, the name of a Francophone Montrealer – the pronunciation as [gi] is, therefore, warranted, even if [gaɪ] is a common alternative used, particularly in English speech. Sometimes, it is minute differences in phonetic realisation that mark the announcement as French rather than English: *Peel* (after a British Prime Minister) is [p⁼ilʲ] rather than [pʰɹiːɫ], i.e., without initial plosive aspiration, with a very high, front, and monophthongal nuclear vowel, and with a palatalised (rather than velarised) lateral in the coda.[15]

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15. That these differences, minute as they may seem, are above the level of consciousness in the public is evidenced by the controversy reported in CBC News (2015) about the pronunciation of P.K. Subban's name in francophone media. The ice hockey star, who plays for the Montreal Canadiens team but is a Torontonian of Jamaican extraction, uses his two given names Pernell Karl as the initials P.K. in front of his surname. Being Anglophone, he pronounces them [pʰiːkʰeɪ]. In December 2015, the interest group 'Association pour l'usage et le soutien de la langue française' raised the issue of francophone media using this English pronunciation in their reporting, rather than the French pronunciation of the initials P.K., i.e. [pe.ka]. Interestingly, the surname (usually pronounced [sʌbən]) was not subjected to the same observation.

Table 5.6: A selection of STM station names that may appear English-influenced and their pronunciations on pre-recorded in-train announcements. The etymology is that from the Commission de toponymie's online database (http://www.toponymie.gouv.qc.ca).

Station name	STM pronunciation	Etymology
Monk	mɔŋk	Surname, Sir James Monk, Anglophone colonial administrator (1745–1826)
Atwater	atwatɛʁ	Surname, Edwin Atwater (1808–1874), Anglophone businessman
Guy-Concordia	gi kɔ̃kɔʁdja	Guy: surname, Étienne Guy (1774–1820), Francophone landowner and politician; Concordia: University, ultimately from the city's Latin motto (*concordia salus*)
Peel	p˭il	Surname, Robert Peel (1788–1850), UK Prime Minister
McGill	mɛgil	Surname, James McGill (1744–1813), Anglophone businessman and politician, founder of McGill University
Cadillac	kadilak	Surname, Antoine Laumet de La Mothe, sieur de Cadillac (1658–1730), Francophone founder of Detroit and governor of French Louisiana
Radisson	ʁadisɔ̃	Surname, Pierre-Esprit Radisson (1636–1710), French *courreur des bois* and co-founder of the Hudson Bay Company
Snowdon	snodən	Surname, James Snowdon (1791–1870), Anglophone farmer and landowner
Square-Victoria	skwaʁviktɔʁja	Victoria Square, named after Queen Victoria (1819–1901)
Sherbrooke	ʃɛʁbʁuk	Surname, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke (1764–1830), Anglophone colonial administrator
Montmorency	mɔ̃mɔʁɑ̃si	Surname, François de Montmorency-Laval (1623–1703), Francophone bishop

The STM, then, is an example of a transport authority that has put considerable effort into creating a linguistic soundscape that is virtually exclusively French, a state of affairs further ensured by the recorded (i.e., non-spontaneous) nature of most routine announcements. This soundscape, in combination with the linguistic landscape legislation in place, creates a 'linguistic atmosphere' in the métro which is undeniably French.

The linguistic soundscape on the network of the suburban train operator AMT is less straightforward. The main difference is the presence of non-prerecorded announcements, which, therefore, are subject to idiolectal variation at the very least. Appendix E.2 gives a list of the stations arranged by line, in the order in which they were travelled, departing in downtown Montreal. An expected pronunciation is given, modelled on a European French reading of the station name. Finally, the observed pronunciation is given, which may or may not differ from the expected pronunciation. Different generations of rolling stock were being used on the various lines; some had electronic displays repeating the pre-recorded announcement in visual form (such as the one in Figure 5.10), others relied entirely on ad-hoc announcements made by a person physically present on the train. On the one train I took on the Candiac line, which was fully equipped with LED information signs and, as far as I could tell, with loudspeakers in every carriage, no announcements at all were made, in either spoken or visual form.

Due to the suburban nature of the AMT network, station names tend to be different from the odonyms typical of the STM network, being rather the toponym of the municipality or borough in which the station is located. This is not always the case, particularly within the cities of Montreal and Laval, where odonyms do appear (e.g. *[Avenue du] Parc*, *[Boulevard] de la Concorde*) alongside other, more descriptive names (*Gare Centrale*). However, since municipal toponyms predominate, a certain number of English place-names are found in the list of stations, especially on the Vaudreuil-Hudson line. Interestingly, the pronunciation of these station names is not linked to the type of announcement (pre-recorded or spontaneous), with *Sunnybrooke* pronounced [sʌnibɹʊk] (i.e., with an alveolar approximant [ɹ] rather than a uvular fricative [ʁ]) by a female announcer in an ad-hoc fashion, and *Cedar Park* pronounced [siːdɻ pɑ ɻk] with retroflex approximants on a pre-recorded announcement. In fact, if there is anything systematic about pronunciation on ATM trains, it is that station names of English etymology are pronounced in English. This is the case of the spontaneous pronunciation of *Sunnybrooke*, as well as of the other four observations, which were pre-recorded announcements: *Pine Beach* [paɪn biːtʃ], *Cedar Park* [siːdɻ pɑɻk], *Beaconsfield* [ˈbiːkəns ˌfɪːɫd], and *McMasterville* [mækˈmæstə ɻˌvɪɫ]. Nothing in these names would have made it impossible to pronounce them in the French way, for example [makmastɛʁvilʲ]. A conscious choice had to be made at the time of the recording of the announcements, and that choice was to opt for an English pronunciation. The AMT, therefore, offers a less exclusively French soundscape to its users.

This is not to say, however, that there is some sort of institutional bilingualism at work in the trains. Only station names were considered here; these names are couched within an otherwise entirely French soundscape. Warnings about closing doors are in French, as is the introductory *prochaine gare* 'next station' before the station name. The same *gare* 'station', followed by the station name, is repeated as the train is about to stop at the station, a French announcement further reinforced by the presence of signs on the platform that spell out the station name in large font and, in a smaller font above it, *Gare* 'station'. At terminus stations, a longer announcement, again entirely in French, reminds passengers not to leave belongings behind, and thanks them for travelling with the company. Even spontaneous announcements tend to follow this pattern, with one on the Vaudreuil line, at Île-Perrot, informing passengers – in French only – to alight from the last two carriages. The French soundscape is, therefore, maintained, regardless of the English-like pronunciation of English-derived place-names.

The AMT, like the STM, combines linguistic soundscaping with linguistic landscaping in order to create a largely French environment in its trains and stations. There are, however, elements of another language, English, permeating into this French environment. Apart from the English station names above, which may be considered loans (though with their entire phonotactics and phonetics loaned along), there is the instance of a sign at the Montréal-Ouest station, which says 'MONTREAL OUEST/WEST'. This official sign, positioned outside the station area but highly visible from trains approaching the station, is a blend of the French and English names of the city of Montreal West. It is perhaps less French than English because of the missing acute accent on MONTREAL and the missing hyphen, but most importantly, it acknowledges the presence of the English language in a municipality in which over 60% of the population has it as their mother tongue. This sign makes English visible, unlike the station sign on the platform itself, a few dozen metres next to it, which says simply 'Montréal-Ouest'.

This coexistence of French with English is also apparent in less scripted forms of communication, such as the code-switching employees of AMT conversing during a change of shift at a terminus station, or the spontaneous announcement, heard once at the Vaudreuil terminus, telling all passengers to alight, in both languages. The provincial and company language policies have an immense impact, through the resulting soundscape and landscape, on the linguistic environment in these trains, but ultimately, speakers' own language use transpires in actual performance. Actual language use in daily interaction, although partly conditioned by top-down policy, is contingent on a vast number of considerations, to which I turn now.

The media soundscape

In addition to the soundscape of announcements in public transport, there exist, of course, several other elements in the soundscape as a whole. These include public announcements in

shopping centres, large retailers, and international air, sea, and land transport hubs, as well as spoken interfaces when using electronic ticketing machines, to name but a few. Beyond these, the soundscape also includes spoken language on radio and television, as audible in public space (for instance, again, in shops, but also in transit busses and taxis, and very often in smaller *dépanneurs* 'convenience stores'). Leaving television aside for a moment because of its multimodal nature, the radio stations available in Quebec, and specifically Montreal, come in a variety of languages. Of the 34 stations currently registered as broadcasting in the city of Montreal, sixteen do so primarily in French, ten in English, and eight in a combination of languages, including non-official languages (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission 2017). Among the radio stations of interest here are those whose 'service subtype' is officially classified as 'ethnic', 'community', and 'campus'.

The 'ethnic' radio station is perhaps most easily defined, in that its programming must be at least 60% in any language (i.e., including French and English) but be 'specifically directed toward any culturally or racially distinct group other than Aboriginal Canadians or groups from France or the British Isles' (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission 2017). The city of Montreal has eight ethnic radio stations: CHRN 'Humsafar' (Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu), CFMB (two stations, Italian, Haitian Creole, Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, Romanian, Ukrainian, Arabic, Bulgarian, Chinese, Hindi, Punjabi, Macedonian, Filipino, Russian), CKDG-FM (Greek, Italian, Armenian, Romanian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Mandarin), CHOU (Arabic), CKIN-FM (Arabic, Spanish, Assyrian, Berber, Cantonese, Italian, Hindi, Urdu), CILO-FM (Tamil), and CJWI (Haitian Creole, Spanish). Typically French or English (or both) are also used on these stations, with varying policies as to the amount of airtime individual languages receive (CKIN-FM is primarily Arabic with evening programmes in Spanish; the other languages listed above are given hour-long slots throughout the week). As a result, much code-switching can be observed, both within the announcers' speech itself as well as during interviews.

Also interesting are the so-called 'community' radio stations (Seneviratne 1993, Mhlanga 2009), which, typically not being subsidised by and therefore accountable to governmental bodies, may have more leeway in terms of form and content. In most instances, such community radio stations, like the 'ethnic' ones, explicitly cater to a multilingual audience, as evidenced in the programme grid of some of the Montreal stations: CINQ-FM 'Radio Centre-Ville', for instance, has a programme (see Table 5.7) that broadcasts primarily in French during weekday day hours, but also features daily slots in Portuguese, Spanish, Greek, and a number of other languages. While many of these programmes are local and international news, there is much code-alternation occurring at any time. This includes, for instance, Greek broadcasts heavily interspersed with English and with the occasional French name of a governmental institution.

Table 5.7: Languages in the weekly programme schedule on CINQ-FM 'Radio Centre-Ville', 2016–2017.

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
06:00	French	French	French	French	French	French	French
07:30	French	French	French	French	French	French	Greek
09:00	French	French	French	French	French	French	Spanish
11:00	French	French	French	French	French	French	English
13:00	French	French	French	French	French	French	French
16:00	French	French	French	French	French	Haitian C.[a]	Portuguese
17:00	French	French	French	French	French	Haitian C.	French
18:00	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Haitian C.	French
19:00	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	French	French
20:00	Greek	Greek	Greek	Greek	Greek	French	Haitian C.
21:00	Greek	Greek	Greek	Greek	French	French	Haitian C.
21:30	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	French	French	Haitian C.
22:00	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	French	Spanish	Haitian C.
22:30	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	French	French	Haitian C.
23:00	French	French	French	French	French	French	French
00:00	French	French	Portuguese	Haitian C.	Spanish	English	French
03:00	Arabic	French	Portuguese	Haitian C.	Spanish	English	French
05:00	Arabic	French	French	Haitian C.	Spanish	English	French

[a] Haitian Creole.

The city's three campus radios, and in particular CKUT-FM (McGill University) and CISM-FM (Université de Montréal), also contribute to the multilingual nature of Montreal's radio soundscape, although here it is primarily bilingual in French and English. While some programmes themselves are highly bilingual in nature (with heavy French–English code-switching in these campus radios as much as on CINQ-FM 'Radio Centre-Ville'), music can also contribute: consider the popular experimental hip-hop ('post-rap') band Dead Obies, whose songs, much like other instances of hip-hop, is open to language mixing to extents going beyond normal practice (Low & Sarkar 2013, Akande 2014). By way of illustration, consider the two stanzas below, from the Dead Obies song 'Where they @':

> Là tu sais pu where they at, motherfucker, where they at (where they at?)
> Vas-y, claim 'Montréal' but we still runnin' that
> Ouh, meilleure chance la prochaine fois
> Sittin' on top, pitche des roches su'é mouettes
>
> Motherfucker, I'm moi! Toi, t'es pareil à tou'é autres
> On est dans l'édifice pis ça s'pourrait ben qu'y saute
> Su'l' bord du précipice, motherfucker, vas-y saute

> Y'a plus personne pour te sauver, tous ceux qui avaient ton back
> Motherfucker, where they at?[16]

It is hard to identify a unique matrix language in these two stanzas, as it is to understand the text without knowledge of both French and English. The switches occur at short intervals; of the seven lines, only two are monolingual. Furthermore, there are instances of local use of French (*pitche* 'throw', *roches* 'stones') in addition to the more genre-specific confrontational tone of the song's text. By anchoring it locally 'claim "Montréal"', the art form shines a light on the use of language in the Montreal conurbation, taking the everyday bilingualism seen in the city and reflecting it in song.[17]

A brief note on television, as the other major audio-visual media, is here in order. Perhaps unsurprisingly, there exist television programmes popular in Quebec that feature a high level of code-switching. One of them is *Ces gars-là* 'Those guys', a 2014–2016 comedy series about a pair of 'bros', bachelors Simon the Francophone (played by Simon Olivier Fecteau) and Sam (Sugar Sammy, born Samir Khullar) the English-dominant bilingual Allophone of Punjabi extraction. The mix of language that they employ is largely based on a dominant French dialogue (the show being broadcast on French-language networks; English discourse is consistently subtitled in French), with several instances of English dialogue and, of course, plenty of English loanwords and switches in an otherwise French discourse. The speech of Sam, the Anglophone, is heavily mixed, whereas that of Simon, although also featuring plenty of 'anglicisms', contains much fewer. The show is relevant also because the actor Sugar Sammy, an established anglophone Montreal comedian, had enough of a reputation among the English-speaking community of the city to have many of his fans follow him onto a television programme on the otherwise French-language channel V, as measured by the number of in-show tweets in English (15%, Dalcy 2014).

A second show, *Like-moi!* is a 2016 award-winning Télé-Québec comedic mini-series drawing heavily on the interface between the traditional soap opera and online computer-mediated communication. As the title suggests, much of the action consists of a group of Generation Y[18] friends communicating more over Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, WhatsApp, etc., than in

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16. Dead Obies, 'Where they @', *Gesamtkunstwerk*, 2016; lyrics from https://genius.com/Dead-obies-where-they-lyrics

17. Quite apart from the lexical choices that mark the song locally, there is also the use of local pronunciation in both French and English, among them the lowered TRAP vowel, which is, in Montreal, a low front [æ] (Boberg 2004a; 2014).

18. Generation Y, also known as *millenials*, is the generation born roughly between the early 1980s and late 1990s (see Strauss & Howe 1991, Howe & Strauss 2000 for a discussion of the term). The 'digital natives', born after 1989, are sometimes seen as coterminous. They are defined as not having lived through the uncertainties of the Cold War, largely grew up in areas of the world free of large-scale health scares, and, crucially, were young enough to grow up with the widespread use of ever-smaller personal computers, and, therefore, feel quite at home in the present-day world of smartphones and other wearable technology.

actual face-to-face interaction. The resulting jargon, although still based primarily on French, is one that includes many English-derived terms for online activities, such as the *like-moi* 'like me' of the title, which is an appeal to endorse one's online status, activity, photo, etc., via the eponymous 'like' or thumb-up button found on Facebook. The resulting code-mixing is an apt rendition (though artistically enhanced) of the language of young Montrealers, whose bilingualism is now taken for granted and displayed, sometimes for indexical purposes, sometimes entirely below the level of consciousness, in daily life.[19]

It should be clear by now that the soundscape of a city like Montreal should be imagined as being more than just background noise. Moving through public space is a multimodal and multisensorial experience, and without going into the *smellscapes* of Pennycook & Otsuji (2015), one can certainly see how viewing the linguistic landscape and by hearing the linguistic soundscape may have an influence on the language actually absorbed by subjects in the public sphere, and, therefore, how these *scapes* (to link them to the *mediascape* of Appadurai 1990, see section 7.2) may be of interest to language planners. It is no surprise, for instance, that public announcements on transit systems (operated by state-linked Crown corporations) have a policy of French-only announcements. Although this is not mandated by law, as in the case of commercial advertising, it seems obvious that the soundscape on such a public infrastructure as the Montreal métro or its suburban trains does not contribute to a lesser extent to the *visage français* (Levine 1989) of the city than the heavily regulated linguistic landscape. By extension, the same holds true for the kind of music or radio station played in supermarkets and shopping malls. The soundscape, therefore, must be considered as part and parcel of the larger linguistic environment in which language practice takes place, and which, therefore, is subject to language political considerations.

5.4 Language use in service encounters

The data collected in the course of the ethnographic fieldwork carried out in six cafés (described in detail in section 4.1.3) yielded information on 1 094 interactions. The following data was recorded in written form: the language spoken by the customer(s) upon entering the café (if any), the greeting by staff, the response (counter-greeting) by the customer, the language in which the customer placed the order, and the language of any follow-up question by staff. The cafés themselves were located in six different neighbourhoods: Rosemont (part of the borough of Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie, where in 2011 the languages most often spoken at home were

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19. The relevance of the show to Generation Y viewers transcends the local Quebec context, in that some skits from the show became viral sensations in France, and a German version *Like-uns!* is currently being prepared for public broadcasters ARD and ZDF.

79% French, 5% English, and 11% other),[20] Mile-End (part of Le Plateau-Mont-Royal, 64% French, 22% English, 10% other), Downtown (part of Ville-Marie, 51% French, 25% English, 18% other), Saint-Laurent (32% French, 23% English, 34% other), Westmount (18% French, 69% English, 9% other), and Dollard-Des Ormeaux (15% French, 56% English, 20% other).

Several patterns appear in the data. The greetings reflect language policy in that French is the language that appears most often in the first greeting, even in neighbourhoods where it is a minority home language. Oftentimes, a 'bilingual' greeting is used, such as the ubiquitous 'bonjour, hi', which has become something of a marker of Montreal identity (Sedivy 2012, Bock-Côté 2014, Wilson 2014; see also page 85 above), as well as a clever device signalling readiness to serve in either language without openly committing to one or the other, and at the same time respecting the official hierarchy (French first). Proportions differ, however: in predominantly francophone Rosemont, 89% of greetings are in French, whereas in multilingual Saint-Laurent, 81% are bilingual. In the café in predominantly anglophone Dollard-Des Ormeaux, most greetings are still bilingual (77%), followed by English (17%). Although also in a majority anglophone neighbourhood, the café in Westmount saw mostly French greetings (62%), perhaps due to its more immediate proximity to Downtown (Dollard being located further west in the anglophone suburbs of the West Island).

The greetings themselves came in various shapes: the bilingual 'bonjour, hi' has been mentioned; its inverted form 'hi, bonjour' also exists (often used interchangeably with the former by the same staff member). Other examples of bilingual greetings are 'hi, bonjour madame/monsieur', 'bonjour, hi ma'am', 'bonjour, hi monsieur', which combine the bilingual greeting with the term of address usually part of the French greeting; 'bonjour, hi, next', 'bonjour, next', the latter replacing the English greeting with a call for the customer next in line, often used during busy periods; and 'bonjour, how are you' as a variation on the traditional bilingual greeting, using a reasonably common English substitute for the greeting that does not, pragmatically, enquire about the physical well-being of the addressee. Greetings in French included 'bonjour', 'bonjour madame/monsieur/mesdames', 'bonjour, passez ici', 'salut', 'pour vous madame', and 'oui'.

The counter-greetings (a term taken from Ginzburg 2012: 77 as an alternative to *response*) from customers to the greeting may be less informed by language policy (either governmental policy or a café-internal or company-wide language policy) than by personal preference or reaction to the initial greeting. In fact, a monolingual English greeting triggered an English counter-greetings in 93% of cases; monolingual French greetings triggered a French response in 76% of cases. This priming effect is also evident when taking into account the case of customers arriving in a group engaged in conversation in a given language: of the thirty instances where English was used among customers prior to the service encounter, the greeting was 'hi' twelve

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20. Figures do not add up to 100% because responses to multiple languages are ignored here.

Table 5.8: Percentages of counter-greetings in either language given to a bilingual greeting.

	English	French	Other
Dollard-Des Ormeaux	97.4	2.6	0.0
Downtown	40.3	58.3	1.4
Mile-End	57.6	39.4	3.0
Rosemont	33.3	66.7	0.0
Saint-Laurent	65.4	31.7	2.9
Westmount	68.2	31.8	0.0

times and 'bonjour, hi' seven times; in the twenty-eight cases where customers were using French privately, 'bonjour' was the greeting in fourteen instances and 'bonjour, hi' ten times.

It is the counter-greetings to bilingual greetings that are more interesting, because the customer has to make an actual choice. Overall, counter-greetings to bilingual greetings were slightly more often in English (56%) than in French (43%). The sequence ('bonjour, hi' or 'hi, bonjour') does not seem to have an effect on the language of the counter-greeting. English was chosen in 55% and 54% of cases (typically in the form of 'hi') and French 39% of the time for both forms (typically 'bonjour'). This may point to the bilingual greeting itself being enough of a marker of willingness to accommodate towards English, an offer taken up by a majority of those to whom it is offered.

Location also makes a difference: whereas the Dollard-Des Ormeaux location saw a high proportion of bilingual greetings (77%), the vast majority of counter-greetings to these bilingual greetings were in English (97%). Lower numbers are seen elsewhere (see Table 5.8), but the main fact of the matter is that counter-greetings can be fairly readily assigned to a single language and are, therefore, not bilingual.[21] The counter-greetings categorised as 'other' in Table 5.8 are primarily (with the exception of ten instances of zero, i.e. no counter-greeting at all) a specific greeting (hello) that warrants special attention, seeing as it also appears as a staff greeting. I will turn to this in the next paragraph; for now, notice how its use as a counter-greeting to a bilingual greeting is present in Mile-End, Saint-Laurent, and Downtown, locations where bilingualism is high or where it is less straightforward which of the two official languages the interlocutor might prefer.

The greeting (hello) is rendered in parentheses here because it appears as various realisations. They range in phonetic production on a continuum from a fully English [həloʊ] to a fully French [alo], the two unambiguous extremes that can be straightforwardly assigned to one or the other language. In between these extremes appear variants such as the following: [aloʊ], [ɛlo], [ɛloʊ],

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21. There were, in fact, two instances of a bilingual 'hi, bonjour' counter-greeting, once in Downtown and once in Mile-End. However, both instances were responses to a monolingual French 'bonjour' greeting.

Table 5.9: Counter-greeting language to variants of (hello).

Greeting variant	French	English	Other
[alo(ʊ)]	12	7	5 *allo*
[ɛlo(ʊ)]	0	0	1 *hello*
[halo(ʊ)]	2	5	1 *allo*
[haɪloʊ]	2	6	0
[həloʊ]	3	11	0

[haloʊ], [halo], [hɛloʊ] and even [haɪloʊ] (the latter repeatedly by the same female employee in the Downtown location). This device was used more as an opening greeting (58 instances) than as a counter-greeting (29 instances). The variant [alo(ʊ)] was used most, both as a greeting (27) and as a counter-greeting (21). The English [həlo(ʊ)] and the similar [hɛlo(ʊ)] were next (14 times as a greeting, 5 times as a counter-greeting), whereas both [haloʊ] and [haɪloʊ] were used 8 times as a greeting (and [haloʊ] once as a counter-greeting, while the idiosyncratic – and, presumably, hypercorrect – [haɪloʊ] did not appear as a counter-greeting).

Since the assumption is that these fine-grained phonetic differences are reflective of a certain degree of unease or uncertainty in language choice (remember that, as mentioned above, 54% of respondents from the attitudes questionnaire agreed to the statement 'I think carefully about which language to use when first speaking to someone I don't know'), it is interesting to see which languages the addressees (i.e., the customers) chose when presented with these variants of (hello). The breakdown of these counter-greeting figures is given in Table 5.9. As one would expect, the variant [alo(ʊ)], more indicative of a French pronunciation, gets more French counter-greetings (including 5 *allo*, typically also in the form [alo]) than English ones. On the other hand, the variant with the aspiration ([halo(ʊ)]) triggers more often an English counter-greeting. The same is true for [haɪloʊ], and even more so for the entirely English [həloʊ].

In sum, the process of language choice in these settings is conditioned by a number of variables. The first and least easily ascertainable are the personal motivations of those who partake in the exchange: attitudinal data can help to inform our understanding of this variable, but since in the present case, the two populations are different, any correlation (such as the one – highlighted in the previous paragraph – about unease in deciding on a language to initiate contact) should be viewed with healthy suspicion. Another factor is the participants' own 'mother tongue' or first language, the level of proficiency in the two official languages, and the degree of bi- or multilingualism they possess. Here too, the same considerations apply: in the absence of direct information from participants, only educated guesses are possible (for instance by means of accent or, simply, language choice). Less impenetrable is the geographical variable: each café is situated in physical reality, therefore in a (physical and human) geographi-

cal landscape that can be defined at various levels of scale, such as a block on a given street, in a particular neighbourhood, in a certain administrative subdivision. Census data give reasonably reliable information on language-related indicators that give a picture of resident language use down to the geographical level of the census tract (which includes a population of 2 500 to 8 000, with an average of 4 000). It is thus possible to describe the immediate surroundings of a given location in terms of the resident population's mother tongues, first official language spoken, and home language, as done at the beginning of this section. Every café is, therefore, situated in a geographic space that exhibits a pre-existing sociolinguistic pattern.

These first two variables certainly play a role in pre-conditioning the service interaction itself. Actual language use in the course of the encounter has a more easily observable and immediate effect, however. Thus, the language spoken by a group of customers entering the café has an interesting effect on the language of the greeting offered by staff: while in the case of English-speaking customer groups there was a variety of choices (10 greetings in English, 8 bilingual, 7 French, and 2 (hello)), in the case of French-speaking customer groups there were only French (18) and bilingual (10) greetings. The place of French as the *langue commune* would here seem rather well established, if only in the absence of the only serious challenger to the language, namely the 'other' federal official language English. Table 5.10 gives an overview of the language selection process in the course of the interaction, taking into account this initial variable of the language used by groups of customers in the 'pre-encounter' phase, i.e., the language spoken by customers entering the café in groups. It can be clearly seen from the numbers in the table that customers entering without speaking (as single persons or non-speaking groups, responsible for 1 006 interactions here) have little influence on the language they are greeted in, with other variables (personal preference, attitudes, location, language policy, etc.) accounting for the variation. Location, in particular, shows interesting patterns: expectedly, in Dollard-Des Ormeaux more bilingual and English greetings are used, whereas in Rosemont and Mile-End more French is used. The majority language in the neighbourhood surrounding the café in question, therefore, has an impact on language choices when greeting customers who have failed to provide pre-encounter clues as to their own preference of language – an absence of preference-signalling also reflected in the vastly higher number of bilingual greetings in this instance (511 bilingual vs. 443 language-specific greetings).

In most instances, once a greeting has been uttered, the counter-greeting typically aligns with the language of the greeting, with the obvious exception of the bilingual greetings, which, predictably, show an almost equal share (56% English and 42% French) of counter-greetings in either language. The data in Table 5.10, therefore, show most of the explicit language choice-making in the course of the interaction. Switches *after* the counter-greeting (and, therefore, after the exchanges shown in Table 5.10) were very rarely observed: in 11 cases an English

Table 5.10: Language selection process: The pre-encounter language (if any) has an impact on the language of the greeting by staff, which in turn impacts the language of the counter-greeting by customers.

Pre-encounter	Greeting	Counter-greeting
English-using group: 27	English: 10	English: 10
		French: 0
	French: 7	English: 2
		French: 5
	Bilingual: 8	English: 8
		French: 0
French-using group: 28	English: 0	English: 0
		French: 0
	French: 18	English: 1
		French: 16
	Bilingual: 10	English: 0
		French: 10
Non-speaking: 1 006	English: 60	English: 55
		French: 4
	French: 383	English: 81
		French: 290
	Bilingual: 511	English: 287
		French: 217

counter-greeting was followed by a French order (uttered by the customer), and in 12 cases a French counter-greeting was followed by an English order. Subsequent requests by staff (termed 'follow-ups', such as 'anything else?', 'what size?', etc.) saw switches in 17 instances, 10 times from a French order to an English follow-up and 7 times from an English order to a French follow-up. During one interaction in the Downtown location, a bilingual greeting 'hi, bonjour' led to an English counter-greeting 'hi' (selecting one of the languages presented in the greeting), followed by an order in French (using the other language, not the one just selected), responded to with a follow-up from service staff in English (reverting to the language previously selected). While interactions were not recorded after the follow-up question, there were two instances of interactions (both in the Downtown location) that I recorded because of subsequent switching: in the first, a bilingual 'hi, bonjour' was counter-greeted with 'hi', followed by an English order and an English follow-up, to which the customer responded in French, triggering a further alignment towards French on the part of the employee. In the second such instance, French ('bonjour') was used for both greeting and counter-greeting, but the order was placed in English, and the follow-up question was English too; the response to the follow-up, however, was French again, with the rest of the conversation in French too.

It is worth noting that these highly heterogeneous interactions, with constant switching back and forth between the two languages, are confined to the Downtown location: the café is situated in the heart of the city's financial district, in an underground shopping centre linking various office towers, shops, and a métro station. As such, it is less a residential neighbourhood that would see a reflection of its population in the local café, but rather a place of work, shopping, and leisure, to which people (and, therefore, café patrons) commute from the various corners of the city of Montreal, its on-island suburbs, and other municipalities in the Greater Montreal metropolitan area or even beyond. The highly eclectic group of customers resulting from this mix, which comes hand in hand with a similarly eclectic collection of language proficiencies in and attitudes towards English, French, as well as a series of other languages, necessitates a high degree of flexibility and adaptability on the part of service staff as well as customers. While the language of work is legally defined as French (or rather, employees 'have a right to carry on their activities in French', CFL s 4), and customers can demand service in French ('consumers of goods and services have a right to be informed and served in French', CFL s 5), there is no ban on carrying out service interactions in another language, should both parties be willing to do so. It would appear that the presence of a large number of Anglophones in the Downtown location, coupled with the presence of speakers of English and other languages from beyond the city, the province, and the country, is known to service personnel, who are expecting (if not expected) to have to serve in English as well as French. The high proportion of bilingual greetings is a further testimony to this especially bilingual nature of Downtown Montreal.

As a final note, languages other than English or French were not observed to play an important role in this type of service encounters: a Spanish-using group of customers who entered the Westmount branch were greeted in French, and the entire transaction took place in French. In Mile-End on one day, during less busy periods, staff were engaged in conversation using English-Spanish code-switching. Similarly, on one day in Dowtown, staff were conversing among themselves in Spanish. No other languages were overheard beyond these three instances, and at no time did these uses of Spanish have an effect on the service encounter itself, the standard languages for which, it appears, are French and English. The absence of third languages may be a methodological side-effect: there must have been something selective in choosing a reasonably well-known international café chain (moreover with a brand name consisting of an original compound of two English root words, the second in the plural), which prides itself on selling high-quality 'specialty coffee' and in constructing the coffee shop as a place to experience enjoyment rather than to simply consume a beverage (the so-called 'second wave of coffee', cf. Manzo 2010, de Luca & Pegan 2014). The community of practice arising in the context of this chain's coffee shops is anchored in a combination of core sociological elements, such as a young and urban professional demographic, an environmental consciousness, a coffee- or tea-based connoisseurship, and a modern and technologically connected lifestyle (epitomised by the provision of free wireless internet, resulting in many customers using laptops and other such devices). Membership in the community of practice requires a certain degree of familiarity with the drink and its varieties sold in the café, as well as with the way in which they are ordered, resulting in something of a technical vocabulary specific to the speech setting. The use of this repertoire might well be, in fact, not just indexical of membership in the community of practice, but also of all the desirable social attributes deemed to be part of that community (reminiscent of the indexical role played by 'oinoglossia' (Silverstein 2003: 222ff), 'wine-talk', a 'mechanism of life-style emblematisation', indexing, at the very least, 'educated connoisseurship'). The combination of these attributes with the global reach and identity of the brand may, well have had an impact on language choices within the survey's cafés, in particular on the number of interactions in English, the language that best indexes globalisation. Nonetheless, their location within Quebec with its unique language policy seems to mitigate these concerns to a large extent. French is omnipresent in all cafés surveyed, and even in locations where English greetings outnumber French ones, the English greetings are outnumbered by bilingual greetings, thus putting French on display again. In short, it does not seem that the 'global' image of the international coffee chain has any negative impact on the presence of French in these branches.

5.5 Psycholinguistic processes

Having now presented several language use and attitude findings, I shall here turn to the cognitive findings revealed by the eye-tracking experiments outlined in section 4.1.4. For the most part, I am paraphrasing the results as they are presented in Vingron et al (forthcoming).

Of primary interest is the comparison between the proportions of fixations that were made in interest areas containing French text, English text, or non-text objects present on the sign. In order to examine this, the sampling rate (1 000 Hz during the experiment) was manually reduced to 250 Hz to ease and accelerate analysis. Each interest area was coded based on whether it contained French, English, a related object or unrelated background objects. Two types of signs were presented to participants: the first were semi-matched monolingual advertisements billboards ('semi-matched' because the translation was not literal and because the angle of the photograph was not necessarily identical) of the type seen in Figure 5.11. The second type were 'naturalistic' signs from the linguistic landscape survey presented above. The results from each type are presented here.

Figure 5.11: Example of a semi-matched advertising billboard (from Vingron et al forthcoming).

5.5.1 Semi-matched signs

It appears that both L1 English and L1 French speakers make the most fixations on text, rather than non-text objects, at any point during the trial. Nevertheless, there appear to be some distinct patterns. The L1 English speakers viewing English signs seem to allocate more fixations to objects towards the second half of the trial. When L1 English speakers view French signs, on the other hand, they seem to start out looking at the text, then look at related objects and return to the text towards the end of the viewing period. L1 French speakers show somewhat similar patterns. When viewing signs in their L1 they also start out looking at text and then

slightly increase the number of fixations allocated to object. When they view signs in their L2, English, they also seem to be returning to the text towards the end of the trial, after having viewed related objects.

5.5.2 Naturalistic signs

Naturalistic signs include monolingual French and English signs as well as bilingual (French–English) signs. For these images, the difference in proportion of fixations on text versus objects is greater than it was for the semi-matched signs. Moreover, as shown by Figure 5.12a, L1 English subjects show a regression behaviour when reading text on L2 (French) signs. This is similar to the behaviour observed on the semi-matched images, although less pronounced. When viewing mixed language signs, L1 English speakers start the trial by fixating on French text. In the second part of the trial, they allocate about even proportions of fixations to both English and French text. As far as the L1 French speakers are concerned, Figure 5.12b shows that they also appear to regress to the text at the end of the trials involving L2 (English) signs. Furthermore, L1 French subjects also allocate the most fixations to French text in the first half of the trial, however the majority of fixations were made on English text in the second half of the trial.

5.5.3 Discussion

The primary question is whether bilinguals differ in the way they view text in the linguistic landscape. The data show some evidence that bilinguals view the linguistic landscape in their L1 and L2 differently. Although all participants were highly proficient in their L2, both groups, when reading in their L2, seemed to regress to the text towards the end of the viewing period across all conditions. This regression may be due to increased comprehension difficulty in L2. Subjects may be looking to images for help or confirmation of the meaning of the text. By regressing to the L2 text, they may be incorporating it with the related objects in order to ensure complete and accurate comprehension. These effects are found for both semi-matched and randomly selected, naturalistic signs.

While on bilingual signs, all subjects looked at the French text first (in line with the intention of the policy requiring 'marked predominance' for French), there appear to be some interesting patterns in the second half of the trial. Initial fixations for both L1 English and French speakers landing on French first is unsurprising, since the law requires it to be prominent on any sign. However, both groups increase fixations for English text towards the end of the viewing period. Interestingly, L1 French subjects look at English more in the later half of the viewing period
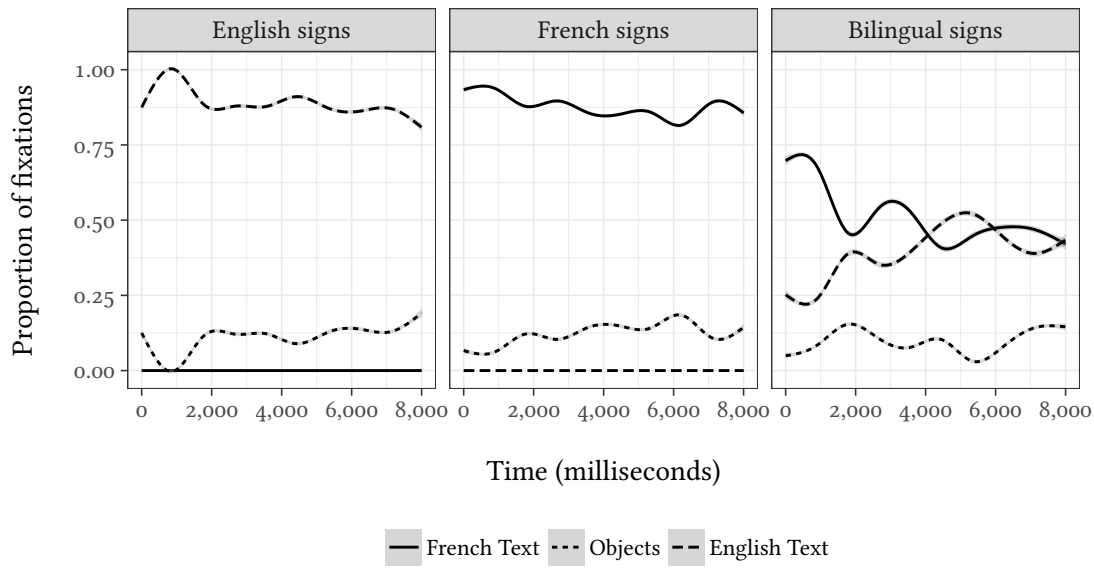
(a) L1 English participants.
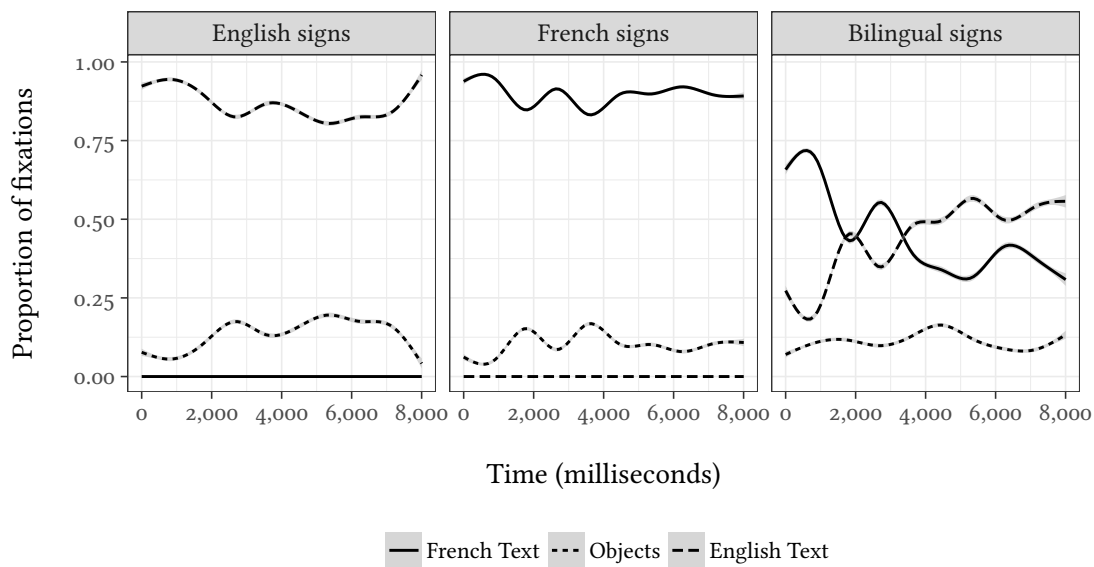
(b) L1 French participants.

Figure 5.12: Fixations over time, by L1, for the set of 'naturalistic' signs from Montreal's linguistic landscape. The horizontal axis shows the 8-second viewing period. Note, in particular, the fixations on French and English in the category 'bilingual signs'.

than L1 English subjects do. This could indicate that L1 French subjects are more interested in English text and L1 English subjects need more time to decode French text.

The preliminary data collected in this study is promising but in order to obtain a more comprehensive image of the way linguistic landscapes are processed, several changes and additions would be necessary. While some evidence has been provided that bilinguals view the linguistic landscape differently depending upon their unique language experience, a larger group of bilinguals needs to be tested to further explore individual differences. Putting people in different language modes may also facilitate this. Furthermore, a language attitude test prior to the experiment may reveal further interesting correlations.

Lastly, it may be of interest to manipulate the position and size of each of the languages on the sign in order to examine the extent to which language attitude, proficiency and laws guide viewing behaviours in various types of situations. In order to do this, it would be conceivable to present edited signs to reflect various violations of language laws, such as by removing French text from an image or swapping the positions of the French and English texts.

By using eye tracking it is possible to gather information about people's preferences and behaviours that they may themselves be unaware of. Eye tracking is an efficient method to analyse larger samples. This tool is a useful addition to the collection of methods used above , resulting in better controlled studies and with the potential, in the case of linguistic landscape studies, to address issues concerning replicability and generalisability of results (Gorter 2013). While this cognitive approach cannot replace the fieldwork involved in collecting relevant instances of language use and attitudes, it can provide answers to other aspects of language perception in the public space.

5.6 Conclusions

This chapter has shown results from data collected in a questionnaire survey, in the linguistic landscape and soundscape, by ethnographic means, and in the course of psycholinguistic experiments. Trends observed include age-grading in the number of languages reported, as well as in the attitudes towards language policies. The language repertoires appear to be extremely varied, including in most cases both English and French; third, fourth, and fifth languages were common. As far as language attitudes are concerned, while gender plays only a minor role, speech community and age have significant effects on many of the statements presented. A general decrease in concern for the precarious situation of French in Canada is evident as age decreases.

The linguistic landscape, at least as far as Montreal is concerned, has been shown to pattern at least partly on the pre-existing language distribution on the ground, as well as on non-physical

boundaries such as municipal limits. Other invisible boundaries, such as the delimitation of ethnic enclaves and commercial areas, have an effect on the use of languages, particularly of those other than English and French. The language law requiring that French should be 'markedly predominant' seems to be largely adhered to, with a few examples of linguistic creativity that blur the lines between French and other languages, resulting in signs where it is not clear whether French or English is being used. Additionally, the 'exoticising' use of English, where common nouns in English are being reappropriated as proper nouns into French, has been shown as one possibility of maintaining an anglophone heritage in an otherwise predominantly francophone province where legislation limits the use of languages other than French.

Language choice in a city like Montreal is conditioned by a number of factors. The language policy itself is but one of these factors. Given the high probability of encounters between speakers of different languages, or members of different speech communities, in a city such as Montreal, where bilingualism is seen more or less as the norm and multilingualism as a natural phenomenon, there are instances where there needs to be some form of accommodation towards the other's language. That this is sometimes a source of awkwardness is highlighted in the responses to the statement 'I think carefully about which language to use when first speaking to someone I don't know', to which many informants agreed. Often, the choice can be one of public vs. private sphere; i.e., one communicates in their mother tongue (say, English) at home and with family members, and in the community language (say, French) when outside of the home. This is certainly not an unfamiliar situation for many immigrant populations into traditionally monolingual settings. However, some have posited a layer intermediate between 'public' and 'private', namely 'parochial' (Hunter 1985), situated in the immediate neighbourhood or community in which the multilingual speaker operates – micropublic settings where the official, governmental language policies are less obviously present, but also beyond the home language environment. A fuller definition is given by Wessendorf (2014: 7):

> While the public realm is the world of streets, parks, public transport or commercial spaces where one meets strangers, the parochial realm is characterised by more communal relations among neighbours, with colleagues in the workplace or acquaintances through associations or schools […] Importantly, the boundaries between these realms are fluid. For example, a corner-shop or a market where traders and customers meet on a regular basis can take on the characteristics of the parochial realm because the social relations developed in these places can become habitual and frequent. The differentiation between the public, parochial, and private realm is particularly useful when thinking about the degree to which interactions between people of different backgrounds are meaningful and contribute to intercultural understanding.

This definition, particularly the 'fluid' boundaries between the three posited realms, makes it a difficult framework for post-hoc analysis of sociolinguistic data; it implies a highly ethnographic approach to sociolinguistic variation. Nonetheless, the following attempts to subject

the data collected in the course of the present study to a brief analysis of language use in public, private, and parochial realms, among others.

When informants were asked about their linguistic repertoires, they not only self-assessed their proficiency in each language, but were also asked the open-ended question 'Who do you speak it with?'. A detailed textual analysis of the 578 informants' answer to this question about English and French would have been beyond the scope of this study, so an automated analysis was implemented, using a list of keywords that were deemed indicative of each realm. Thus, for instance, *work, school, professional* and their French counterparts were used for the public realm, *family, home, friends* for the private realm, and *neighbourhood, colleague, club* were used for the parochial realm. The database was then scanned for matches with these strings, with a true/false result for each informant's use for the language (English or French) in the given realm. Summing these logical results by speech community and computing frequencies of use within the speech community yields the results in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11: Use of French and English by speech communities in three realms. Percentage of the respective speech community that uses the language in said realm.

	English			French		
	Public	Private	Parochial	Public	Private	Parochial
Francophones	44.1	52.4	11.9	22.6	73.2	11.9
Anglophones	22.8	72.1	8.2	43.4	46.8	12.7
Allophones	29.1	61.8	12.7	45.5	45.5	12.7

Several things can be said about the numbers in Table 5.11. A first observation highlights the shortcomings of this textual analysis: it is unlikely that only 22.6% of Francophones use French in the public realm. Clearly the list of keywords was not exhaustive enough to cover all domains of use, or perhaps informants were not precise enough in listing all their domains in the questionnaire. Be that as it may, other interesting findings appear. More Anglophones indicate that they use English privately than publicly; in the parochial realm, more of them use French than English. Interestingly, French is present among Anglophones both in the private and public realms (the same being true for English among Francophones), pointing to social networks outside of work and public life that cross language boundaries. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the private realm sees most Francophones using French and most Anglophones using English. Allophones, on the other hand, seem, in this sample, to show a higher use of English than French in the private realm, whereas in public, French is more often used. Allophones also use both French and English to similar extents in the parochial realm, presumably because it is there (in addition to the private realm), that non-official languages

are most likely to be used. It is interesting to note that Francophones are equally likely to use French or English in the parochial realm, whereas Anglophones are even more likely to use French in the same situations. This may point to the informal 'civility' of Wessendorf (2014), shown by members of (super-)diverse urban settings towards each other.

Conversely, such a textual analysis also uncovers the extent to which the other language is (perceived to be) restricted in use to interlocutors who only master said language. For instance, 11.9% of Francophones indicate that they use English specifically with 'Anglophones' or 'people who only speak English'. This percentage is only slightly lower among Anglophones, of whom 10.4% say they use French for these specific purposes. Among Allophones, there are only 5.5% in each case (French and English, i.e. using words specifically describing the speech community or language), which means that they are more likely to justify their use of either official language on other bases. Finally, quite a few respondents used 'nobody' as a response – suggesting that knowledge of a language does not translate into actually using it. The numbers are small, but 4.2% of Francophones say they do not use English with anyone, and 3.9% of Anglophones say they do not use French with anyone. The Allophones are more decisive, with 9.1% saying they use French with nobody, whereas none use English with nobody.

What is obvious from these findings is that they shine a new light on the Franco–English relationship in Quebec. The long history of linguistic strife between the two major languages, seen through the lens of European colonisation, can be considered a continuation thereof, with a history of French decline and English progression and a reversal of the tendency beginning in the 1970s. A post-national view, where global and non-unidirectional flows of migrants and linguistic and cultural resources are the new normal, gives rise to a different usage of these erstwhile 'French' and 'English' linguistic resources, which can be used to create new identities, free from the constraining labels of 'Francophone' and 'Anglophone'. The resources from these languages are used by members of all speech communities in various settings in order to index particular stances or create and project identities that go beyond the original, binary ones so entrenched in the Quebec psyche.

6 Quebec's LPP in a comparative perspective

Having now considered the language policy context of Quebec, and having presented the results from a large-scale study investigating language uses (both orally and in the linguistic landscape), repertoires, language attitudes, as well as attitudes towards the policies themselves, this chapter endeavours to contextualise the Quebec situation within the larger framework of language policies used in polities around the world, with particular reference to those where English plays a role. In so doing, two main comparative polities will be used as case studies against which Quebec may be measured. Wales, a constituent country of the United Kingdom, has in common with Quebec that it is not a fully independent nation-state, and yet has large amounts of legislative and executive powers that are devolved to the country/province level. Among them is a legal framework of language policies, which, in both instances, elevate the language traditionally associated with the polity to the status of sole official language and reserve a special place for the English language (in terms of governmental services and the education system, among others). The main point in which Wales and Quebec differ is in the proportion of the population that actually speaks the official language: while the vast majority of Quebecers are natively French speaking, only around one fifth of Wales' population is able to speak Welsh. This has consequences on policy-making, which will be addressed in section 6.2.

The second case study concerns the city-state of Singapore. This small island nation, more populous than Wales (5.6 million, roughly equal to Montreal's metropolitan region), is, unlike Quebec and Wales, fully and fiercely independent, but also less rooted historically in its understanding of linguistic heritage. The ethnically and linguistically diverse country is made up of roughly three-quarters Chinese, 15% Malays, and 10% Indians, with a variety of languages in use in each group. Language policy in the city-state, as presented in section 6.3, is premised on official quadrilingualism in Malay, Mandarin, Tamil, and English (in this order in the relevant constitutional article), with English endowed with (non-statutory, *de facto*) special status that makes it the language of the civil service, the armed forces, as well as the only medium of instruction in the state education system. The instrumental, pragmatic value of English is constantly highlighted, and counterbalanced with a 'mother tongue' policy that promotes the

non-English official languages as the repositories of traditional values and emotional grounding. The language situation in Singapore (in terms of actual use within the population) has been dramatically altered by top-down (governmental) language policies put in place after independence in 1965, resulting in the present-day situation where around one third of the population uses English as their primary home language, another third use Mandarin, with the rest being divided between Malay, other varieties of Chinese, Tamil, and other languages.

Before concentrating on these case studies, a brief explanation for the reasons behind such a comparative approach is given.

6.1 The rationale for a comparative approach

The literature on language planning and policy (LPP) is replete with case studies, whereas comparative studies remain 'few, scattered, and unsystematic' (Morris 2010b: 3). Even when situated within a comparative framework, case studies remain the mainstay of contributions to the field (see e.g. Williams 2008, Jaimungal 2013). One reason for this reluctance to articulate a workable comparative method for LPP is that there are so many different factors that combine in the formulation of language policies. In Morris' words, comparisons, though useful, 'are not tidy', and need to 'explore and assess multiple aspects of language policies from various angles' – they are, therefore, 'necessarily multidisciplinary in nature' (Morris 2010a: 4). In explaining the rationale for a comparative approach, Morris draws on the 'interactive policy process', illustrated in Figure 6.1. In this model, language policy is seen as a result of a dynamic and interactive process, which is both structured and sequential, beginning with the formulation of a policy, to follow the arrows in the figure towards implementation, compliance, and reaction. At each stage, evaluation is possible, which may result in modifications to the policy that is then re-formulated. This process, as presented in Figure 6.1, can form the basis for a comparative analysis, because it allows to pinpoint different stages in the policy process in a given locale.

The comparative method is described in more detail, in another chapter of the same volume, by Mackey (2010b). He begins by distinguishing three types of comparisons. The first is concerned with time frames, building on the accepted distinction between diachronic and synchronic analysis. Both are described as equally valid, and not necessarily mutually exclusive: the evolution of a given territory's language policy can easily be compared with that of policies in other territories, in addition to these different territories' contemporary policies being compared with one another. The second type of comparison takes into consideration various types of scopes of the policy: this includes the number of languages used in the territory and in the policy, as well as the number and extent of provisions put in place for each language involved. Consider, in that context, the case of Canada, where federal legislation deals with a large terri-

Formulation ⟶ Implementation ⟶ Compliance ⟶ Reaction

Modification ⟵ Evaluation
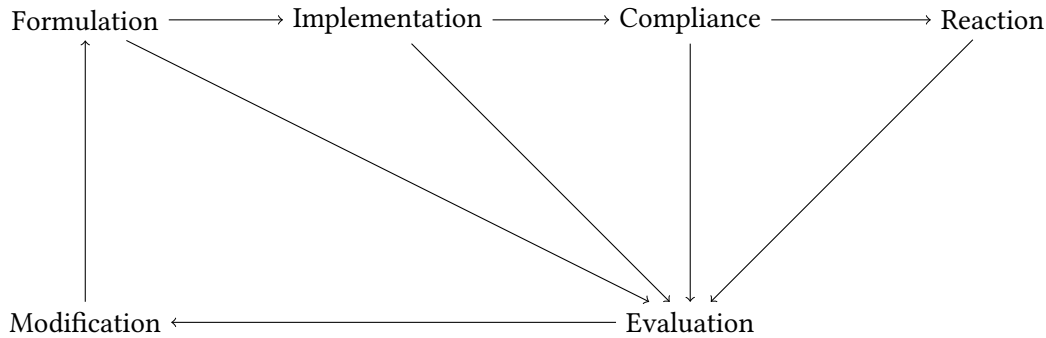
Figure 6.1: Comparison through the interactive policy process (Figure 1.2 in Morris 2010b: 13).

tory, in which several languages are used, but policies are less complete in terms of provision than, for instance, in Quebec, where the territory is smaller, but the policy provisions much more elaborate. That the size of the territory need not correlate with the number of languages or with policy provisions is seen in the case of Singapore, a small, yet multilingual state that has a reasonably elaborate policy framework in place. A third type of comparison identified by Mackey is one of content (i.e. thematic comparisons): comparisons can be made with regards to LPP provisions as to the actual form of the language (for instance the official selection of the Latin alphabet for Malay in Singapore,[1] Devanāgarī for Hindi in India,[2] or the simplified Chinese character set for Putonghua in the PRC[3]), with regards to the functions that the language is assigned (in society, the education system, signage, public administration, labelling, etc.), or with regards to the final users of language in their social environment (comparing speech communities or institutions, or at the level of more general considerations of human (linguistic) rights).[4]

Beyond these types of comparisons, Mackey addresses two questions that have an impact on the comparability of policies, the first being that of the structure of the institutions. The degree of autonomy of a polity has an impact on how much it can influence language policy. Clearly, the powers devolved to the National Assembly for Wales, for instance, do not go as far as those inherent to the legislature of Singapore, which is fully sovereign. In the case of Quebec, there is a constant balancing act in policy-making having to take into account both provincial and federal power, and abiding by the respective legal frameworks. The size and status of the polity is also of relevance: a federal state such as Canada has a less immediate and more indirect grasp than the small unitary nation-state of Singapore. Ultimately, Mackey argues, there are

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1. Constitution of Singapore, article 153A.
2. Official Languages Act, 1963, section 2.
3. Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language, article 2.
4. On which topic see e.g. Wee (2011b).

also concerns of linguistic ownership involved: how much does the federal government 'own' the two official languages, to what extent does the Office québécois de la langue française have sovereignty over the French language? Finally, the focus of the comparison is also of relevance: does it operate at the level of the country, comparing policies between defined territories (as is the case in this study), is the comparison between different iterations of a given language, or is the focus on the education systems involved? The second question addressed by Mackey is that of quantification: different measures will be used when comparing language forms (e.g. phonometry, lexicometry), language functions (e.g. by using the method known as comparative language dynamics (Mackey 2000), or considering the number of domains of use of a given variety), or language behaviour (which covers language use and attitudes; here, Mackey argues, sociolinguistic surveys are the preferred method).

When it comes to comparing actual components of language policy, Mackey (2010b) identifies three areas of interest: motives, objectives, and decisions. The motives behind LPP can be political, in that they seek to address issues of equality between languages and their speakers or, on the other hand, secure the power of those speaking a particular variety. Cultural motives can include preservation of a traditional identity expressed through language (certainly the case in Wales) or religious considerations (cf. the important role of Arabic in countries where Islam is predominant (even where Arabic is not the vernacular), or that of Latin as the official language of the Holy See).[5] Economic motives are perhaps more commonly found in contemporary LPP contexts; under this heading, Mackey takes into consideration both the language itself as a commodity (seen e.g. in the policy of corporations from the USA outsourcing some operations to India or the Philippines, where skills in English is available for purchase at a lower price) as well as the language proficiencies in the workforce (where questions of multilingualism or proficiency in a minority language become relevant; see e.g. the importance of knowing French in the Quebec context, the usefulness of speaking Welsh in Wales, or the economic advantages of English–Mandarin bilingual workers in Singapore). When comparing the objectives of language policies, the question of whom or what the policies serve needs to be considered. There are instances in which these objectives are intrinsically politicised, as in the case of language rights (on which topic see e.g. Wee 2011b). Objectives can also be seen as being in conflict, such as when individual rights collide with collective rights (a consideration not unfamiliar to Anglophones in Quebec). Finally, the decisional component in language policies can be compared by analysing the various forms that policy enactments take (such as the promotion or imposition of one language over others, the interdiction or mere tolerance of a variety, or accommodations for given languages), as well as considering the changing nature

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5. See the chapters in Omoniyi & Fishman (2006) for a scholarly overview of the relationship between language and religion.

of language policies over time (reflecting evolving social norms and concerns, changes in the political landscape, etc.).

In addition to comparing language policies, there is also scholarly interest in evaluating their outcomes. Mackey (2010c) sketches the outlines of what he deems necessary for the evaluation of language policies. He identifies various levels at which evaluation may happen: at the level of justification (the *raison d'être* of the policy), of consistency (with the policy's own structure or within the polity's entire legal structure), of feasibility (e.g. the extent to which equality between languages can be achieved or to which a language can be revived or conserved), and of cost-effectiveness (considering the amount of time, effort, and money involved in language training, translation, etc., but also the potential payoff from investing in a given policy, such as the promotion of English in, for instance, Singapore). Apart from these structural aspects, Mackey considers the evaluation of the implementation of policies separately; implementation can be evaluated on the three 'quantification' measures introduced earlier (language form, language functions, and language behaviour). Mechanisms and methods of compliance with the policy are another aspect, as are the (intended and unintended) consequences of the policy. Finally, the social adaptation as a result of the policy can be evaluated on the basis of research into demography, and language behaviours. Similarly, Grin & Gazzola (2010) provide a framework for the evaluation of language policies, distinguishing procedures of *ex ante* and *ex post* analysis of policy design, implementation, and evaluation. Further, they present a sophisticated language policy information system, which, on the basis of data fed into its component parts, provides indicators and evaluative support to policy-makers. Regardless of the usefulness of the procedure, such a refined approach is not the prime concern of the present study.

The choice to compare the LPP framework of Quebec with those of Wales and Singapore is motivated by the fact that English has a non-negligible presence in all three of these polities. There is certainly no shortage of research into the language policies of the three territories. As far as comparative analyses are concerned, however, this particular constellation would appear to be new: Quebec, in particular, has been compared with Canada as a whole (Haque 2010), with the USA (Maurais 2010), and with neighbouring provinces (Paillé 2010). Williams (2008) draws on both Quebec and Wales. Of particular interest is the way in which the English language has been subject to LPP legislation. Outwardly, policy documents in Quebec deal primarily with the French language and those in Wales primarily with the Welsh language. In Singapore, statutory policy is concerned with the four official languages of the country, whereas it is the underwritten policies that have the most impact on the relationships between languages. This is what the following two sections set out to investigate in more detail, beginning with Wales.

6.2 Wales

After the Roman withdrawal from Britain in 410 and the ensuing Anglo-Saxon invasions, Wales, situated on the western fringe of Britain, gradually became a refuge for Celtic peoples. The expansion of what would later become England meant that Celtic languages were being marginalised into the peripheral areas of the British Isles, including Scotland in the north, Cornwall in the south west, and Wales in the west. Across the sea, Ireland remained unconquered until Norman times, and exchanges with Wales flourished. The Norman invasion of 1066 eventually led to attempts to seize control of Wales, but it was only in the thirteenth century that it was fully colonised and the Welsh legal system restricted. This is also the period when the title 'Prince of Wales' was appropriated by the Norman/English court as a style for the heir apparent, thus removing a royal title that had been in use for centuries in Wales from its Welsh context, and coincided with the erection of many English castles in and around Wales, solidifying English rule and constituting a tribute to the sometimes fierce opposition of the Welsh.

In the sixteenth century, a number of legal measures referred to as the Laws in Wales Acts (1535 and 1542) were passed that declared Wales to be fully assimilated to England in legal terms. The Welsh language lost any official status it may have had. Welsh subjects were now considered fully equal (*de jure*) to the English, leading to a lasting period of assimilatory policies, including in the education sector, in which, until well into the early twentieth century, the Welsh language was often banned outright.[6] The late eighteenth century and its Industrial Revolution saw much cross-border migration of blue-collar workers, with a particular focus on southeast Wales' coal and iron mining industry. This net in-migration resulted in a doubling of the Welsh population between 1801 and 1851, doubling once again between 1851 and 1911, with most settlers coming from England (and some from Ireland; post-Industrial Revolution advances also contributed to lower death rates).

The present-day population stands at a little over three million (2011 census). The postwar era brought a gradual decline in the mining industry, with the economy shifting towards the service sector. Nationalist endeavours began to form, partly through political parties such as Plaid Cymru advocating home rule. Armed insurgency (such as the one in Northern Ireland) was rather less widespread, several small groups (such as the Free Wales Army) were involved in the sometimes successful bombing of power and water lines, but commanded little support in the population – élite discourse on local autonomy was firmly rooted in an ideology of non-

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6. As Maurais (2010: 170) points out, such linguistic interdiction in the education system is nothing unusual, as evidenced by statutes in the USA states of Illinois (1880s, limiting the teaching of German) and Texas (1919, banning the teaching of *any* foreign language). In comparison, no law in Quebec has banned languages from being learnt in an education context to that extent, providing, contrariwise, for an entire parallel state system in the non-official English language.

violence (see e.g. Williams 2008: 251), drawing instead on culturally distinctive elements and, crucially, the Welsh language (on which see more below). On the political front, then, the 1997 election of a Labour government led to a referendum on devolution, leading to the creation, in 1999, of the legislative National Assembly for Wales and the executive Welsh Government.[7] Its (initially limited) powers were extended to include all primary legislation in Wales in 2011: they are wide-ranging and include economic development, land planning, welfare, education, agriculture, tourism, culture, and the Welsh language – excluding primarily matters such as fiscal authority, military defence, and international relations.

The Welsh language is now spoken (to varying extents) by roughly a fifth of the country's population. While in the nineteenth century it was still the majority language, even spoken monolingually by some, it has rather dramatically lost ground to English with the expansion of universal education in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. The decline has only been stemmed in the 1970s, with an upward trend ever since, slightly mitigated by a renewed decline measured by the 2011 census. The management of the Welsh language in the country has been a preoccupation of both grassroots organisations and the political establishment, the former at least since the 1950s and the latter more vocally since the 1990s. The place of English and Welsh in the country will now be considered in more detail, before moving to a closer analysis of the language policies at the heart of the Welsh revival.

6.2.1 Demolinguistics: English, Welsh, and other languages

Welsh is, of course, the indigenous language of the country. It has, however, co-existed with English for well over half a millennium, and more intensely so for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In late modern times, Wales, and in particular its urban areas, have experienced migratory flows that have resulted in other languages further diversifying the linguistic situation. Even though much of the demolinguistic research in the country focusses on the relationship between Welsh and English, the 2011 census does provide some information as to the presence of 'other' language in Wales. This is shown in Table 6.1, where the household language is shown, collapsing Welsh and English into a single metric here, thus focussing on 'other' languages. It appears that just 3.3% of the resident households in Wales feature a language other than Welsh or English, a number that is closer to 8% in England, rising to 22.1% in London. Within Wales differences appear between urban centres (Cardiff: 9.5%, Newport: 5.6%, Swansea: 4.9%) and more rural local authorities (Blaenau Gwent: 1.3%, Anglesey: 1.4%). Households in which both English and Welsh are absent are even rarer, ranging from 0.5% in Anglesey, Neath Port Talbot, Caerphilly, and Torfaen, to just 5.2% in Cardiff.

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7. Initially the 'Welsh Assembly Government' until 2014.

Table 6.1: Household language statistics, percentages (2011 census)

Area	Entire household has English or Welsh as main language	Other main languages are present in household	Nobody in household has English or Welsh as a main language
Isle of Anglesey	98.6	1.4	0.5
Gwynedd	97.2	2.8	1.3
Conwy	98.0	2.0	0.8
Denbighshire	98.1	1.9	0.8
Flintshire	97.7	2.3	1.3
Wrexham	95.8	4.2	2.7
Powys	98.0	2.0	1.0
Ceredigion	96.8	3.2	1.2
Pembrokeshire	98.1	1.9	0.8
Carmarthenshire	97.6	2.4	1.2
Swansea	95.1	4.9	2.8
Neath Port Talbot	98.7	1.3	0.5
Bridgend	98.1	1.9	0.9
Vale of Glamorgan	98.0	2.0	0.7
Cardiff	90.5	9.5	5.2
Rhondda Cynon Taf	98.4	1.6	0.8
Merthyr Tydfil	96.6	3.4	1.9
Caerphilly	98.8	1.2	0.5
Blaenau Gwent	98.7	1.3	0.7
Torfaen	98.7	1.3	0.5
Monmouthshire	98.2	1.8	0.6
Newport	94.4	5.6	2.9
Wales	96.7	3.3	1.67

As far as international migration into the United Kingdom is concerned, then, it would appear that Wales is not a prime destination – with the aforementioned exception of Cardiff. Furthermore, the Welsh population as a whole exhibits rather high degrees of homogeneity: the 2011 census also collects data on ethnic affiliation, and in Wales, 95.6% of the population reports being one of several available sub-types of 'White'.[8] While this 'ethnic' marker is by no means indicative of language use, it does point to an at least superficial heterogeneity: only in the capital Cardiff and in Newport do 'visible minorities' (to take the Canadian term, i.e. non-

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8. The eighteen ethnic groups available in the census are: 'White' (with four sub-categories: one for all of English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British, one for Irish, one for Gypsy or Irish Traveller, and a final Any other White), 'Mixed/multiple ethnic groups' (with the four sub-categories White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, Any other mixed), 'Asian' (with the sub-categories Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Any other Asian), 'Black' (sub-categories: African, Caribbean, Any other Black), and 'Other' (sub-categories: Arab and Any other).

White) amount to a significant proportion at 15.3% and 10.1% respectively. Since ethnicity is taken to be more directly related to heritage, there is another, less tangible metric collected by the census, 'national identity' (defined as 'a self-determined assessment of their own identity with respect to the country or countries with which they feel an affiliation' ONS 2012). The identities available on the census form are manifold,[9] and in Wales, around two-thirds of the population report having some kind of Welsh identity (34.1% have 'no Welsh identity'). Interestingly, only 3.4% report having solely 'other' (i.e., non-UK) identities (a number that reaches 8.5% in Cardiff), and another 0.4% report a combination of 'other' and at least one of the five UK identities.

International immigration into Wales is thus not as major a concern for (language) policymakers as it is in Quebec, where immigration is seen as a prime factor in population growth that needs to be addressed by (language) policies.[10] The fact that it is less of a topic in Wales is unsurprising, seeing as the percentage of Welsh residents born outside the United Kingdom, although having increased steadily over the past decade, has remained comparatively low: from just 3.7% in 2005 (compared to 9.4% in the UK as a whole) it rose to only 5.6% in 2015 (at which point it stood at 13.3% in the UK). Again, there are within-country differences, with urban areas being home to more foreign-born residents (Cardiff: 12.7%, Newport: 8.9%, Swansea: 8.3%). International migration does nonetheless exist, of course, raising issues, in the context of the policy of Welsh language promotion, for language choice policies within families of a foreign-born background, as illustrated in this quote from the child of a French mother and English father:

> When I speak French with [my mother], I feel disloyal to Dad, because he doesn't understand French, and – well he understands but he doesn't speak French. And when I speak English with my dad – he doesn't speak Welsh – I feel disloyal to you, so, I've decided to be Welsh. So I don't have to owe anybody anything
> (Hoffman 2010)

Perhaps more crucial than international immigration, however, is within-UK migration between Wales and other parts of the UK. The Office of National Statistics publishes yearly figures on this 'internal' migration; the data needs to be treated with caution however, since these figures cannot be distinguished from the non-UK born population mentioned above (because they may move internally too). The data reveal, firstly, that in the fourteen years from 2001 to 2015, every year saw a net migration gain for the country of Wales except in 2013, when

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9. Six tick boxes were available in question 15 of the census: English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish, British, and Other (to be specified). The census form asked respondents to 'tick all that apply', resulting in a possible 21 unique combinations.

10. Consider the projections in Statistics Canada (2017), which predict, among other trends, that the proportion of Allophones is set to rise to between 26.1% and 30.6% in 2036.

670 left the country for elsewhere in the UK. Secondly, there is, every year, a net migratory outflow in the age group 20–24. This is consistent with the age at which young people in the UK begin university or relocate in search of their first employment – while Wales does have universities as well as employment opportunities, there are many more in nearby England, for reasons of sheer size. This age group, together with those up to 34, is also the one at which most migration takes place, with 52 290 cross-border moves of 20–34 year-olds taking place in 2015. Thirdly, while migration numbers decrease with age, at ages over 70 net migratory flows tend to be outwards of Wales: whereas 2 390 people over 70 migrated into Wales in 2015, 2 800 left the country, resulting in a net loss of 390. Overall, therefore, there is a positive internal net migration for Wales, but the patterns of young educated graduates leaving the country has not been lost on analysts (see e.g. Bristow et al 2011, who, however, are careful enough not to report actual 'brain-drain') and census takers: while the exact number of Welsh-speaking out-migrants is hard to estimate, Jones (2010; 2012) concludes that there is an overall net loss of Welsh speakers due to emigration.

With regard to the Welsh language, its distribution across the population of Wales differs primarily by geography and age. Geographically, the highest levels of Welsh language use are found in the *Bro Cymraeg* 'Welsh heartlands' of the Northwest and West (centred, from north to south (see Figure 6.2a), on the principal areas[11] of Anglesey (57.2% reporting ability to speak Welsh in 2011), Gwynedd (65.4%), Ceredigion (47.3%), and Carmarthenshire (43.9%)), whereas the Southeast is the most anglicised (e.g. Blaenau Gwent (7.8%), Merthyr Tydfil (8.9%), Newport (9.3%)). At a higher geographical scale, the lower-level administrative divisions known as 'electoral wards' show a more fine-grained picture (Figure 6.2b), with ranges of reported Welsh-language ability from 85.6% in Caernarfon and 83.5% in Llanuwchllyn[12] (both in Gwynedd) to 4.0% in Nash (Newport) and 4.3% in Churchstoke (Powys).

In terms of age, there is an interesting pattern emerging in which – unlike in the previous century – younger people in Wales have a higher rate of Welsh language ability than older people. As can be gleaned from Figure 6.3, the younger age groups (particularly those up to 24, but also in the 25–44 group) see a decrease in Welsh ability from 1951 to 1971, but an increase thereafter. Older age groups (above 45), however, show a monotonic decrease in their Welsh ability over the decades. This decrease is, of course, combined with a higher overall proportion of Welsh language ability, such that people over 65 are now as likely to speak Welsh as the

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11. *Principal area* is the term used in Wales for areas with locally elected councils that provide a certain number of services. The term *principal areas* is rarely used, with areas and their councils being called either *county* (Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion, Denbighshire, Flintshire, Gwynedd, Isle of Anglesey, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire, and Powys), *county borough* (Blaenau Gwent, Bridgend, Caerphilly, Conwy, Merthyr Tydfil, Neath Port Talbot, Newport, Rhondda Cynon Taf, Torfaen, Vale of Glamorgan, and Wrexham), or *city* or *city and county* (Cardiff and Swansea).

12. [ɬanɨ̞uχɬiːn]. See Thomas (1996: 747ff) for an explanation of Welsh spelling.
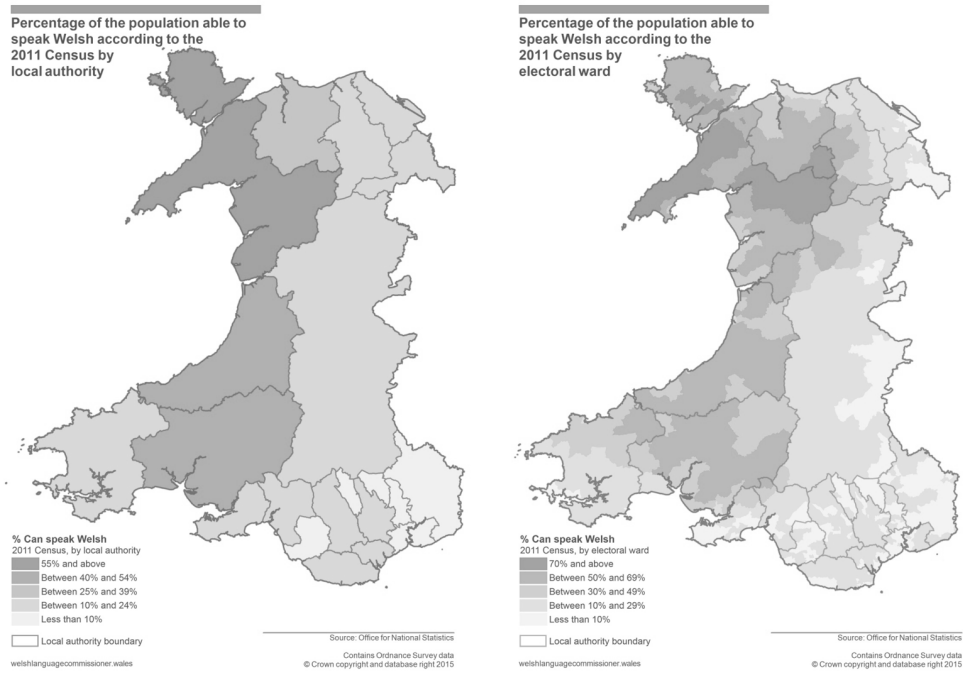
(a) By principal area.   (b) By electoral ward.

Figure 6.2: Geographical proportional distribution of Welsh speakers (percentages). Data from
the 2011 census, images from Welsh Language Commissioner (2015: 9–10).
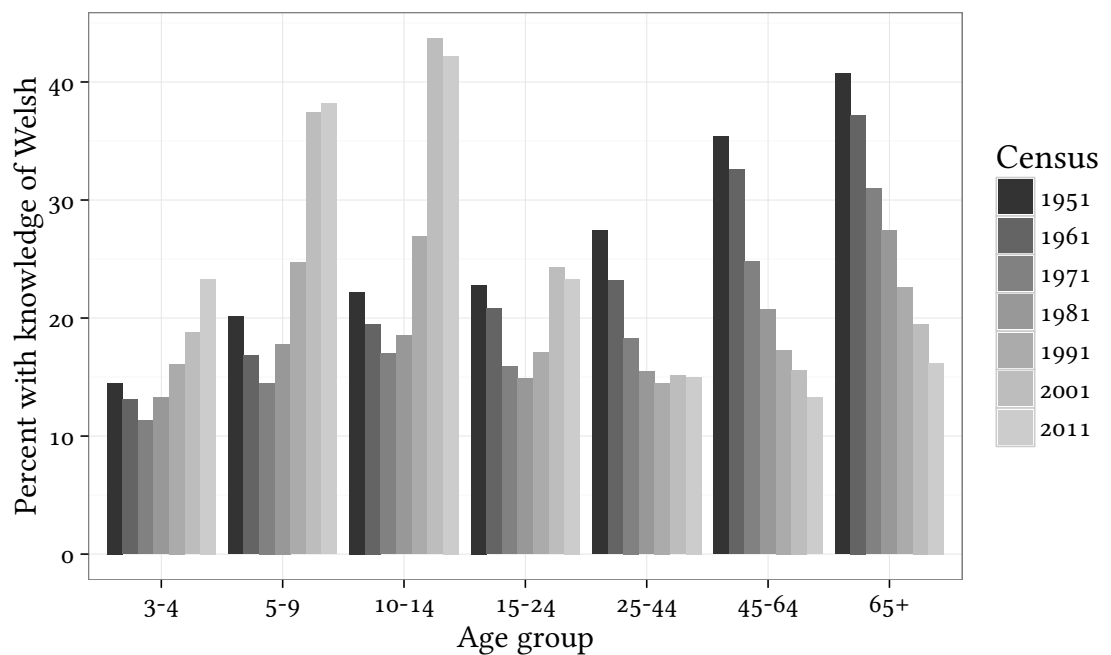
Figure 6.3: Percentage of population with knowledge of Welsh, by age group, for the past seven censuses.

youngest group (3–4) in 1951. The highest probability of Welsh language knowledge, however, is now seen in the 10–14 and 5–9 age group, a tribute to the Welsh education system that makes the language a compulsory subject in English-medium schools. Combining the census data results by geography and age, it is safe to say that the present-day population of Wales is most likely to have Welsh language ability when residing in the North and the West and being in the 5–14 age group, and least likely to do so when residing in the South and East and being over the age of 25 years. Note, however, that recent language policies have resulted in a new generation of 'new' Welsh speakers in the south-east, most of whom have acquired the language through the education system (Robert 2009).

6.2.2 The promotion of Welsh

Williams (2008: 245ff) has an excellent historical overview of Welsh language demolinguistics in the country, particularly post-industrialisation. Perhaps contrary to what was presented in the earlier parts of this section, the English conquest did not lead to an outright ban of Welsh. For sure, its use was much limited, especially after the Laws in Wales Acts of the sixteenth century, in the wake of which much of the Welsh higher classes shifted to English. Still, the

Table 6.2: Welsh language ability, in percent, since the first census in 1891, with inter-census change in percentage points. Note that there was no census during the war in 1941, which explains the higher value of the differential.

Census	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Percent	54.4	49.9	43.5	37.1	36.8	28.9	26.0	20.8	18.9	18.5	20.8	19.0
Change		−4.5	−6.4	−6.4	−0.3	−7.9	−2.9	−5.2	−1.9	−0.4	+2.3	−1.8

language continued to be spoken, throughout the country, by the peasantry and the working classes. Williams (2008: 247), citing Mann (2005: 58–59), mentions the Anglican policy of mass conversion to Protestantism, which required translating the Bible into Welsh, resulting in remarkable levels of literacy in the language. Later, in the seventeenth century, and more so after a religious revival in the late nineteenth – early twentieth century, the establishment of several nonconformist religious movements galvanised the Welsh-speaking population, making the village *capel* 'chapel' a central element in linguistic and cultural transmission for several centuries.

It is in the nineteenth century that large-scale industrialisation led to English immigration and a subsequent demolinguistic shift that also affected the sociolinguistic landscape more thoroughly. The older class stratification with English spoken at the top and Welsh by the popular masses gave way to a new kind of variation, with English becoming increasingly common in a working class characterised by an increasing number of ethnic and linguistically English members. Nonetheless, Williams (2008: 248) points out that the industrialisation of Wales led to an internal redistribution of the population (into cities, primarily), which meant that the large presence of Cymrophones in many instances resulted in Welsh-language cultural institutions being made available at the grassroots all over the country – the contrast is with Ireland and Scotland, where the Industrial Revolution led to levels of poverty high enough to warrant complete shift to English or outright transatlantic migration. Still, a combination of educational policies and general language attitudes among the population led to a 'wholesale generational language shift in the period 1914–1945' (Williams 2008: 248), in no small part due to parents refusing to speak Welsh to their children due to the prestige associated with English. Further, the Industrial Revolution had the effect of effectively integrating South Wales into the economic sphere of the Bristol conurbation, and North Wales into that of Chester (and, further into England, Liverpool and Manchester). Increased levels of mobility meant more exchanges with England, given the poor north–south road and rail connections within Wales, further exposing rural Wales to English linguistic influences. The decline of the Welsh language (or rather, in the number of its speakers) had begun and it would continue for the better part of the twentieth century (see Table 6.2 and Figure 6.3).

It is after World War II that concern for the decline of the Welsh language became more pronounced, and first steps towards efforts at revival were undertaken. Williams (2008: 252) mentions some of the reasons for this renewed interest, which was often coupled with general nationalist concerns: chief among them were several large-scale infrastructural projects aimed at providing electrical power and water for English cities, sometimes resulting in the forced relocation of communities. A famous example is that of Capel Celyn, a small rural settlement in Gwynedd, which was submerged in 1965 by Llyn Celyn, formed by the waters of Afon Tryweryn after the erection of a dam with a view to provide water for industry in Liverpool and the Wirral (both in England). Williams (2009: 70) quotes Aitchison & Carter (2004: 19) as saying the event 'was "the most significant" determinant of Welsh public opinion'. To this day, roadside graffitis and protest placards saying *cofiwch Dryweryn* 'remember Tryweryn' dot the landscape of north-west Wales. Combined with other such instances, the event gave much support to Plaid Cymru, which eventually grew in size to become the country's second-most successful political party after Labour.

Around the same time, in 1962, the foundation of *Cymdeithas yr iaith Gymraeg* 'The Welsh language society' would turn out to be one of 'the most significant popular manifestation[s] of the language struggle' (Williams 2008: 253). It arose (at least partly) in the aftermath of a public lecture by the poet Saunders Lewis in February 1962, *Tynged yr iaith* 'The fate of the language', which called for 'nothing less than a revolution' consisting of civil disobedience and bottom-up action to demand more language rights (high-profile actions included the vandalism of English-only road signs as well as physically occupying the premises of English broadcasters). This pressure group ended up being successful in calling for more visibility of Welsh in the linguistic landscape, for bilingual (tax, etc.) forms, more Welsh-language provision in schools, and for dedicated Welsh-language radio and television channels (eventually materialising as BBC Radio Cymru in 1977 and in the form of S4C *Sianel pedwar Cymru* 'Channel four Wales' in 1982). On the legal front, the short Welsh Language Act 1967 was the first statutory instrument to reverse the Laws in Wales Acts of the sixteenth century. It remained quite modest and introduced the notion that Welsh and English were equally valid in legal proceedings;[13] government officials were now also allowed to provide bilingual forms. The act was furthermore relevant in that it ended the over two hundred years old legal practice that the term *England* referred to both England and Wales. Since 1967, *England and Wales* is the collocation used in legal contexts to refer to Great Britain without Scotland.

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13. The Welsh Courts Act 1942 had previously allowed the use of Welsh in court: 'the Welsh language may be used in any court in Wales by any party or witness who considers that he would otherwise be at any disadvantage by reason of his natural language of communication being Welsh' (s 1).

It is the Welsh Language Act 1993, however, that had a more direct effect on the language policies in Wales. Repealing the 1967 act, it required the English and Welsh languages to be treated on a basis of equality in government, legislature, and the courts, as well as in all public sector bodies. Additionally, in Part I, it set up the Welsh Language Board (*Bwrdd yr iaith Gymraeg*), a statutory body tasked with the promotion, regulation, and facilitation of the use of the language. Effectively, it was in charge of executing the provisions of the Act, including overseeing the compliance with language schemes. These language schemes were introduced by the Act's Part II and were aimed at public bodies that provide services to the Welsh public, who had to 'prepare a scheme specifying the measures which it proposes to take [...] as to the use of the Welsh language in connection with the provision of those services' (s 5(1)). Since the term *public body* (defined in s 6) covers most local government bodies, including county councils, schools and universities, police, fire, and health authorities, National Health Service trusts, and any person 'exercising functions of a public nature' (s 6(1)(o)(i)), public life in Wales saw the presence of Welsh increase dramatically. The resulting effect of heightening the profile and status of the language in the population, not least by turning it into a personal asset, seeing how knowledge of the language was now desirable in the civil service, may be illustrated by statistics on Welsh in secondary schools, provided by Williams (2008: 260): while in 1981, there were still 35 schools in the country in which no Welsh was taught at all (14.7%), and in 1991, that number was still at 22 (9.5%), in 1995 there were only three left, a year later two; in 1997 none remained. By 1999, seven years after the passing of the Act, 8.7% of schools taught Welsh as a first language, 22.3% Welsh as both a first and a second language, and 69% taught it as a second language. It was now no longer possible to not be exposed to Welsh in the education system.

The Welsh Language Act 1993 was important and consequential for Welsh language policy within Wales and, to a lesser extent, within the United Kingdom as a whole. As Williams (2008: 262–269) explains, there were three main language political relationships that the Act clarified: that between the National Assembly for Wales and its local authorities, that between the Assembly and the central UK government in London, and that between London and Wales generally. Two of these relationships had linguistic consequences: internally through the powers granted to the Welsh Language Board (WLB, status planning, acquisition planning) and at the UK level by allowing the Assembly (through the WLB) to give Welsh names to statutory bodies and to prescribe Welsh forms to be used by the UK government (corpus planning).

It is, therefore, the WLB that has had a strong impact on the revitalisation and revaluation of the Welsh language. Its four priorities, paraphrasing Williams (2008: 266), were to increase the number of Welsh speakers, to increase use, to change and broaden use patterns, and to strengthen Welsh as a community language. The primary focus was on normalising Welsh

language use, particularly among the young, by providing adequate educational opportunities, including at the pre-school level. To encourage use within the community, Welsh language schemes were enforced in public bodies, terminological standardisation was promoted, private companies were encouraged to advertise and erect signage in Welsh, and opportunities for adult language learning were created (the *Wlpan* classes mentioned previously in section 3.1.1 on page 57). Language habits were addressed, among others, by making available Welsh-language versions of operating systems and popular office software suites, and by funding *mentrau iaith* 'language initiatives', local community-based organisations that promote Welsh language use at the local level.

The census results from 2001 seemed to vindicate the WLB's efforts since it showed an actual gain in self-declared Welsh language competence (see Table 6.2). Shortly after the census, the Welsh Assembly Government published a 'National action plan for a bilingual Wales' called *Iaith pawb* 'everyone's language'. Its primary aim, an increase by five percentage points of the proportion of Welsh speakers by the 2011 census, failed quite dramatically; the proportion fell by 1.8 points. A second aim, to arrest the decline of communities in which Welsh is spoken by over 70% of the population, also failed, with the number dropping from 53 to 39, resulting in the disappearance of such communities from Carmarthenshire, such that they can now only be found in Gwynedd, Conwy, and Anglesey. The remaining targets (Welsh medium pre-school education, Welsh as the principal language of conversation/communication between adults and children at home, more services delivered through the medium of Welsh) have been similarly unsuccessful. As a result of these less than glorious achievements, the official language policy was revised, and the current document, *Iaith fyw: iaith byw* 'A living language: a language for living', 'consciously omit[s] overall targets for the strategy, perhaps because the *Iaith pawb* targets were so unrealistic' (Williams 2013). The 'vision' is now to 'strengthen the use of the Welsh language in everyday life' (Welsh Government 2012: 14), through the following six targets:

1. an increase in the number of people who both speak and use the language

2. more opportunities for people to use Welsh

3. an increase in people's confidence and fluency in the language

4. an increase in people's awareness of the value of Welsh, both as part of our national heritage and as a useful skill in modern life

5. the strengthening of the position of the Welsh language in our communities

6. strong representation of the Welsh language throughout the digital media.

   (Welsh Government 2012: 14)

Targets are deliberately kept vague, although they are, understandably, still framed in a growth rhetoric. In order to achieve these targets, six strategic areas are identified in the policy

documents, each fulfilling a particular aim:

Strategic area 1	The family
	Aim: to encourage and support the use of the Welsh language within families.
Strategic area 2	Children and young people
	Aim: to increase the provision of Welsh-medium activities for children and young people and to increase their awareness of the value of the language.
Strategic area 3	The community
	Aim: to strengthen the position of the Welsh language in the community.
Strategic area 4	The workplace
	Aim: to increase opportunities for people to use Welsh in the workplace.
Strategic area 5	Welsh-language services
	Aim: to increase and improve Welsh-language services to citizens.
Strategic area 6	Infrastructure
	Aim: to strengthen the infrastructure for the language.

(Welsh Government 2012: 16)

There is a logical progression in these areas, moving from the family core outwards to the education system, the community, the workplace, public and private service providers, and 'infrastructure'. The first two areas are perhaps rather straightforward, focussing on such basic aspects as the 'natural', intergenerational transmission of the language within the family, and on acquisition policies in the education system and beyond. The same goes for the status of the language in the community; here participation in local community events such as the *mentrau iaith* 'language initiatives' and the *eisteddfodau* (cultural festivals showcasing cymrophone literature, music, and performance, the most famous being the national *Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru*) is an aim, but also the formulation of clearer policies with respect to the changing nature of Welsh-speaking communities in larger urban areas, particularly where new migrants settle, who may not know the language yet. The workplace area is interesting in that knowledge of Welsh is framed as being a substantial personal and business skill and asset, and consequently the learning of Welsh as a second language in dedicated adult learning centres is promoted. The promotion of Welsh-language services is perhaps the most straightforward policy measure at governmental level, and has actually been in place since the Welsh Language Act 1993. The policy now seeks to overcome certain barriers to the delivery of these services, since the service providers are rather diverse (local authorities, health and social care institutions, the justice system, but also the private sector). Welsh language schemes have gone a long

way in identifying areas needing improvement and in redressing imbalances. Since 2015, Welsh language *standards* have enabled the Welsh Language Commissioner to impose certain duties on private sector companies with respect to language use. The last area, 'infrastructure', is concerned with the physical and virtual supporting infrastructure and media that the language uses as a vector of dissemination. Indicators used to measure developments in this area include the number of non-educational Welsh-language books and magazines, readership figures for newspapers, audience figures for S4C and BBC Radio Cymru, the presence and popularity of Welsh-language websites, and service providers offering Welsh-language online interfaces. The infrastructural element of the policy also includes corpus planning aspects, such as the coordination of terminological databases and the provision of and research into translation and interpreting.

In 2011, a major development occurred with regard to the statutory status of Welsh in the country: since the passing of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, 'the Welsh language has official status in Wales' (s 1(1)). English is not given this status explicitly, since the measure 'does not affect the status of the English language in Wales' (s 1(4)). However, the English language remains co-official with Welsh in the legislature: the National Assembly for Wales (Official Languages) Act 2012 states that 'the official languages of the Assembly are English and Welsh' and that they must 'be treated on a basis of equality' (s 1(2)(1)). The Measure, nonetheless, is a watershed legal document for language policy in Wales: it dissolves the Welsh Language Board (part 9) and replaces it with a Welsh Language Commissioner (part 2). Welsh language schemes are abolished (part 9) and replaced with Welsh language standards (part 4), which are subject to enforcement (part 5).

Welsh language standards explain how organisations are expected to use the Welsh language. They are binding and fall into five types: service delivery, policy making, operational, promotion, and record keeping. The standards set a number of duties to organisations, among them typically the provision that the Welsh language should be treated no less favourably than the English language. A total of five such standards documents have been prepared by the Commissioner; four of them have been passed by the National Assembly for Wales into 'regulation', meaning that they now have force of law. The first regulation, the Welsh Language Standards (No. 1) Regulations 2015, includes standards relating to correspondence in Welsh (both in writing and over the telephone), to language use in meetings (both those closed and open to the public), to language use in the case of public events, to publicity and advertising, to 'displaying material in public' (i.e., in linguistic landscaping), to the production and publication of documents and forms, to language use on websites and social media, on self-service machines, and on signs (permanent or temporary), to visitor reception centres, contracts and awards, and the way that the availability of Welsh language services is advertised, to corporate identity, to

courses offered, and to language use on a public address system. Subsequent regulations elaborate on these standards and set out specific rules for applying them to given organisations (called 'bodies' and including institutions as diverse as police forces, the National Library of Wales, the Welsh National Opera Ltd, the Residential Property Tribunal, the Commission for Equality and Human Rights, and television channel S4C).

The standards go into quite a bit of detail, as exemplified by the linguistic landscape provisions set out in section 13 of the Welsh Language Standards (No. 2) Regulations 2016:

> **Standard 57:** When you erect a new sign or renew a sign (including temporary signs), any text displayed on the sign must be displayed in Welsh (whether on the same sign as you display corresponding English language text or on a separate sign); and if the same text is displayed in Welsh and in English, you must not treat the Welsh language text less favourably than the English language text.
>
> **Standard 58:** When you erect a new sign or renew a sign (including temporary signs) which conveys the same information in Welsh and in English, the Welsh-language text must be positioned so that it is likely to be read first.
>
> **Standard 59:** You must ensure that the Welsh language text on signs is accurate in terms of meaning and expression.

Clearly, these provisions do not go as far as those in Quebec, where French needs to be 'markedly predominant'; here the emphasis is merely on Welsh not being treated 'less favourably than English', although with the additional proviso that 'the Welsh-language text *must* be positioned so that it is *likely* to be read first' (my emphasis). Note how the obligation conveyed by *must* is immediately hedged somewhat by the use of *likely*, a situation that Quebec's Charter of the French language expressly sought not to tolerate. Finally, Standard 59 makes a provision which only makes sense in a setting in which actual command of the language cannot be taken for granted (inspired, no doubt, by a number of high-profile blunders that made headlines in which the Welsh translation was wrong (e.g. *chwith* 'left' when the English had *right*) or nonsensical, or the famous instance in Swansea in 2008 when an automated 'out of office' e-mail reply from the translator was taken to be the translation asked for and ended up on a road sign, see BBC News 2008).

In addition, part 6 of the Measure ('Freedom to use Welsh') provides a framework for investigations by the Welsh Language Commissioner into violations of language rights. Such 'interference with freedom to use Welsh' fall into three types of cases:

> (2) Case 1 is where D indicates that P or R[14] should not undertake –

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14. The abbreviations are defined in section 111(1): 'An individual (P) may apply to the Commissioner for the Commissioner to investigate whether a person (D) has interfered with P's freedom to undertake a Welsh communication with another individual (R).'

(a) a particular communication in Welsh that is a Welsh communication,[15] or

(b) a category of communications in Welsh consisting (wholly or partly) of one or more Welsh communications.

(3) Case 2 is where D indicates that P or R will be subjected to a detriment (by D or any other person) because P or R has undertaken –

(a) a particular communication in Welsh that is a Welsh communication, or

(b) a category of communications in Welsh consisting (wholly or partly) of one or more Welsh communications.

(4) Case 3 is where D, or a person acting at D's instigation, subjects P or R to a detriment because P or R has undertaken –

(a) a particular communication in Welsh that is a Welsh communication, or

(b) a category of communications in Welsh consisting (wholly or partly) of one or more Welsh communications.

(Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, s 113)

In short, people in Wales who wish to use Welsh in communication and are prevented from doing so (s 113(2)), threatened with detriment because of doing so (s 113(3)), or actually disadvantaged because of doing so (s 113(4)) can appeal to the Welsh Language Commissioner to investigate the matter. The rest of part 6 deals with such investigations by the Commissioner. Note that these language rights (or 'freedoms', rather), are formulated not so much in terms of positive rights of the individual to use the language, but rather couched in a framework of enforcement of these freedoms that has to be actively demanded by a speaker of Welsh should they feel their freedom has been impeded. Formulated in rather impenetrable legalese, these provisions differ quite radically from those found, for instance, in Quebec's Charter of the French language, which has an entire chapter on 'Fundamental language rights' that include the right of being addressed in French by the provincial government and its administration (s 2), the right to use French in deliberative assembly (s 3), the right to work in French (s 4), and the right of consumers to be informed and served in French (s 5). A legally irrelevant, but nonetheless interesting fact is that these rights in the Quebec charter appear in the first five sections of the text, preceded only by the provision that French is the province's official language (s 1); in the Welsh Language Measure, early parts of the text are more concerned with the ombudsman-like powers vested in the Welsh Language Commissioner than with actual 'rights', which appear much later in the text. At the very least, this choice conveys different degrees of importance attached to these rights. Certainly, there is no right to work in Welsh comparable to the right to work in French in Quebec.

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15. ' "Welsh communication" means a communication in Welsh between two individuals, both of whom (a) are in Wales, and (b) wish to use the Welsh language with one another in undertaking the communication.' (Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, s 112)

6.2.3 Wales: inspiration for/from Quebec?

Wales and Quebec share certain historical similarities that make a comparison worthwhile: both were subject to British conquest, followed by a marginalisation of the Welsh and French languages, respectively, vis-à-vis the English language. The distribution of the two languages, when in contact with English, along the socio-economic scale was similar in that for much of their respective histories, there was an anglophone élite, joined by a bilingual élite section of the local population, which lived apart from the monolingual French and Welsh masses, whose social mobility was severely limited if they were not proficient in the colonial language.

The consequences of colonialism, however, differed quite a bit. Whereas in both Quebec and Wales English had the effect of eroding knowledge of French and Welsh, the numbers from census data in the mid-twentieth century reveal different trends: whereas Welsh was rapidly losing substantial numbers of speakers to English, the same was not (yet, perhaps) taking place in Quebec, where the proportion of French speakers never fell below 80%. Nonetheless, it is in Quebec that first legal instruments were passed, aimed at preserving French and, more crucially, in heightening its status as perceived by both outsiders and Francophones themselves. Once the status of the French language (and the rights associated with that status) was secure, the decline of French (assuming there was any) would be stemmed and even reversed.

Williams (2002: 204) highlights the fact that early Welsh nationalist thinkers were inspired in no small part by the Quebec experience. In particular, the evolution of the legal framework and the rise to power of the Parti Québécois were seen as potentially worthy of emulation in Wales. Among the lessons from Quebec that Williams (2002: 204–206) mentions are (1) the use of census data to inform public discussion on the state of the language, (2) language legislation, in particular Bill 101 and its (limited) influence on the Welsh Language Act 1993 (e.g. the creation of the Welsh language board, inspired by the Office québécois de la langue française (OQLF), yet with fewer powers), (3) the importance of the linguistic landscape in creating an 'iconography' of the linguistic landscape, (4) the education system, in which Wales, after the Education Reform Act 1988, has made Welsh a compulsory subject for all students in the country, regardless of the school's primary medium of instruction, and (5) the public sector, in which Quebec mandates French as the default language.

The evolution of the legal framework since the Welsh Language Act 1993 certainly brought the language legislation of Wales closer to that of Quebec. For one, the elevation of Welsh to the status of sole official language in Wales in 2011 is a step that may not have been possible in the initial phases of the language revival efforts after the 1960s. The introduction of binding Welsh language standards also marks a narrowing gap between the policies of Wales and Quebec. Welsh legislation, however, stops short of articulating a solid set of actual language rights, rights that have formed part of the language policy of Quebec ever since the passing

of the Charter in 1977. Similarly, the powers vested in the Welsh Language Commissioner, while comparable to those of the OQLF, in that the body acts on complaints from the public, differ: in Wales the prime concern is the investigation of breaches of 'language freedoms', whereas in Quebec not only language rights can be investigated, but also complaints about non-compliance with linguistic landscape regulation, for instance.[16]

Notwithstanding these differences, the two polities share a common goal of promoting their language against encroachment from English. The situations differ primarily in the fact that in Wales, the Welsh language is spoken by a mere fifth of the population, all of them bilingual with English, whereas in Quebec, French is spoken by four fifths of the population, and monolingualism in it is not uncommon. The revival efforts needed in Wales are just not as dramatic in Quebec, where there is a large and vigorous speaker base. Another point in common is the 'identity'-marking aspect of the languages in question. Quebec positions itself successfully as North America's francophone society, and Québécois ethnic/national identity is primarily created through the medium of the French language – a language that also has a certain degree of global importance. In Wales, things are somewhat more nuanced: of course, Welsh is the indigenous[17] language of the country, and restricted to it,[18] but it is English that is shared by all residents of Wales, since monolingualism in Welsh is practically non-existent. Nonetheless, there is geographical variation in how much Welsh acts as a defining feature of Welsh identity: there are the *cymry cymraeg* 'cymrophone Welsh' and the *cymry di-gymraeg* 'non-cymrophone Welsh', acting 'effectively against the confident assumption of common identity' (Carter 2010: 65). In the north-west, for instance, the Welsh language acts as a crucial marker of identity (Williams 2009), including among young bilinguals who may prefer English but code-switch abundantly to index their Welsh identity (Jones 2007). In the south-east, L1 speakers of Welsh have been shown to be more likely to be identified as being of Welsh ethnicity (Robert 2009: 112), with low-proficiency L2 speakers of Welsh considered least socially prestigious. If any-

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16. Influence or inspiration has also gone the other direction, with a delegation of Inuit language planners (from Nunavut, Labrador, northern Quebec and the Northwest Territories) making contact with Welsh institutions for an exchange of experience in language revitalisation (Semple 2016). The situation of the Inuktitut language, especially outside Nunavut, probably has more in common with Welsh in Wales than with French in Quebec, at least as far as speaker numbers and the languages' general vitality are concerned.

17. Note that French, obviously, is *not* the indigenous language of Quebec. It just has a longer history and a more populous presence in the province than English.

18. Unlike the globally distributed French, Welsh is geographically restricted to Wales and, to a lesser extent, to its diaspora. There is also a Welsh-speaking 'colony' in the province of Chubut, Argentina, numbering between 1 500 and 5 000 speakers. Settlers in the nineteenth century brought the language with them (see e.g. Bowen 1966), which also left traces in the local toponymy: *Y Wladfa* 'The Colony' is centred on the settlements of Trelew and Trevelin; other places include Dolavon and Puerto Madryn. There are also traces in the linguistic landscape (Coupland & Garrett 2010). Here, bilingualism is in Welsh and Spanish. The vitality of the Welsh language in Argentina is also somewhat under threat (Johnson 2009).

thing, this latter finding is in line with the intentions of the policy to heighten the status of Welsh and make it more desirable.

In conclusion, the language policies of Wales and Quebec overlap in one primary and important aspect: the status planning aspect of elevating the perceived status of the respective language within the population. French in Quebec is, nowadays (and aided by the demography), accepted as the key language in aiding upward social mobility – English is required beyond a certain level, of course, but without French, it is difficult to prosper within the province. In Wales, Welsh is increasing its status as a language useful to a person's social mobility, with increased employment opportunities deriving from proficiency in the language; however, knowledge of English remains indispensable, even at median social levels. Change in that area is unlikely to occur soon.

6.3 Singapore

Singapore is an island of some 700 square kilometres at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula. In pre-colonial times its fate alternated between that of a small fishing village and of a flourishing regional trade settlement. Having been under the rule of various empires based varyingly in Sumatra, Java, or Malaya (see e.g. Turnbull 1996), the island had come under the rule of the Sultan of Johor by the time the British landed in 1819. In an attempt to consolidate the British East India's rule in the area, challenged in particular by the Dutch presence in Sumatra and Java, an agreement was struck with the local Malay ruler, enabling the establishment of a permanent British settlement. After the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, the settlement was further developed to become a large deep-sea and tariff-free port, eventually turning into a major stop on the East Asia route to Europe. In the course of the colonial development of Singapore, immigration massively changed the ethnic make-up of the island's population. At the time of the British landing in 1819, there were around 1 000 people on the island, primarily Malays as well as aboriginal Malays (Orang Asli, Orang Seletar, etc.), as well as already around 30 Chinese. Sir Stanford Raffles' ship brought with it a small number of Europeans and a contingent of Indian *sepoys* 'soldiers' and *lascars* 'sailors', as well as at least one Indian merchant (Leimgruber & Sankaran 2014: 107). The British kept the Indian connection alive for many decades, recruiting both temporary soldiers, indentured labourers, and English-educated civil servants. This latter group, hailing mostly from Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and southern India, had a lasting impact on the English language as spoken in Singapore, since its members, a majority of whom were Tamil, held influential positions in the civil service and the education system. Another group of immigrants were the Chinese, who came mostly from southern Chinese provinces, prone to economic deprivation and famines. Some, more wealthy, moved to Singapore from

pre-existing settlements in British Malaya (Malacca, Penang). While the initial migration was often circular and not intended for the long term, the Chinese population quickly overtook the indigenous Malay majority and, from 1911 onwards, has accounted for around three quarters of the population.

Many languages have been spoken by the population of Singapore in the course of her history, with every immigrant group adding to the mix. The indigenous Malays speak several varieties of Malayo-Polynesian languages, primarily Malay, Javanese, Boyanese, and related varieties from the greater region of the Malay Archipelago. The Chinese migrants typically spoke Southern Min (閩南, Minnan) varieties, such as Hokkien (福建話), Teochew (潮州話), or Hainanese (海南話), but several also spoke varieties of Yue (粵, Cantonese) – all of them forms of Chinese found in the southern provinces whence most of the migrants hailed. Mandarin, crucially, played virtually no role in the early days of Singapore (a situation that changed much post-independence). The Indians, mentioned above, spoke a large number of languages from two unrelated language families, Dravidian (Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu) and Indo-Aryan (Punjabi, Hindi, Gujarati). To this day, speakers of Tamil form a slim majority within the Indian ethnic group.

6.3.1 Demolinguistics: four official languages, many other varieties

Singapore's path to independence was a little meandrous, moving from internal self-government in 1959, to 'independence' as a state within a federal Malaysia in 1963, to full independence as a standalone country in 1965 (after having been effectively ejected from Malaysia due to a variety of policy differences, see Turnbull 1996 for details), becoming 'the world's only fully functioning city-state' (Long 2015).[19] From the first steps of self-government on, policies spearheaded by the country's eventual first prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, recognised the territory's heterogeneous nature in ethnicity, culture, and language. Four official languages were recognised from the outset, one for each of the major ethnic groups (Malay for the Malays, Mandarin for the Chinese, and Tamil for the Indians) plus English. National registration systems were put in place that allowed each resident to be assigned to a single one of three ethnic

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19. There are three contemporary city-states left that are fully independent and sovereign under international law: Singapore, Monaco, and Vatican City. Singapore is exceptional among these because, firstly, it is not situated in Europe and surrounded by wealthy and allied member states of the European Union, rather, it exists in a region where economic disparities are large and international relations not always without challenges. Secondly, both Monaco and Vatican City have long been in a monetary union with their neighbouring country (Monaco with France since the nineteenth century and Vatican City with Italy since 1929, both are now members of the Eurozone), whereas Singapore has its own currency and is fiercely economically independent. Thirdly, Singapore has its own, well-trained and heavily-funded armed forces (raised from conscription), completely absent from the other two city-states, which rely on their neighbouring countries for military defence.

groups,[20] thus collapsing several previously rather different groups into larger hyper-groups (e.g. in the case of the culturally, linguistically, and ethnically very heterogeneous 'Indians', but also for the collection of rather different Chinese 'dialect' groups). The diversity present on the island was thus reduced somewhat to a more 'manageable' three ethnic ('racial', in official terminology) groups, each with their own official language, complemented with the language of the existing colonial civil service and administration, English.

To focus on the demographically more important group, the official assignment of Mandarin as the language of the Chinese community, combined with an aggressive status planning campaign (see below), resulted in a dramatic shift, among the Chinese, away from the traditionally spoken 'dialects', i.e. the collection of Chinese varieties spoken by Singaporeans descended from immigrants hailing from southern Chinese provinces: chief among them were Hokkien, Teochew (closely related to Hokkien), and Cantonese. Status planning notwithstanding, there remain, to this day, a number of speakers of these varieties, many of them of advanced age, but some also found in younger age groups. In the 2015 general household survey, just 12.2% of the population had, as the 'language most commonly spoken at home', a non-Mandarin variety of Chinese; in the over-75 age group, the proportion reaches 58.1%, and decreases virtually exponentially to reach 0.6% in the 5–9 age group, with all age groups below 40 showing rates lower than 10%.

It is worth pointing out that unlike the statistical bodies in Quebec or Wales, Statistics Singapore does not provide information on the geographical distribution of languages within the country's border. There may well be purely physical geographic reasons for this: the country is, after all, small, and at just over 700 square kilometres, would fit several times into either Wales (30 times larger) or Quebec (the islands of Montreal and Laval (Île Jésus) combined roughly equal Singapore's surface area). Technically, however, this should not be a barrier to such data existing and being published: Hong Kong is similarly-sized and equally urban in nature, and yet, not only does the governmental statistical body collect geolinguistic information, it also makes it publicly available, resulting in publishable reports such as Bacon-Shone et al (2015), which provide fine-grained detail on district-level linguistic distribution for the entire Special Administrative Region. Likewise, it is not beyond Singapore's census-takers to collect such in-

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20. A fourth group, 'Other', completes the 'CMIO' model practiced in the country since self-government. While the Chinese, Malays, and Indians are (superficially) self-explanatory categories, 'others' is a catch-all category that encompasses anyone who does not fit into the other three categories. Some members of this group, however, have been a part of the social fabric of Singapore from its very outset, and some also benefit from some governmental support: the Eurasians, for instance, descendants of typically early marriages between European men (Portuguese, Spanish, British, Dutch) and Asian women (primarily Malay, also Chinese) who have a long history of shaping the country's history in the civil service, are a recognised sub-category who may designate themselves as such in official records (Rappa 2000, Wee 2002). There is also a large Arab diaspora on the island, dating back to colonial times.

formation, or, indeed, to cross-reference residential with linguistic data. The fact that they are not publicised or made publicly available is probably to be found in the government's wariness of 'ghettoes' of a linguistic nature, language being a primary component of ethnic affiliation. The resulting potential for ethnic ghettoisation runs directly counter to the governmental integration policy, most visible in public housing, where 80% of the population resides and where strict ethnic quotas apply (see e.g. Leimgruber 2013a).[21] The absence of geolinguistic data can thus be construed as being part of a larger policy to prevent ethnic strife and ensure a nationally integrated 'Singaporean' rather than ethnically-defined population.

Census (or household survey) data are a useful resource for information about language use. An often-used metric is that of the 'language most often used at home', and it provides, for 2015, the following numbers: English leads with 36.9%, Mandarin comes second at 34.9%, other Chinese 'dialects' next at 12.2%, followed by Malay with 10.7% and Tamil with 3.3%. These numbers, however, need to be taken with caution, since they stand for an entire household rather than for the individual, and focus on a restricted setting and domain of use ('at home'). More comprehensive studies, such as Vaish et al (2009), Siemund et al (2014), Leimgruber et al (under review), while working with a smaller sample, provide a more holistic picture of language use in Singapore. Thus it would appear that while the overall shift towards English and Mandarin, observed by census data over decades, is indeed a reality for the vast majority of speakers, a clear-cut distinction between English-dominant and Mandarin-dominant speakers is not easy, domains of use outside the home influencing strongly repertoires. Instead of the traditional ethnic mother tongue classification commonly used, Leimgruber et al (under review) propose a number of 'language profiles' or repertoires to better reflect individual linguistic variation in Singapore: together, the four profiles (i) English and Mandarin, (ii) English, Hokkien, and Mandarin, (iii) English and Malay, and (iv) Cantonese, English, and Mandarin account for over two thirds of their sample; if another six 'minor' profiles are added, that proportion rises to 85%. The exact domains of use of these various languages are still not fully understood and remain the subject of ongoing studies. The downside of such studies, of course, is the lack of diachronic comparability, for which census data remain unrivalled. This is also why, in considering the language policies in place in Singapore in the next sub-section, I will draw on the Singapore census and its home language use data.

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21. The promotion of inter-ethnic harmony has always been a prime target of governmental policies, at least since self-government. Motivated by the heterogeneous nature of the city-state's population, they were further galvanised by racially-motivated riots in 1964 and 1969. In addition to the ethnic integration policy for public housing, introduced in the 1970s and formalised in 1989 (Lum & Tan 2003, Sim et al 2003), there is a similar policy for schools, which need to fulfil certain ethnic quotas too. There is an annual Racial Harmony Day (21 July), and the theme of racial harmony has pride of place in the subject 'national education', introduced to the curriculum in 1997. Ethnic diversity, its challenges, and the comparatively successful 'Singaporean way' are common themes in political speeches around the National Day holiday in August as well as throughout the year.

6.3.2 LPP in Singapore: far-reaching governmental intervention for language promotion and demotion

When discussing language policy in Singapore, it is usually the top-down, governmental kind of policy-making that is considered. This is primarily because these policies have been rather visible in the way they have been implemented, 'visible' both in the linguistic landscape proper as well as in everyday life. Also, these top-down policies have arguably been rather successful in a number of cases, and they are well documented.

Statutorily, Singapore's top-down status planning consists of a small number of constitutional provisions. Indeed, unlike in Wales or Quebec, there is not much subordinate legislation dealing with language matters in Singapore, and no Official Languages Act. The Constitution proclaims:

(1) Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English shall be the 4 official languages in Singapore.

(2) The national language shall be the Malay language and shall be in the Roman script:

Provided that –

(a) no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using or from teaching or learning any other language; and

(b) nothing in this Article shall prejudice the right of the Government to preserve and sustain the use and study of the language of any other community in Singapore.

(Article 153A)

Additionally, article 53 regulates the use of languages in parliament, and simply says: 'Until the Legislature otherwise provides, all debates and discussions in Parliament shall be conducted in Malay, English, Mandarin or Tamil.'

A first point of interest is the sequential order in which the official languages are listed in article 153A(1): Malay, the indigenous (in terms of historical presence in the country) and 'national' language comes first, followed by the official language 'belonging to' the numerically dominant group, Mandarin. Tamil, the official language assigned to the smallest recognised ethnic group in the country, comes third. English comes last, not because it is of lesser importance (after all, it is the language in which the Constitution – and all legislation – is written), but because this arrangement frames it as an outside language that does not 'belong' to any particular group within the country, but rather unites them in being native to none. In article 53, which deals with the languages to be used in parliamentary debates, the order is changed to again Malay (indigenous, national) first, this time followed by English (the language of the parliamentary system itself, as well as of the entire governmental apparatus, inherited from colonial times), and then only Mandarin and Tamil. However, while all four official languages may be used in parliament, English clearly predominates: in the twelfth parliament (2011-10-10

to 2015-08-25), there were 4 116 questions raised, of which 226 (5.5%) were in Mandarin, 149 (3.6%) in Malay, and just 10 (0.2%) in Tamil.

Secondly, the Malay language, in addition to its status as an 'official' language, is also given the status of 'national' language. This distinction is not unique to Singapore: it is perhaps best compared to the status of Irish in Ireland, where the language is both the national and an official language, whereas English is only an official language. The difference, of course, is that Malay has, in Singapore, a speaker base that accounts for around 15% of the population. The reason for endowing Malay with the additional 'national' status, thus setting it apart from the other three official languages, can be found in an earlier constitutional provision:

> The Government shall exercise its functions in such manner as to recognise the special position of the Malays, who are the indigenous people of Singapore, and accordingly it shall be the responsibility of the Government to protect, safeguard, support, foster and promote their political, educational, religious, economic, social and cultural interests and the Malay language.
> (Article 152(2))

The indigenous status of the Malay population is recognised and their language rights are doubly enshrined. Furthermore, the promotion to national language status may very well have come from considerations that go beyond national borders: the small city-state is situated geographically in a Malay-speaking region, with Malaysia to the north and Indonesia (Indonesian being on the same dialect continuum as Malay) to the south. Bearing in mind the not entirely amicable split from Malaysia in 1965, as well as the oftentimes confrontational attitude of Indonesia in the 1960s, recognising the regionally dominant language as its national language may have projected at least a symbolic local anchoring in contradistinction to full equality with three languages that are, after all, not indigenous to the region. In contemporary Singapore, the 'national' character of Malay is increasingly largely symbolic. While it is not taught to the entire population at school, as might be expected, it remains the only language in which the national anthem is sung, so that, arguably, in a country where the anthem is sung on a daily basis before classes start, all pupils nonetheless know at least some Malay, regardless whether they understand it or not. In the armed forces, English is the usual working language, but Malay is used for drill commands. Malay is also used in other symbolic roles, such as in mottoes on crests (e.g. the national crest features the motto *Majulah Singapura* 'Onward, Singapore'), as well as in the official denomination of state and military decorations and medals. A final point of interest is the provision that the national language Malay 'shall be in the Roman script': the alternative writing system is known as Jawi, and is derived from Arabic. It remains in some use in some restricted settings, particularly where tradition and historicity need to be highlighted. It can also be found on identity cards, where the owner has the option to add to their officially

registered name (in the Latin script) a version in Chinese, Jawi, or Tamil. The Jawi script, however, is not taught in Malay classes and fulfils virtually no communicative function other than the indexical, identity-bearing functions just mentioned.

Beyond these statutory regulations about official and national languages, language policy is shaped very much by ministerial decree and much of it is implemented through the education system. The special place of English in the country's hierarchy of languages can be traced to its colonial heritage: even the architects of self-government and subsequent independence were from a small English-educated élite, many trained at British universities. The colonial legacy of a well-organised civil service and a fully-fledged body of legal documents remained practically unchanged after independence. As a result, the language of the administration, of the government, of the armed forces, etc., remained unchanged that of the erstwhile colonial power – unlike in neighbouring Malaysia, where substantial efforts were made to replace English with Malay as the working language of the administration. In fact, the concept of 'working language' is deeply ingrained in the language policy rhetoric of Singapore. The quote below, repeated from page 74, shows the importance attached to the English language:

> We are the only country in the region that uses English as our *working language* [...] This has given our young a strong advantage [...] all speaking the international language of commerce and trade, English, and their *mother tongues*, Chinese, Malay, Tamil and others as their *second languages*.
> (Lee Kuan Yew, quoted in Ramesh 2011, my emphasis)

Thus, while the 'mother tongues' (on which more shortly) may serve certain emotional needs, they are relegated to 'second language' status in that they are less immediately relevant for the country's economic survival in a globalised market economy. Knowledge of the international lingua franca is an inalienable part of a much larger national policy that goes beyond language and seeks to ensure nothing less than the survival of a small city-state void of natural resources and, therefore, reliant on international connectedness. English, therefore, is a necessary asset no longer just for the ruling élite, but also for a mobile population increasingly in contact with outsiders, more often than not through the medium of English.

The education system is the primary vector through which language policies are implemented. After independence, a four-fold system was put in place, with English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil schools, all teaching in their own medium and providing English language as a compulsory subject (and one of the other official languages in the English-medium schools). This gradually fell out of favour with parents, who sought to maximise their children's English language exposure: in 1962 already, more than half of the student population attended English schools (Platt 1975: 366), and in 1984, the last Tamil school closed due to a lack of pupils (Gupta 1994: 145–146). In 1987, English was made the sole medium of instruction in all schools. As
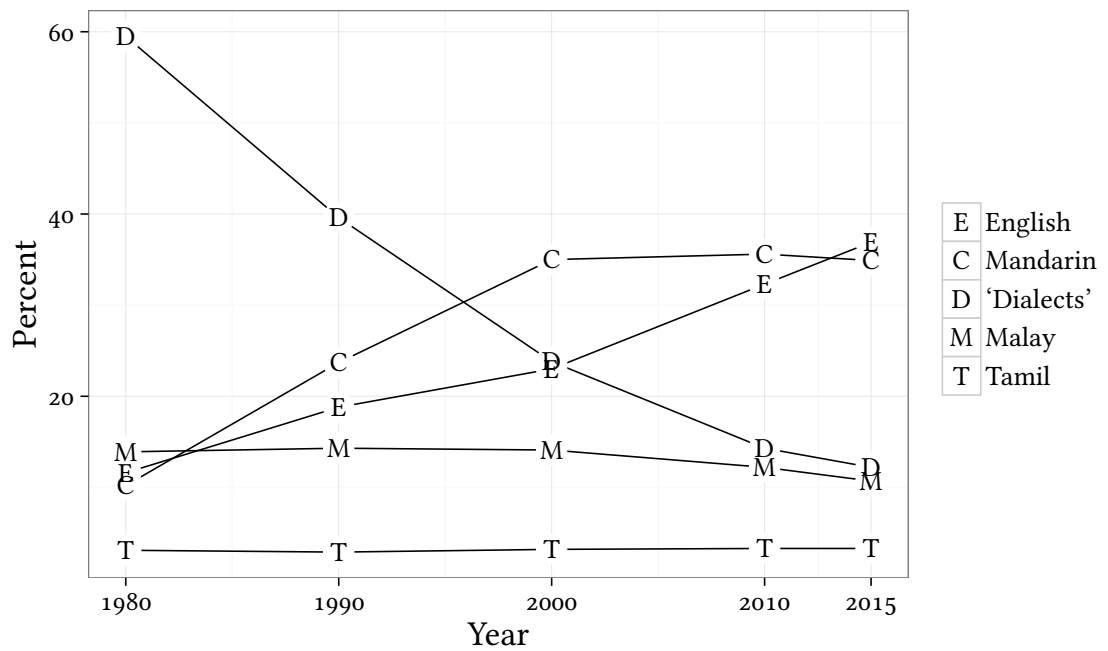
Figure 6.4: Language most commonly spoken at home, as a percentage of all households. Data from 10-year census (1980–2010) and from the General Household Survey 2015. 'Dialects' refers to any variety of Chinese other than Mandarin.

a result, self-reported English language use in the country steadily increased, with the latest figures from 2015 suggesting it even overtook Mandarin as the language most commonly used in Singaporean households, as shown in Figure 6.4.

English language policies

The widespread use of English in the country is well documented. However, there is comparatively little information about the kind of English that the numbers in statistics like those in Figure 6.4 conceal. It is widely accepted that English in Singapore exists in several shapes, most easily categorised into two broad categories 'standard' (depending on the author this may be called Standard Singapore English (SSE), Standard English, International Singapore English, the 'high' variety) and 'colloquial' (Colloquial Singapore English (CSE), Singlish, Local Singapore English, the 'low' variety), existing in a more or less traditional sort of diglossic relationship (Gupta 1994). Other models account for the variation in Singapore's Englishes by calling upon the post-creole continuum (Platt 1975), by using education as a primary metric (Pakir 1991), by taking cultural orientation as a driving force (Alsagoff 2010), or by relying on indexical

processes (Leimgruber 2013b). The bottom line is that there is variation in Singapore English, and this variation is exploited in daily interaction for a multitude of purposes. Language planners recognise the existence of 'Singlish'[22] (a term that has lost most of any pejorative connotations it may once have had, certainly within academia), a form of English that some stipulate to exist at the lower end of the basilectal scale (Platt 1975), others posit as the standard's diglossic counterpart (Gupta 1994), and yet others consider an ideological construction about which speakers' intuitions are unreliable (Leimgruber 2013c; 2014). It has long been seen by government agents as an undesirable by-product of the linguistic contact situation in which the country exists, because it is deemed to have a negative impact on 'standard' English language proficiency, a proficiency that is seen as necessarily tied to the country's economic survival (see above). Speaking Singlish can, therefore, be framed as subversively undermining the country's very survival. Consequently, a government campaign began in the early 2000s with the aim of raising the population's English language proficiency, primarily through targeting the use of Singlish. This 'Speak Good English Movement' (SGEM, http://goodenglish.org.sg) has received some scholarly attention (see e.g. Rappa & Wee 2006, Wee 2011b); I shall here briefly elaborate some of its main tenets, drawing on work presented in Leimgruber (2013a), with the occasional update justified by the dynamic nature of the policy framework in Singapore.

The main reason behind language planners' objection to Singlish is that it is seen as hampering proficiency in Standard English. English, in its standard form and as the official and 'working' language of the country, is seen as a major competitive advantage in a global economy. In his launching speech in April 2000, then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong made both these points:

> The ability to speak good English is a distinct advantage in terms of doing business and communicating with the world. This is especially important for a hub city and an open economy like ours. If we speak a corrupted form of English that is not understood by others, we will lose a key competitive advantage. My concern is that if we continue to speak Singlish, it will over time become Singapore's common language.

> Poor English reflects badly on us and makes us seem less intelligent or competent. Investors will hesitate to come over if their managers or supervisors can only guess what our workers are saying. We will find it difficult to be an education and financial centre. Our TV programmes and films will find it hard to succeed in overseas markets because viewers overseas do not understand Singlish. All this will affect our aim to be a first-world economy.
> (National Archives of Singapore 2000)

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22. Singlish as a variety has been extensively described, inter alia in Gupta (1994), Foley et al (1998), Lim (2004), Low & Brown (2005), Deterding (2007), Leimgruber (2013b). It is a variety of English that features lexical admixture primarily from Hokkien and Malay, grammatical substrate influence mostly from Chinese, and a phonology not unlike that in other Asian Englishes (reduced final consonant clusters, devoicing of final stops, neutralisation of length distinction in vowels, absence of reduced schwa-type vowels).

Wee (2011b: 79–83) analyses in more detail how the government is effectively unable to see any good in Singlish. Co-existence of Singlish and English is not an option. The paramount economic importance of English to the country's survival in a competitive regional and global economy is such that proficiency in Standard English is the prime objective, which is seen to be hampered by knowledge of Singlish. Any considerations of emotional or identity-building properties inherent in the 'uniquely Singaporean' Singlish are irrelevant and 'whatever merits it may have as a marker of a Singaporean identity must be jettisoned in favour of the global economic value associated with the standard variety' (Wee 2011b: 79).

The focus on the yearly SGEM can be captured by the slogans used: while the first one (2000–2004) 'Speak well. Be understood' combined a prescriptive view with a pragmatic (communicative) one, others (e.g. 2005–2006 'Speak up. Speak out. Speak well', 2008–2009 'I can') focussed on the additional benefits proficiency in English could bring, whereas yet others (e.g. 2007–2008 'Rock your world!', 2009–2010 'Impress. Inspire. Intoxicate') have no reference to language at all. At least two slogans since then, such as 'Get it right' (2010–2011) and 'Grammar rules matter' (2014), revert to the prescriptive element found in the first half of the 2000 launching slogan.

The stance of the government towards Singlish is much stronger than that towards the non-Mandarin varieties of Chinese (on which more below). The quote by Goh above highlights the main concern: that Singlish comes to hamper Singaporean's command of Standard English, which is key to Singapore's economic success. Given the perceived importance of economic growth and global connectedness for the survival of the small city-state, Singlish is, therefore, seen as a direct threat to the nation itself. Thus, while a diglossic view would regard Singlish as a perfectly viable vernacular, used among Singaporeans and existing side by side with the standard, used in communication with non-locals, for the policy-makers 'co-existence is not an option' (Rappa & Wee 2006: 95). The argument is that there are in fact few Singaporeans who are comfortable in code-switching between Singlish and the standard: there is a correlation between standard English proficiency and education (Platt 1975, Pakir 1991, Poedjosoedarmo 1995) which results in some sectors of the population having access only to Singlish. These are at a disadvantage, especially in education, where English language skills are relevant for academic achievement. This attitude is further evidenced by the collapsing of Singlish and ungrammatical English into the one and same category. See, for instance, the TV Programme Code's section 13 'Language', which draws on grammar and pronunciation in its definition of three types of English seen to exist in Singapore:

> 13.1 Standard English, which is *grammatically correct*, should be used for programmes such as news, current affairs and info-educational programmes. Local English, which is also *grammatically correct but pronounced with a Singaporean accent* and which

> may include local terms and expressions, could be used for programmes like dramas, comedies and variety shows.
>
> 13.2 Singlish, which is *ungrammatical local English*, and includes dialect terms and sentence structures based on dialect, should not be encouraged and can only be permitted in interviews, where the interviewee speaks only Singlish. The interviewer himself, however, should not use Singlish.
>
> (IMDA 2016: 11-12, my emphasis)

What ought to be done in the case of an interview with a speaker of a non-Standard non-local English variety, however, is not addressed. It is also interesting to note that Singlish is defined as 'includ[ing] dialect terms', which can indeed be the case, and 'sentence structures based on dialect'. The choice of *dialect* is revealing in that they, like Singlish, have little prestige in government rhetoric. The syntax of Singlish, of course, has a lot in common not just with Hokkien and other Chinese 'dialects', but also with Mandarin (an official and promoted language) and, of course, with English – being, as it is, a variety of English.

The SGEM itself takes the form of language-related activities in schools, themed broadcasts in the media, readings organised by the National Library Board, an 'Inspiring Teacher of English Award', and a website (http://goodenglish.org.sg) that provides, inter alia, lists of 'Commonly mispronounced words', quizzes with Singlish sentences to be rendered in Standard English, and links to providers of adult language classes. The linguistic landscape is mobilised, too, and banners and posters adorn public places, sporting the year's slogan, or otherwise exonerating readers to speak 'good English'. Pronunciation is a target too, with television shows in existence in which contestants are rewarded by approaching as closely as possible a 'general British English pronunciation' (Wee 2015).

It is quite difficult to assess the success of the SGEM. In the case of the shift from 'dialects' to Mandarin (see below), census data on home language use (i.e. Mandarin vs. 'dialect') – even with the caveat that this metric may be skewed – does offer some impression of an ongoing shift. As far as Singlish is concerned, such data is not available from the census, where English is recorded as a single language, without being further subdivided into varieties. What is obvious from census data is an overall shift towards English as a main home language (see Figure 6.4). However, this development (over twenty-five percentage points in thirty-five years) also takes into account shifts towards English away from the other official languages. This shift has been ongoing for some time, motivated by the economic promises of proficiency in the working language, but also by parents' concern for their children's performance at school, where English is a core subject that needs to be passed for promotion each year. Such a shift is not the intent of the SGEM, as its target are not the 'mother tongues' (needed for cultural grounding, as explained below), but solely Singlish. Thus, while there is a sense in which English as a main home language is progressing, there is little information on what kind of English this is – is it

the standard championed by the SGEM, or the Singlish it seeks to eliminate? Given the increasing numbers of speakers, it seems likely that all types of English are represented, including the Singlish spoken side by side with Standard English by those who master both.

Despite a rather blatant top-down status policy of demotion, Singlish seems unlikely to disappear in the near future. Like the Chinese 'dialects', there is some level of support in the population for the variety, not least because it is the one uniquely Singaporean code which can be used for purposes of identification with fellow Singaporeans (on which see e.g. Alsagoff 2010, Leimgruber 2013b; 2014). It is also worth noting that an attachment to Singlish is often voiced by 'well-educated Singaporeans who can code-switch' (Rappa & Wee 2006: 96) between it and the standard. Examples can be found especially online, with satirical websites and blogs (TalkingCock.com 2012, mrbrown.com 2017) and even a Speak Good Singlish Movement page on Facebook (discussed in Wee 2014). More recently, this strong indexical function of Singlish has been recognised by policy-makers, or at least by powerful representatives of the state. For instance, switches into Singlish (never more than a word or a phrase) may occur during political speeches. Singlish was also prominently on display during the celebration of the country's fiftieth anniversary of independence in 2015, when, in the course of the carefully-choreographed and annual National Day Parade, large floats could be seen sporting such stereotypical Singlish expressions as the particle *lah* or the expression *blur like sotong*.[23] Nonetheless, such manifestations of support for Singlish are highly contextualised and limited, and the overall top-down stance remains one of suspicion towards the variety.

'Mother tongue' policies

Another important element of Singapore's language policy is the so-called 'mother tongue' policy. This policy assigns one of the three non-English official languages (Mandarin, Malay, Tamil) to each Singaporean, based on their ethnic affiliation. This ethnic affiliation is commonly determined, in governmental records, through paternal ancestry. A recent change in 2011, allowing children of mixed marriages to carry a double-barrelled ethnic ('racial' being the preferred local term) designation composed of the parents' races[24] has little impact on policy because the first element of such a combination remains the sole basis on which policies

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23. The discourse particle *lah* is one of several in a class of clause-final monosyllabic particles, typically derived from Hokkien, Malay, and Cantonese. They express a variety of pragmatic meanings and have received substantial scholarly attention (see the review in Leimgruber 2013b: 92–94). 'Blur like sotong' is an idiom combining the element *blur* '1. Ignorant, stupid, slow to catch on. 2. Confused, muddle headed' (Lee 2004: q.v.), and *sotong*, which is Malay for 'cuttlefish' and acts as an augmentation device for *blur*, thus meaning 'very stupid/confused'.

24. The rules on which combinations are allowed are listed in a publication by the Immigration and Checkpoints Authority (ICA): 'For example, if one parent is "Chinese" and the other is "Indian", the child's race may be recorded as "Chinese", "Indian", "Chinese–Indian", or "Indian–Chinese". The registration of the double-barrelled race will be limited to only two components, i.e. one hyphenation.' (ICA 2010: section 2) Further,

such as those in relation with public housing quota and mother tongue assignment are enacted. The equation race = mother tongue remains, therefore, in place for the vast majority of the population, such that Chinese Singaporeans are taught Mandarin as their mother tongue, Malays are taught Malay, and Indians are taught Tamil.[25]

This assignment of one of the three non-English official languages to each ethnic group as a group-wide 'mother tongue' is most obviously sensible for the Malay minority. The Malays are surprisingly homogeneous both in their religious affiliation[26] and in their language practice: in 2015, 78.4% of Malay households indicated Malay as their 'language most frequently spoken at home', compared to 46.1% Chinese using Mandarin and 37.7% Indians using Tamil. Another 21.5% of Malays primarily use English, which is a widespread phenomenon in all racial groups; therefore, Malay and English, together, account for 99.9% of Malay households. It is thus fair to say that Malay is the unchallenged uniting language of the Malay community, and has been for a long time.

In contrast, Mandarin has not, until a generation or two ago, played an important role in the Chinese community. This community, in fact, was not a single entity pre-independence, but very much divided along 'dialectal' lines, with the Hokkien, Teochew, Hainanese, and Cantonese communities each having their own schools and institutions. Although treated as a single ethnic group under the British colonial administrators' racial segregation policies, it is not until after independence that a more unified racial category 'Chinese' was brought about, not least in contradistinction to the other two groups, the Indians and the Malays. One of the unifying elements was, of course, language: whereas in the period up to roughly 1980 the majority of Chinese still habitually conversed in non-Mandarin varieties of Chinese (referred to locally as 'dialects') and knowledge of Mandarin was limited to a very small number indeed, this began to change as a direct result of policies promoting the use of Mandarin, the 'mother tongue' of the Chinese ethnic group, and active demotion of the 'dialects', cast as uncouth and divisive.

'For relevant Government policies, such as the initial assignment to a mother-tongue language class in schools and the HDB's Ethnic Integration Policy, *the first component of a double-barrelled race will be used. There will not be any advantage in terms of policy considerations for those who register either a double-barrelled or a singular race.* For the presentation of statistics, the current way of presenting the published race statistics will be maintained and will be based on the first component of the double-barrelled race.'
(ICA 2010: section 3, my emphasis).

25. In actual fact, there is some leeway in this assignment, in that pupils (i.e. usually their parents) may apply for the child to learn a 'mother tongue' that is not the one assigned to his or her race. The Indian group is exceptional in that in addition to Tamil, another five languages are available to non-Tamil Indians: Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi or Urdu. Due to the small numbers, these classes are often given in central institutes outside of regular school hours (Shah & Jain forthcoming [2018]).

26. An impressive 99.2% of the population registered as ethnically Malay are Muslim. In contrast, the majority religion in the Indian group (Hinduism) is practiced by 59.9%, and just 42.3% of Chinese are Buddhists (General Household Survey 2015).

Many top-down efforts combined to bring about a rather dramatic language shift, beginning with reforms in the educational system purging 'dialects' and replacing them with Mandarin. The unifying aim of these efforts was eloquently summarised by then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong in 1991:

> For the Chinese community, our aim should be a single people, speaking the same primary language, possessing a distinct culture and a shared past, and sharing a common destiny for the future. Such a Chinese community will then be tightly-knit. Provided it is also tolerant and appreciative of the other communities' heritage, able to communicate with them in English, and work with them for a common future, Singapore will grow to become a nation.
> (Goh Chok Tong, Launch of the 1991 Speak Mandarin Campaign)

The most visible and well-known effort, however, is the Speak Mandarin Campaign, a government initiative launched in 1979 with the express aim of nothing less than banning 'dialects' from the public sphere and making Mandarin the true intra-ethnic lingua franca. Much has been written about the Speak Mandarin Campaign (see inter alia Bokhorst-Heng 1999, Wee 2006) and its success; I shall here draw on my own previous description of the campaign as given in Leimgruber (2013a: 245–247), with relevant updates made necessary by the dynamic language policy setting in which the campaign exists.

The Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC, 讲华语运动), was launched in 1979. Every year, the campaign starts with a speech by a government official (Wee 2006: 350), and has a particular theme and catchphrase. These vary over the years, but usually promote Mandarin and demote the 'dialects' in various ways (cf. the 1979 slogan 多说华语，少说方言 'Speak more Mandarin, speak less dialect'), explain the logic behind the campaign (1983: 华人讲华语，合情又合理 'Chinese [Singaporeans] speak Mandarin, [it's] both sensible and reasonable'), or emphasise the cultural element of the policy (1991: 学习华语认识文化 'Learn Mandarin and know [your] culture'). More recent foci have been on the benefits of Mandarin (1998–1999: 讲华语，好处多 'Speak Mandarin, [it has] plenty of advantages') and on the younger target audience (2006–2007: 华语 COOL 'Mandarin [is] cool!', 2007–2008: 讲华语，你肯吗? – Speak Mandarin. Are you game?, 2010: 华语? 谁怕谁! – The Chinese challenge) and on general language learning strategies (2015: 华文华语多用就可以 – Mandarin. It gets better with use) (Promote Mandarin Council 2015: passim).

Like the Speak Good English Movement, the campaign is hard to miss. Apart from the coverage in news media, there are adverts in MRT trains, on buses, and generally in public spaces, exonerating the virtues of Mandarin or featuring the year's campaign slogan. 'T-shirts with the same slogans are worn by students. Advertisements supporting the campaign appear on television, radio and in the cinemas.' (Bokhorst-Heng 1999: 244) Free Mandarin classes are offered for the elderly, *The Straits Times*, the main English daily, carries a daily Mandarin vocabulary

section, and some schools organise 'speak Mandarin day(s)' for their Chinese students. There are also clear guidelines of what varieties of Chinese are allowed in the media: Part 13 of the TV Programme Code (IMDA 2016: 12) stipulates that 'all Chinese programmes [...] must be in Mandarin', but 'dialects in dialogues and songs' are allowed if 'the context justifies usage and [if they are] sparingly used'. Exceptions listed are interviews in news programmes, where 'dialects' are allowed if provided with subtitles or voice-overs, or references to local food items (specifically *bak kut teh*, *char kway teow* and *ang gu kuey*).[27] In addition to the prohibition of 'dialects', the Code also prohibits 'sub-standard Mandarin (characterised by poor syntax or use of vocabulary, poorly pronounced Mandarin or mixed with many dialect terms)' (IMDA 2016: 12).

The various themes addressed in the official campaign speeches have varied over time (see e.g. Wee 2006). An important development, however, was the emphasis on the potential economic, rather than merely cultural, value of Mandarin:

> The Chinese learn and speak Mandarin not only because it is the common spoken language of the Chinese community, representing our roots, but also because the economic value of Mandarin is increasing, particularly after China has started its economic transformation [...].
> (Ong Teng Cheong, second deputy prime minister, 1985, quoted in Wee 2006: 352)

As highlighted by Wee (2006: 352), this has had consequences beyond simply increasing the attractiveness of Mandarin for the Chinese ethnic group. In adopting a rhetoric wherein Mandarin is 'viewed as a resource for economic advancement', linking it to the single ethnic group of the Chinese, as done in the mother tongue policy outlined above, means that it 'potentially compromises the relationship of parity across the three official mother tongues' Wee (2006: 352). One consequence was that Mandarin has become increasingly sought after by non-Chinese Singaporeans who do not want to miss out on the economic promises of the new market.[28]

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27. *Bak kut teh*, from Hokkien 肉骨茶 *bah kut tê*, lit. 'meat bone tea', is a 'clear stew consisting of pork ribs cooked with herbs, garlic, soya sauce' (Lee 2004: q.v.). *Char Kway teow*, from Hokkien 炒粿條 *chhá kóe tiâu*, lit. 'fried pastry strip', is a 'sweet-savoury dish consisting of broad, flat rice noodles, fried with soya sauce, bean sprouts, cockles' (Lee 2004: q.v.). *Ang ku kuey*, from Hokkien 紅龜粿 *âng ku kóe*, lit. 'red turtle pastry', is a 'sticky [...] cake, usu. red in colour and shaped like a tortoise shell, filled with green bean paste' (Lee 2004: q.v.).

28. A similar faux-pas occurred in 2007 at the opening ceremony of Nanyang Technological University's Confucius Institute, when Lee Kuan Yew (at the time 'Minister Mentor'), in his speech, 'spoke about the need for the Chinese language, the Malay language, and Indian languages like Urdu, Hindi, and Panjabi, but left out Tamil' (The Straits Times 2007: H5). In a clarification in the press two days later, he 'made clear that Tamil is one of the mother tongues that Singaporeans should be encouraged to keep learning'; the omission, which he 'regrets', came about 'because it (Tamil) was obviously necessary as one of our four official languages' (The Straits Times 2007: H5). Whatever glimpse of *de facto* policy might have transpired from the speech, the official rhetoric of tripartite mother tongue parity was re-established in the press clarification.

The effects of the campaign, coupled with the educational policies mentioned above, have been twofold: firstly, there has been a massive decrease in the number of speakers of the so-called 'dialects', the non-Mandarin varieties of Chinese. Secondly, the number of speakers of Mandarin has increased.[29] Census data may again be used to show this shift: a look back at Figure 6.4 on page 180 illustrates this dramatic change. On the one hand, the number of households where 'dialects' are spoken has moved from a majority position to one close to that of the households using Malay (Malay: 10.7%, 'dialects': 12.2%). This is a considerable shift, partly explained by demographic factors (elderly speakers who used 'dialects' in 1980 having been replaced by younger generations using Mandarin thirty-five years on), by the shift in some families from 'dialect' to Mandarin, and by the reduced likelihood of multi-generational households. On the other hand, the number of households where Mandarin is spoken has increased from a minority position of 10.2% in 1980 to over a third (34.9%) of all Singaporean households in 2015.

As for all census data of this sort, these numbers have to be treated with caution: respondents' answers may be skewed by the expectations of the census-takers or those of the language planners, or simply by the aspirations of the respondent/speaker. At a deeper, more methodological level, the main problem is that code-switching is all but ignored. Arguably, though, the phrasing of the question ('main home language' or 'language most frequently used') at least ostensibly recognises the possibility of the presence of more than one language. To what extent the respondents are aware of which one of their languages is the main one, or indeed how much effort is put into identifying the individual varieties involved and their relative frequency, remains, of course, unknown. Nonetheless, this numerical evidence is the most readily available, and it shows a clear shift away from the 'dialects'. This shift does not mean, however, that the 'dialects' have lost all legitimacy in Singapore: there is 'at the grassroots level a strong sense of attachment', and there are still church services held in Hokkien and Hakka (Rappa & Wee 2006: 92–94), for example. Similarly, an exchange of letters in local newspapers in March 2009 gave voice to those lamenting the decline of the 'dialects' (Abu Baker 2009, Chiang 2009) as well as to those justifying the policy by saying they 'interfere with the learning of Mandarin and English' (Chee 2009).

It should be clear by now that the term 'mother tongue' does not mean, in Singapore, the same thing it does elsewhere: in many cases, the mother tongue is not the native language of a given speaker, but, more often than not, a second language assigned through an overarching language policy and taught in the educational system. Singapore's mother tongue policy

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29. The increase in Mandarin use in the city-state has given rise to a local variety, Singapore Mandarin (周清海 2002), which differs in some ways (in grammar, phonology, and lexis) from Standard (Mainland Chinese) Mandarin (= Putonghua).

makes a clear (if not statutory) distinction between English and the other three official languages: Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil are possible as mother tongues, English is not. A useful explanation of the importance of the mother tongues in Singaporean language policy is given in Alsagoff (2007: 34–37). Language, in government policy, is always referred to 'in utilitarian, pragmatic terms, divorced from emotional ties', where English, the only non-mother tongue official language, is framed as 'cultureless' in that it is 'disassociated from Western culture' in order to prevent Western values and to heighten its status as a 'global rather than a Western language' (Alsagoff 2007: 36). This cultural voiding of English also serves to present it as 'ethnically neutral', not belonging to any of Singapore's ethnic groups. This is important, because following this argument of policy-makers, no single ethnic group is advantaged or disadvantaged in terms of access to an economy that is largely based on English, a language that is 'characteris[ed] […] as the "workhorse" of economic capital' (Alsagoff 2007: 36).

This framing of English as 'cultureless' is in contrast to the mother tongues, which are seen as 'repositories and mediums of local culture and identity' (Alsagoff 2007: 36). Wee (2003) presents the government's policy as a narrative which instrumentalises, on the one hand, the utilitarian English as facilitating economic advancement, maintaining a regional competitive advantage, etc., and, on the other, the traditional mother tongues as 'preserving ethnic cultural traditions' (Wee 2003: 211). This viewpoint is given in the following quote by former prime minister Lee Kuan Yew, from a speech given – in English – to a Chinese audience in 1984:

> English will not be emotionally acceptable as our mother tongue […] Mandarin is emotionally acceptable as our mother tongue. It also unites the different dialect groups. It reminds us that we are part of an ancient civilisation with an unbroken history of over 5 000 years. This is a deep and strong psychic force, one that gives confidence to a people to face up to and overcome great changes and challenges.
>
> Therefore I can state that its psychological value cannot be overemphasised. Parents […] want their children to retain traditional Chinese values in filial piety, loyalty, benevolence, and love. Through Mandarin their children can emotionally identify themselves as part of an ancient civilisation whose continuity was because it was founded on a tried and tested value system.
>
> (Lee Kuan Yew, quoted in Bokhorst-Heng 1998: 252, cited in Wee 2003: 214)

The mention of the different 'dialect' groups, which are 'united' by Mandarin, is a reference to the Speak Mandarin Campaign discussed above. While apparently successful, a side-effect of the campaign was that it made communication between children and grand-parents harder (Gupta & Yeok 1999). The idea, therefore, that the 'mother tongue', which may not be the family's native language at all, somehow enables cultural and traditional grounding, needs to be put into perspective. Wee, for example, points out that the wisdoms of the 'ancient civilisation[s]' referred to by Lee may not have been the prime preoccupation of the 'typical Chinese migrants […] given their relative lack of education, and the heterogeneity of the Chinese languages spo-

ken by them' (Wee 2006: 350). On the other hand, Mandarin plays now an increasingly strong role as an ethnic lingua franca within the Chinese community, or at least as a strong second language, and enjoys high levels of vitality in the speech community, not least because of its status in the education system.

The education system itself is characterised by bilingualism (Pakir 1991; 1999, Dixon 2005), in which English is the medium of education, and the mother tongues subjects taught as L2s. Here too, the rationale for bilingualism is given in terms of the roles, or domains, of English and the mothers tongues, respectively: 'Children must learn English so that they will have a window to the knowledge, technology, and expertise of the world. They must know their mother tongues to enable them to know what makes us what we are' (Tony Tan, minister for education in a 1986 parliamentary speech, quoted in Pakir 1999: 342). The standard procedure, discussed above, is for children to learn the mother tongue associated with their particular ethnic group: Mandarin for the Chinese, Malay for the Malays, and Tamil for the Indians (with the exceptions mentioned earlier). The bilingualism policy, being 'the most difficult policy' to implement (Lee Kuan Yew, quoted in *The Straits Times* 18 November 2009, quoted in Wee 2011a: 209), is also constantly subject to calls for improvement and to musings by the policy-makers on how things could have been done better (see e.g. the discussion in Wee 2011a).

6.3.3 Singapore: Quebec's antithesis?

Like Quebec, Singapore has come into contact with English through colonisation. Like Wales, the number of English users was, initially, small. Since independence, however, and more clearly so after Quebec's Quiet Revolution of the 1960s–70s, the language political landscape in Singapore and Quebec have become quite distinct. Whereas in Quebec, planning efforts were aimed at the promotion of the formerly devalued local majority language French (and a concurrent marginalisation of the erstwhile élite language English), Singapore pursued a path of official linguistic pluralism, in which English, the 'oppressor' language in both colonial settings, was given higher powers within the state apparatus. There are several reasons for this.

Firstly, French is the language of the Québécois and intimately tied to French Canadian identity. The presence of Anglophone Quebecers in the province ever since the early days of settlement in North America does not challenge the fact that in the province as a whole, the French language was and is spoken by a vast majority of the population (with the exception of Montreal, where numbers are different and French became a minority language for a brief time in the middle of the nineteenth century). Disregarding the actual aboriginal languages of the indigenous peoples in North America (discussed briefly in section 2.2.3), French may be considered the 'indigenous' language of Francophone Quebecers of European extraction in the province. As such, the equation language = people = nation is an easy one to make, an equation

that was discussed at some length in section 3.2, and which is considered in detail in Oakes & Warren (2007). In Singapore, on the other hand, the linguistic situation could not be more dissimilar. The (this time actual) indigenous population, the Malays, are in a minority within the country, the Chinese outnumbering them by more than six to one. The languages actually spoken by the population include Mandarin, English, an eclectic collection of other varieties of Chinese (mostly Minnan, but also Cantonese), Malay and related varieties, Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, etc.), Indo-Aryan languages (Punjabi, Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi/Urdu, etc.), as well as several other related and unrelated languages. Crucially, there isn't a single majority group of speakers that can easily be portrayed as having somehow more of a claim than the others to having their language being the sole marker of national identity. Malay is given the largely symbolic status of 'national language' due to its historical significance and actual indigenous nature, but the status has few consequences for the population as a whole. The Chinese, numerically dominant (a three-quarter majority), are not a monolithic linguistic group, with Mandarin becoming a dominant language only over the past few decades and still accounting for only a third of households. It is, therefore, English, the language that none of the three ethnic groups can reasonably claim their own cultural property, that has the potential to be shared as a marker of national identity by the entire population. Although official policy has it that cultural identity is expressed and indexed by the 'mother tongues', i.e. the non-English official languages Malay, Mandarin, and Tamil, such linguistic cultural expression is by necessity ethnocentric and not national in nature. English (and also Singlish) serves as the supra-ethnic, national marker of identity in a regional context in which the language does set Singapore apart from its neighbours.

Secondly, the fact that there is vast economic power associated with the English language has not escaped language planners in either polity. Nonetheless, it can be argued that in terms of international competitiveness and generally in terms of economic development, the use of English was seen as more immediately necessary to the outright survival of the tiny city-state of Singapore. Global connectedness and the building of a service-based economy is more easily achieved through the medium of the global lingua franca than through that of any of the other three official languages: Mandarin has, recently, evolved into something of a regional lingua franca and is undeniably useful in dealings with the emerging superpower China, but in the early founding decades of Singapore as much as today, interconnectedness with global markets is much more easily achieved with English. The scarcity of natural resources on the small island make a knowledge-based economy the sole guarantor of national success, resulting in a status and acquisition policy that fiercely defends the position of English – with its encroachment on other languages deemed an acceptable sacrifice necessary for nothing less but the survival of the country. By contrast, Quebec had a history of an industry and economy driven,

to simplify somewhat, by a large number of Francophone workers at its base and Anglophone managers at the top. The primary aim of language legislation at the expense of English was, first and foremost, to enfranchise Francophone employees by removing linguistic barriers on the way to top positions, and to end centuries-old (real and perceived) discrimination based on language. The massive natural resources of the geographically huge province (most of it yet to be settled, much of it still open for development) also mitigates the need for national and global connectedness, necessary though they may be to a service-based economy. In fact, the nationalisation of the province's hydro-electric utilities companies was a major achievement in the series of social and economic changes of the 1960s know as the *Révolution tranquille* 'Quiet revolution'. The idea was to become *maîtres chez nous* 'masters in our home', as the slogan had it, by enabling Francophones to regain control of the economy in their province (Linteau 1993). In short, while the economic value of English is, nowadays, recognised in Quebec (especially so given its location in Canada and North America, but also globally), and the language is taught in all schools, it is not as intimately tied to economic survival as it is in Singapore. It is quite possible to prosper educationally, socially, and economically in Quebec without recourse to English; the same cannot be said for Singapore, where proficiency in the language determines educational outcomes and employment opportunities to a much greater extent. Certainly, the survival of the national economy is not framed as being possible only through English in Quebec, unlike Singapore.

Thirdly and finally, the general tone of policy speeches with regards to the English language is rather different in the two polities. Clearly, Quebec's primary policy aim is the safeguard and promotion of French; any demotion policies towards English are (officially) a by-product of a promotion strategy. In Singapore, the English language is constantly framed as a necessity. The historical context in which the two political entities and their respective linguistic ecologies arose may well play a part in this. While both Quebec and Singapore experienced British colonialism, this colonialism took quite different forms. In eighteenth-century Quebec, the British conquered a pre-existing well-established European francophone society, New France, that was largely homogeneous (though not entirely so) linguistically. In Singapore, the British landed in the early nineteenth century and founded a port city practically out of nothing. The existing Malay population was small and soon outnumbered by Indians and Chinese. Therefore, while the British terminated the existence of French North America, they effectively founded modern Singapore from scratch and made the immigration of Chinese, Indian, and Malay settlers into the city possible. Consequently, it is perhaps unsurprising that the attitudes towards the ruling British and their language differ. This is not to say that advocates for independence in post-war Singapore were unanimously pro-British, far from it, even though many held degrees from British universities. However, they seemed not to object to much of the legal, societal,

and linguistic infrastructure the colonial power left behind. The experience of neighbouring Malaysia in attempting to reject much of its colonial heritage (by promoting Malay as the sole official language, for instance, but also through ethnic policies favouring Malays) certainly also helped in taking a more pragmatic approach, keeping the entire English body of legislation and civil service in place and gradually replacing it with home-grown (also English-language) legal instruments. The fact that the outright and aggressive promotion of the English language has been met with approval in the population and a massive increase in speakers further points to little anti-colonial language sentiment present in the island-state.[30] In contrast, Quebec's *Révolution tranquille* was less about overthrowing a colonial government, but more about re-connecting with the local language that had been marginalised by Anglophones in higher positions. Language as an identity-bearing factor in the path away from colonialism was, therefore, much more important there.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter began with a presentation of the comparative method in language policy research, before moving on to elaborate on two case studies that reveal interesting points of comparison with the situation in Quebec. At this point of the discussion, it is useful to draw up the main conclusions of this comparison. These are summarised in Table 6.3. The table lists, in its leftmost column, a number of relevant metrics on which the situations in the three territories differ.

Table 6.3: Comparisons of relevant LPP elements in Quebec, Wales, and Singapore.

	Quebec	Wales	Singapore
Historical background	Conquest 18th c.	Conquest 13th c.	Colonisation (or 'founding') 19th c.
Political status	Province of a federal state	Constituent country of a unitary state, with devolved powers	Unitary city-state
Area & population	1,542,056 km², 8.4m (Q1 2017 estimate)	20,779 km², 3.1m (2015 estimate)	719 km², 5.6m (2016 estimate)
Anglophone presence	Minority, ca. 12%	Majority, ca. 80%	Minority, ca. 37%

continued...

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30. This is true as far as the English language is concerned. Of course, the founding fathers had their reservations about British rule, or independence (at first within a united Malaya) would not have become a political programme in the first place.

Table 6.3 *continued*: Comparisons of relevant LPP elements in Quebec, Wales, and Singapore.

	Quebec	Wales	Singapore
Main language in neighbouring polities	English	English	Malay
Primary language legislative instruments	Federal: Constitution Act, Official Languages Act; provincial: Charter of the French language	Welsh Language Measure, Official Languages Act	Constitution
Statutory official language(s)	French	Welsh	Malay, Mandarin, Tamil, English
Language(s) with other statutory status	English	English	Malay ('national language')
Non-statutory top-down policies	French-only traffic signage	None?	'Working language' policy, 'mother tongue' policy
Official languages policy	Promotion	Promotion	Mandarin, English: promotion; Malay, Tamil: *laissez-faire*
English language policy	Recognition	*Laissez-faire*	Promotion
Motives	Political, cultural	Cultural	Economic (English, Mandarin less so), cultural ('mother tongues')
Objective	Francophone language rights	Revival effort	Economic survival
Corpus planning efforts	Large-scale programmes and terminological data-bases in an attempt at codifying the language (in Quebec also in its local form)		Creation of localised textbooks for the education system, some recognition of local terminology (esp. English and Mandarin)

Table 6.3 *continued*: Comparisons of relevant LPP elements in Quebec, Wales, and Singapore.

	Quebec	Wales	Singapore
Acquisition planning	French as default language of state education; parallel English system	Freedom of choice between Welsh and English systems; compulsory learning of the other language	English as sole medium of instruction in state schools; compulsory learning of one other official language
Linguistic landscape legislation	Elaborate and established, French to be 'markedly predominant'	Emergent, Welsh not to be treated 'less favourably' than English and 'must be positioned so that it is likely to be read first'	None
Legislation of the online linguistic landscape	Chapter VII of the Charter, 'The language of commerce and business', also applies to online advertising (i.e. websites and social media messages)	Welsh Language Standards (No. 1) Regulations 2015 (Standards 52–56, 58, 59) specify that bodies subject to it need to make entirely Welsh versions of websites available and 'not treat Welsh less favourably than English' when communicating on social media	No statutory legislation. The government's online presence is predominantly in English.
Effects of policies on language behaviour	Reduction of the anglicisation of Francophones (24,605 in 1971 to 7,762 in 2001),[31] increased attraction of French (27.7% in 1971, 45.2% in 2001)[32]	Stabilisation of Welsh decline (decennial rate of attrition reduced to 0.4 percentage points in 1991, gain of 2.3 in 2001, loss of 1.8 in 2011; cf. loss of 6.4 in 1911)	Increase in English as main home language: 1.8% (1957) to 36.9 (2015); shift to Mandarin from 'dialects': 0.1% vs. 74.4% (1957) to 34.9 vs. 12.2% (2015)

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31. These numbers are obtained by taking the number of Francophones using English as their main language and subtracting the number of Anglophones using French as their main language (Castonguay 2005: 15).

32. This *force d'attraction du français* 'French attraction force' is calculated as the proportion of shifts to French out of all shifts to either French or English: $\frac{\text{shifts to French}}{(\text{shifts to French}) + (\text{shifts to English})}$ (Castonguay 2005: 17).

The table's first subdivision shows the socio-historical environment in which the three polities are situated. It begins with a historical background, pointing out that all three were, at some point, subjugated by British colonialism – the main difference being that whereas both Quebec and Wales saw the conquest of a previously rather well-established society, this was only partly the case in Singapore, where there was only a small pre-existing local population. Contact with the English brought their language into the respective territories. The present-day political status explains the extents to which local governments can go in terms of policy-making: while the government of Singapore is entirely sovereign and independent, that of Wales may only legislate and govern in those areas devolved to it by Westminster. In Quebec, the situation is a bit more complex, with legislative and executive power shared between Québec and Ottawa on the basis, primarily, of the constitutional agreement reached in 1867. The three polities differ in size (both geographically and in terms of population), which impacts the extent to which policies can be monitored and enforced (much more easily so in small and densely populated Singapore than in the large swathes of Quebec or even in mountainous Wales). The Anglophone community present in the three places ranges from a large majority in Wales to a small minority in Quebec. Finally, the regional context of Quebec and Wales are similar in that they are surrounded by officially English-speaking entities, whereas Singapore finds itself, quite literally, in the middle of the Malay-speaking world.

The second subdivision of the table begins with a list of statutory instruments regulating language policies. In Quebec, there is regulation at the federal and the provincial level; both of which (constitutional documents and the Charter) being quite high in the legal hierarchy. Additional documents exist at both levels; the federal Official Languages Act being a case in point. In Wales, there is close to no central UK legislation on language, whereas in Wales itself the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 is now the primary legal document, complemented with subordinate legislation such as the Official Languages Act that regulates language use in the National Assembly. Singapore, by contrast, only has its constitutional provisions for language policy; there is no act regulating language in more detail (as there is, for instance, in neighbouring Malaysia). The table goes on to list languages with statutory status within the territory, both official languages and languages with other statuses. Both Quebec and Wales grant English virtual co-official status in some institutions, particularly in the judiciary, but also in a wide range of governmental services. In Singapore, the 'national language' status of the official language Malay is largely symbolic, but warranted in its regional context. There are also non-statutory top-down policies, under which label are listed instances of language policy enacted by ministerial decree or otherwise, but which are not set out in actual top-tier language legislation: the 'working language' policy often mentioned in Singapore is one such example, as well as its 'mother tongue' policy, although the latter does, by now, have

quite bit of a presence in subordinate guidelines and regulations which may carry force of law. In Quebec, the long established practice by the civil administration of using French almost exclusively on traffic signs is, of course, legal, but not obligatory: section 22 of the Charter of the French language stipulates that 'another language may be used', particularly in presence of 'requirements of health or public safety' – this provision is currently the driving force behind a petition to the National Assembly from Anglophone advocates to consider bilingualism on such signs (Goldenberg 2017).

When considering the policies towards the languages with official status, there is active promotion in both Quebec and Wales, since the very rationale for their official status was the safekeeping of the language – socio-economically in the case of French, and for revitalisation in the case of Welsh. In Singapore, policies differ somewhat depending on the official language involved: English and Mandarin are heavily promoted, the latter particularly within the Chinese community, whereas Malay and Tamil, although not ignored, seem to receive less attention from a policy perspective.[33] With regards to the policy towards the English language specifically, it is legally 'recognised' in Quebec, particularly with respect to the provincial legislature, in which both French and English may be used officially, as well as in an entire set of parallel institutions in the healthcare, education, and social sector that operate entirely in English. In Wales, the policy towards English can be regarded as *laissez-faire*, because there is no active policy of encouraging or discouraging its use: it has the same legal status in the legislature and in the judiciary, there is free choice in the education system, etc. Moreover, it is the sole language of four fifth of the population, and therefore requires little official support. In Singapore, English is heavily promoted, although not statutorily: it has been made the sole language of education, the official language of the armed forces, the 'working language' of the country, and the language in which all government business is carried out.

The fourth subdivision of Table 6.3 summarise the motives and the objectives of the policies in each territory. In Quebec, the motives are primarily political and cultural, with a view to maintaining Francophones' language rights and, ultimately, to ensure the continued survival of French in the North American context. In Wales, the basic motive is cultural, with Welsh seen (like French in Quebec) as intrinsically important to cultural identity in the country. The objective here is language revival, with a hope to prevent further losses of speaker numbers. In Singapore, the motives are both economic and cultural, with the English language selected for

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33. The term '*laissez-faire*' is perhaps a little misleading here; there are campaign-style activities such as the annual *Bulan bahasa* '(Malay) language month', supervised by *Majlis Bahasa Melayu Singapura* 'Malay Language Council of Singapore', the Malay language planning body, and an annual 'Tamil language festival', organised by வளர்தமிழ் இயக்கம், the Tamil Language Council. These institutions are subordinated to the Ministry of Culture, Community, and Youth (MCCY), which runs a Language Councils Secretariat that provides support to all four language promotion councils: the Speak Good English Movement, the Promote Mandarin Council, the Tamil Language Council, and the Malay Language Council of Singapore.

economic motives and the 'mother tongues' for the cultural ones. Policies underlining Mandarin's economic potential are faced with the problem that they would upset the parity between the three mother tongues. The ultimate objective of Singaporean language policy is the economic survival of the country, which is achieved through proficiency in English; the objective of the 'mother tongue' policy is cultural grounding, but is subordinate to the economic objective.

The following part of the Table 6.3 compares types of language planning. Efforts at corpus planning are seen in both Quebec and Wales, where large-scale programmes to standardise the language, its vocabulary, and its terminology have been undertaken. In Singapore, exonormative standards have long prevailed, endonormativity is gradually becoming acceptable; corpus planning revolves, among other instances, around the design of educational material. Some local terminology has been standardised, particularly in English and Mandarin (e.g. by incorporating Malay or 'dialectal' loanwords). Acquisition planning, however, differs quite dramatically in the three polities, particularly with respect to the English language. While in Quebec, the default medium of instruction is French, and admission to the parallel English education system is severely limited and policed, in Wales, there is complete freedom of choice, throughout the country, of either Welsh-medium or English-medium education, with the other language compulsorily taught as a second language. In Singapore, on the other hand, English is the only available medium of instruction, with one of the other three official languages compulsorily taught as a second language 'mother tongue'. All of these policies, of course, apply to state schools – private schools may differ in which languages they can offer.

The penultimate subdivision of the Table 6.3 concerns regulation of the linguistic landscape and of the online linguistic landscape. These are part of language planning activities, seeing as they have a direct impact on one's everyday language experience. Legislation regulating the physical, offline linguistic landscape are particularly germane to Quebec, where there is a robust and elaborate framework dealing with both official and commercial signage in public space. Here, French needs to be 'markedly predominant', a term discussed in much detail in the preceding chapters. In Wales, there is an emerging set of 'standards' regulating the linguistic landscape, which stipulate that Welsh must not be treated less favourably than English, and in instances where both languages occur, Welsh must be placed so as to be read first. This approaches the Quebec 'marked predominance' policy, but shies away from closer regulation on font sizes, etc. By contrast, Singapore has no regulation of the linguistic landscape whatsoever, apart from general rules stipulating that some company names may not be registered under the Companies Act, for instance because they are 'undesirable' (presumably including offensive words or terms in some other way disrespectful of an ethnic group or of the government). Such limitations on company names naturally prevents them from appearing in the linguistic

landscape. Likewise, unauthorised graffiti is covered by the Vandalism Act and punishable by fine, imprisonment, and/or caning: this covers any kind of message in public space that has been written or affixed without government authority or private consent in the case of private ownership (see Yao 2007, Lim 2010, Tan 2015 for some recent cases); no reference is made to the language in which the offence is committed. Overall, English seems to dominate the linguistic landscape, in that it usually is the one language that can be found in combination with any of the others.

In the non-physical, online realm of the internet, the 'linguistic landscape' is also policed to varying extents in the three polities. In Quebec, a court decision dating back to 2002[34] has established that the Charter of the French language's chapter VII 'The language of commerce and business' applies also to online advertising in the form of a website. While the written decision acknowledges the fact that 'la nature même du Web (ou hypertoile) fait en sorte que l'information qui s'y trouve peut circuler effectivement sur le réseau informatique mondial et ne connaît pas vraiment de frontières',[35] it considers that s 52 of the Charter, which says that 'Catalogues, brochures, folders, commercial directories and any similar publications must be drawn up in French', covers online publications. This has been upheld in recent court cases[36] (see also the reports in CTVNews.ca 2014, Bryan-Baynes 2014). In a similar vein, the OQLF makes available, on its website, a guide aimed at companies to advise them on their language choice in social media communication (Office québécois de la langue française 2016). It is quite clear, therefore, that Quebec takes its language legislation to apply not just to the physical linguistic landscape, but also to the online presence of businesses operating within the province – any company that is registered in Quebec and that targets a customer base in Quebec needs to communicate on its website and on its social media platforms in the French language, much as it needs to do so in print and billboard advertising. In Wales, there are, in fact, quite similar provisions in place: the Welsh Language Standards (No. 1) Regulations 2015 specify, in Standards 52–56, that websites of bodies subject to the legislation must be available in their entirety in Welsh, that the Welsh must be 'treated no less favourably than the English', and that the entire 'interface and menus on every page' must be available in Welsh. Social media are given a similar treatment in Standards 58 and 59, which state the same ('not treat the Welsh language less favourably'). The crucial difference is, of course, that private companies are not covered by these Standards, and are, therefore, given free rein in their online language choices.

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34. Québec (Procureur général) c. Waldie-Reid, 2002 CanLII 63270 QCCQ. Confirmed by Reid v. Court of Québec, 2003 CanLII 17980 QCCS.

35. 'The nature of the internet is such that the information present on it can indeed circulate on the global computer network and does not really know any borders' (my translation).

36. Québec (Procureur général) c. Produits métalliques C.M.P. Ltée, 2004 CanLII 48901 QCCQ; Quebec (Attorney General) c. 156158 Canada Inc. (Boulangerie Maxie's), 2015 CanLII 354 QCCQ.

Singapore, by contrast, while it probably has the most censored and policed internet of the three polities,[37] does not legislate on language matters in the online linguistic landscape. The government's online presence and services, however, are overwhelmingly English-dominant, with only select pages available in the other official languages. In legal theory, then, the online linguistic landscape can be officially regulated (with varying degrees of legal precision in the three polities considered here), but, in practice, the policing and enforcement of these regulations are time-consuming and costly. When it comes to private persons perusing the internet and social media within a given territory, they can do so in a largely unregulated manner, with any top-down attempts at steering language use being similar to the uphill battle against online 'fake news' (Klein & Wueller 2017, Tambini 2017), hate speech (Tsesis 2001, Banks 2010), and the more serious issue of terrorist recruitment sites (Denning 2010, Theohary & Rollins 2011). In other words, while the online world is, in theory, not a space where the law does not apply, enforcement is immensely difficult, in no small part due to the often non-territorial nature of online activity.

A final subdivision of Table 6.3 shows the effects that the top-down language policies have had in the three case studies, taking the term 'language behaviour' (Mackey 2010c: 141) in its most basic sense to reflect census measures of language use in the population. The picture for Quebec is one in which the pressure on Francophones to use English as a *langue d'usage* 'home language' has decreased since the introduction of legislation in the 1970s; the attractivity of French *vis-à-vis* English (as measured by the number of people shifting towards French rather than English) has also increased. In Wales, the continuing decline of the Welsh language, ongoing for well over a century, has been slowed down somewhat, and even reversed for the period 1991–2001. The number of speakers has now stabilised at around 20%; the reduction by 1.8% in 2001–2011 may be a fluctuation that might – or not – be smoothed out again by 2021. In Singapore, by contrast, all indicators show a massive shift among the population, perhaps even to an extent unintended by the policy: the official bilingual policy, that regards the mother tongues as principal repositories of ancestral cultures, might not have been intended for English to become a competitor as a household language, which it clearly did. A shift to English throughout the population is happening, so much so that it is now the dominant home language for a majority of the population. The promotion of Mandarin, a variety virtually absent from the colony pre-independence, at the expense of other, non-Mandarin varieties ('dialects'), on the other hand, clearly went according to the policy-makers' plans: Mandarin is now second

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37. Internet censorship in Singapore is primarily carried out under the Computer Misuse and Cybersecurity Act, but also under the Sedition Act and the Penal Code. Particular attention is given to 'seditious' online activities, a term also applied to content discriminating against a particular race, ethnic group, or religion, as they can be seen to undermine the state's narrative of ethnic and religious harmony (on which see e.g. Chua 2003: 73–76).

only to English as a primary home language, and the 'dialects' have experienced a massive loss of speakers over the years.

As this chapter has shown, the language planning and policy context of Quebec can be usefully compared against that of places such as Wales and Singapore. The choice of this eclectic group of territories for a comparative analysis has been previously explained; suffice it here to reiterate that the important role that English plays in these polities, both as the language of international communication as well as that of a sizeable part of their populations, and the ways in which the language is embedded in their language policies, differ in interesting ways from one territory to the other, and are worthy of consideration. The outright promotion of English in Singapore is, in fact, more akin to the promotion of French in Quebec, but with entirely different motives and objectives (more economic in the former and more cultural in the latter case). Wales, on the other hand, focusses most of its policy efforts on the revival and revitalisation of Welsh, leaving English largely unattended, given its pervasive (and indispensable) presence in the country.

Nonetheless, the economic context in which any of these language policies exist cannot be ignored. In order to be successful, even policies rooted in considerations of identity or culture need to be economically viable: in Wales, the promotion of the minority language Welsh only goes as far as not to threaten the presence of the indispensable language English, which secures the country's embedding in the larger economies of the UK, Europe, and the world. In Quebec, the promotion of French is also articulated in economic terms, with knowledge of the language a near-prerequisite for top-level employment; further, the fact that English still enjoys a high level of acceptance in the nationally- and internationally-intertwined provincial economy (for instance in the form of special agreements on and derogations from francisation schemes negotiated directly with the OQLF, reserved for financially and economically weighty and relevant companies) points to economically-driven dynamics as remaining central to any policy decision. The Singaporean case illustrates this in the extreme, where English, considered the prime medium in which membership in the global economy is made possible, is promoted to an extent that threatens the other official languages – identity and cultural policies (in the form of the 'mother tongue' policy, for instance) do little to diminish the appeal of English and the policy efforts that have gone into elevating it to the country's working language. Cultural considerations, here, although cleverly interweaved rhetorically into the overall language policy, likely take second place after economic considerations.

7 Conclusion

IN this chapter, the findings presented previously will be combined and their implications considered in a broader context. A first section sets out to reassess the study of language planning and policy in the current era of globalisation, while the second section suggests new directions of future research in the field.

7.1 Language policy in the era of globalisation

In section 3.2, I summarised Wright's view of how French, and subsequently English, became lingua francas in their respective ages, and how English ascended to a level of global relevance unmatched in the history of humankind. The same observation underlies de Swaan's world language system, which situates 'hypercentral' English at the 'hub' of the system, where it functions as the common denominator in transnational communication. In light of this increased transnational communication, subsumed under the larger phenomenon of 'globalisation' (on which see e.g. Robertson 1992, Held et al 1999, Hobsbawm 2008), talk of a 'postnational' era abounds, with dire implications for the study of language planning and language policy (LPP). Wright (2016: 311ff), for instance, ends her book with a chapter containing a section provocatively entitled 'Any future for [LPP]?'. In what amounts to a negative answer, she presents arguments from two contemporary theoretical paradigms that make LPP redundant. The first is postmodernism, which 'opposes the universalising of arguments [...], rejects metanarratives or any one privileged discourse [...] and welcomes diversity' (Paulston 2002: 127, quoted in Wright 2016: 311). This is in direct opposition to the activities of LPP, which aim to standardise, centralise, and nation-build; the two are, therefore, impossible to reconcile. The second incompatibility is found in postnationalism:

> In the political sciences, there was always a current that treated nationalism as a pathology, only categorising its most extreme instances as nationalism, and ignoring the (banal) nationalism that underpinned the political landscape of modernity. Postnationalism intensifies the view of nationalism as pathological.
> (Wright 2016: 311)

The framework of postnationalism, therefore, rejects the nation-state as the unit of any meaningful language-political analysis. Language, as a reified element worthy of both promotion and

study, needs, in this approach, to be reconceptualised as 'contextually bound performance'. Wright closes the section by drawing attention to the fact that the scholarly approach to language is divorced from that of practitioners, who continue to uphold models of standard language systems in schools around the world. This is certainly the case with, for example, recent developments attempting to take the concept of 'translanguaging'[1] into the classroom (García & Li 2014, Lagabaster & García 2014), attempts which remain marginal, to say the least.

Wright is certainly right in suggesting that LPP currently finds itself at a critical juncture. The traditional fields of corpus and status planning receive decreasing amounts of scholarly attention, and, given the general trend towards postnationalism and the often-invoked globalisation, the very national and country-based relevance of many former policies is challenged. Nonetheless, and this is perhaps even more true in the post-2008 global era, nation-states and the nationalism that accompany them seem to have gained renewed attention and, as a result, reaffirmations of their relevance to research have begun to appear (Fenton & May 2002, May 2012; 2016). May (2016), for one, argues that the permanent decline of the nation-state is overstated and that it 'remain[s] the *primary* social, political, *and linguistic* frame of reference for our everyday public lives' (May 2016: 384, emphasis in the original). In the European context, disenchantment with the European Union project has resulted in very different opinions on the scale and nature that the project should take, seeing the rise in many countries of sometimes openly ethnonationalist parties calling for a return to the borders abolished after 1995 with the Schengen Agreement. The British vote to leave the European Union by 2019 may well be, to date, the culmination of this movement away from supra-national entities. Countries, borders, and nations continue to exert considerable influence on the organisation of the world's populations – borders, as open as they might be within Europe, have real-life implications on social interactions, with the distribution of linguistic resources continuing to be constrained, at least administratively, by these very borders, as seen in the very different language in education policies found in Alsace (France), Baden (Germany), and Basel (Switzerland), for instance.

None of this is meant to argue with the ideas put forward in Anderson (1991), for instance, who sees a historical development from nationalism to transnationalism to globalisation. His 'imagined communities' of the nation accurately conceptualise the nation as a community whose members do not all know each other but imagine that they belong together. The 'imagined' ties that bind together nations and members within those nations are nicely illustrated in the current globalised world in which diasporic 'communities' may well retain strongly felt

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1. *Translanguaging* is a term used to describe the integrated use of one's entire set linguistic resources in interaction. Unlike code-switching, where the speaker is aware of the existence of several separate 'codes', translanguaging does not consider the resources deployed as coming from identifiable languages, but rather as coming together to form a new, integrated whole that facilitates interaction. The speaker no longer 'switches', but simply speaks without thinking about the origin of individual words.

connections to the 'homeland', as expressed, among others, in their use of language forms from prior geographical locales along their migration path (Mair 2003, Mair & Pfänder 2013, Heyd & Honkanen 2015). For a long time, language policies were instrumental in forging and consolidating the imagined nation within its territory. Consider the wording of many constitutions that ascribe national or official status to a given language: 'La langue de la République est le français' (France), 'Le français est la langue officielle du Québec', 'the official languages of the Philippines are Filipino and [...] English', 'The official languages of the Republic are Greek and Turkish' (Cyprus), 'Tetum and Portuguese shall be the official languages in the Democratic Republic of East Timor', 'La langue française est la langue officielle de l'État' (Monaco), etc. In each of these examples, the languages named are made official (or national) within a defined territorial entity. In France, Cyprus, and Monaco, the territorial entity is paraphrased with the terms *republic* and *state* respectively, which adds to the territorial dimension one of political significance. The language is therefore clearly anchored in an imagined space, the territory of the nation.

The three polities described in the previous chapter, Quebec, Wales, and Singapore, all point to notions relevant in the traditional study of LPP, whereas they also all present new challenges, which require new LPP approaches. Clearly, the economic factor addressed in the concluding paragraph of the previous chapter is of paramount importance. Similarly crucial, however, is the level to which (national) identity is shaped through LPP. Quebec, for one, has long articulated its language policy within an identity framework: the French language is what differentiates Quebec from the rest of Canada and North America, therefore the preservation and promotion of French is the only way to avoid assimilation and identity loss. Ironically, the only way to prevent this loss, in a province where speakers of the identity-bearing language do not reproduce naturally at a rate high enough to sustain the population size, is to linguistically assimilate the required immigrants into the French-speaking population. Thence stems the distinction between multiculturalism *à la canadienne*, in which minority (linguistic, ethnic, religious, cultural, etc.) groups co-exist with the majority while perpetuating their ancestral languages (and religions, customs, etc.), and Quebec's concept of interculturalism (see section 2.2), in which minority groups are accepted and intercultural communication is encouraged, but only within a paradigm that acknowledges French as the unquestioned unifying language of the province. The LPP effort invested into making this a reality, e.g. in the education system (by restricting access to the English state system, and facilitating access to the French one) and the legislation regulating the linguistic landscape, is a testimony to how important the aspect of identity is to language planning in Quebec. Notwithstanding this identity-heavy element in the top-down LPP of the province, however, there is a deeply economic aspect to it, as well. Quebec, like the rest of Canada, is a modern and service-based economy that is intimately tied

to the larger national, continental, and global market. Communication with branches, partners, clients, and regulators outside the province, i.e. in the rest of Canada, in the USA, and in locations around the globe, is crucial to progress and to the safeguard of Quebec's prosperity. Such communication and interaction is not as easily monitored and policed as, say, the language in which new immigrants school their children. On the contrary, the balance of economic power in interactions with, for instance, the USA, is such that English will be the default language in any business dealings with partners from there. The same could be said for Quebec companies doing business with China – since Chinese proficiency cannot be guaranteed among Quebec envoys and French fluency can not be taken for granted among Chinese representatives, the single common language English will have to suffice. The official embedding of such pragmatic considerations is seen in the special agreements with the OQLF, available to financially important companies, for the negotiation of derogations to francisation requirements. Similarly, cash-heavy expatriates from English-speaking (and other) countries are not bound by the restrictions put on access to the English education system, since private schools are not subject to the same legal provisions. In other words, while the element of identity, of nation-building was undoubtedly at the core of Quebec's LPP in its foundational phase, an economic, supra-national dimension emerges as central to its current dynamic.

By contrast, the LPP seen in Wales is much freer in basing itself in national Welsh identity. Given that the numbers of Welsh speakers are such that they pose no threat to the hegemony of English within the country and the UK as a whole, and given that the one-fifth of the population that does speak Welsh also speaks English, there is no obvious need to hedge the promotion of Welsh to prevent it from challenging English. The English language remains an absolute necessity, in Wales even more so than in Quebec, not least because of the size of the Welsh economy and the level of its interdependency with England, but also because of the 80% of the population that does not actually use the Welsh language, and who, therefore, would be disenfranchised and removed from any nationalism should their only language be entirely marginalised. The economic reality of almost absolute English dominance in Wales and the UK means that any policy efforts will be limited to promoting the use of Welsh rather than limiting that of English, giving it free rein to base itself in the traditional LPP goal of language revival.

Singapore, on the other hand, is at the opposite end from Quebec of the comparative scale ranging from identity to economy. Identity factors, though surfacing every now and then in policy statements, are demoted to a secondary role after the prime economic consideration. English is seen as a necessary tool for the advancement of the nation, for its survival, for its status among regional competitors. Ever since independence, while quadrilingualism was the mantra of equitable nation-building, the push for English as the uniting lingua franca, as the language of social advancement, as the strategic key to economic survival, has been articu-

lated by successive policy-makers. The size of the country, standing at just over 700 square kilometres, much of it urbanised, serves to drive the point home: Singapore has no natural resources but her people, and although the country has maintained a strategic mix of manufacturing and services (unlike, say, Hong Kong), in all instances high added value products are the hallmark of the country's output, none of which is possible without a heavily educated workforce. Tightly interconnected with the global economy, proficiency in English, the global lingua franca, is of paramount importance. Identity-based discourses are relegated to the domain of the 'mother tongues', which are taught as second languages in the education system and play the role of cultural grounding. The country's policy of 'English-knowing bilingualism' (Pakir 1991) specifically calls for the economically relevant English to be known by the entire population, whereas the second language, one of the other three official languages, is called the 'mother tongue' (regardless whether it is actually spoken natively or even known) and serves identity-bearing functions within clearly defined ethnic groups. Notwithstanding this dual policy approach, the 'mother tongue' is also regularly conceived of as having economic relevance: as pointed out on page 187, at least since the gradual capitalist turn in China after the reforms of Deng Xiaoping beginning in 1978, Mandarin has been seen, eventually also by policy-makers, as a useful and necessary tool for business interactions with the emerging economic behemoth. In the wake of this development, the other official languages have on occasions also had their economic potential highlighted, although not to the same extent. Singapore stands apart from the other two case studies in that its LPP is closest to the postnational type introduced above: while in general, nationalism cannot be said to be in short supply in the country, language policies are decidedly pragmatic and economically driven. For one, none of the official languages is uniquely indigenous to the island (with the notable exception of Malay, and, arguably, of the local vernacular English, 'Singlish') – all four have long regarded exonormative standards as paramount. Nation-building itself was a matter of uniting the diverse population by generalising the use of English, and paying tribute to ancestral language by recognising one each per major ethnic group as official. The postnational aspect of Singapore's LPP can be seen in the *de facto* dominance of English in the entire public sector, the workplace, and education; it is also evident in the openness with which non-local forms of English are viewed: consider the comment by Lee Kuan Yew, in 2011, that American English, being the form of English likely to prevail due to that country's global economic relevance, ought to be considered as a target for Singaporean schools. Such a re-orientation of LPP targets shows (apart from the ease with which such decisions can be taken in Singapore's political system) how malleable, non-national, pragmatic, and, perhaps, opportunistic the overall policy framework is.

The comparison across the three polities also reveals another interesting point. While 'openness' is in fact a central tenet of many policies in Singapore, including those of trade, immigra-

tion, business, and travel, it is an openness that is always in line with *national* interests. Thus, any kind of 'postnationalism' needs to be put into perspective. Singapore, for one, clearly puts her identity ('mother tongues', 'Singlish', etc.) second to her national interests, which are conceived in terms of economic survival in a competitive global marketplace. By contrast, Quebec tries to steer some aspects of its globalised economy to suit its larger LPP goals (e.g. in the form of an immigration policy that is preferential towards nationals from francophone countries); the realities on the ground, however, translate into high levels of bilingualism in both French and English, particularly among the geographically mobile part of the population (migrants waiting or willing to relocate out of the province, inter alia). Thus, Quebec's LPP contrasts nicely with that of Singapore in that 'postnationalism' *per se* is not yet overtly part of the language policy articulated. Meanwhile, Wales sits somewhere in the middle, with measures dealing with the promotion of Welsh being largely national in the sense that they seem to be much reliant on the autochthonous cymrophone population as well as constrained to the national territory alone. On the other hand, English language policy, characterised by wide-ranging *laissez-faire*, pays tribute to just that postnational reality in which the country finds itself: its borders are purely administrative and therefore fully open, its residents and workforce are mobile, and the flows of people and capital of all sorts (financial, cultural, linguistic, etc.) between Wales and the rest of the UK (in particular England), and, to a lesser degree, the rest of the EU, remains at very high levels indeed.

The comparison, therefore, sheds doubt on Wright's assertion that in the newly postnational globalised world, LPP has no future. Clearly, states and borders continue to exist, and they inform language use as well as language planning and policy. What is certain, however, is that in this globalised world, LPP faces new challenges. I shall conclude on what these might be and how they may be addressed.

7.2 New ways of analysing LPP

The increased levels of globalisation experienced since the end of the Cold War have profoundly altered the global balance of linguistic power. The rise of English to its current position as the unchallenged lingua franca has been described widely. The historical explanations of Wright (2016) have served as a reference point here. Of equal interest is the 'global language system' proposed by Abram de Swaan de Swaan 2001; 2010), which goes beyond the observation that English is the global lingua franca to acknowledge the presence and relative relevance of the world's other languages: 'hyper-central' English does sit at the system's 'hub', but it is surrounded by other 'super-central' languages (French, Spanish, Russian, Malay,…), which in turn are followed by 'central' languages (Dutch, Italian, Tamil,…) before the 'peripheral' languages

(the rest of the world's languages, many non-standardised and unwritten). This system, introduced in more detail in section 3.2.1 (page 65), accounts for the interplay between languages and potentially sheds light on patterns of multilingualism at the global scale. The system has been modified by Mair (2013) to explain geographical and social variation within the English language, too: here the hyper-central variety is American English, super-central varieties include British, Australian, South African, Nigerian, and Indian Englishes, central varieties include Irish English, Scottish English, Jamaican English, Ghanaian English, Pakistani English, New Zealand English, etc., whereas peripheral varieties are those of the rest of the world, including Maltese English, St. Kitts English, Cameroonian English, and many more. The reasons Mair posits for this particular hierarchy parallel those of de Swaan's model: American English is at the hub because any adaptations (in spelling, vocabulary, even in accent) in printed or film media are towards American norms rather than away from them (Mair 2013: 262 gives the example of the *Harry Potter* book series being 'mildly adapted lexically to the American market', whereas American products are disseminated in their original versions worldwide). Beyond the hub, varieties with important degrees of supra-regional relevance appear, such as British and Australian English. These varieties influence others that are hierarchically below them, and exert non-negligible influence over learners of the language. Central varieties of English are those largely restricted to a nation-state, typically with their own accepted forms and exerting a certain pull towards their features on peripheral varieties that are heteronomous with respect to them. The real power of Mair's model, however, is that it incorporates non-standard Englishes into a global system. While the 'hub' only contains Standard American English, there are super-central non-standard Englishes, including African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Jamaican Creole, and 'popular London' English. AAVE, for instance, has influenced many speakers beyond the original speech community, including Caribbean and African migrants to the USA, but also beyond, reaching francophone West Africa and the Caribbean. It can also be seen to influence in no small extent popular culture globally, as seen, for instance, in features from AAVE used by hip-hop artists all over the world. Central non-standard varieties, of which 'US Southern' is one, have a rather restricted global reach, but remain relevant in their respective national locales. Peripheral non-standard varieties, on the other hand, are the traditional rural dialects of e.g. England, many of which are facing decline due to the spread of more central (non-standard) varieties.

The appeal of both de Swaan's world *language* system and Mair's world system of *Englishes* is that they explain the complex interplay between varieties as not being randomly organised. Whereas it is every linguist's code of ethics to consider all languages and varieties thereof as equal, these systems reveal sociolinguistic power differentials that any analysis of LPP with real-world consequences cannot ignore. The policies in place in the three polities considered

in the previous chapter integrate these realities into their approaches in different ways. While Singapore fully embraces the English dominance of the world language system by regarding the language as its lifeline in a globalised service economy, Quebec attempts to strengthen its own (super-central) language French against encroachment from the hyper-central language used as L1 in the rest of its larger region, while at the same time making allowances for the language where (economically) needed. In Wales, the pull of English is so strong that any defences against it are meaningless, resources being instead invested into the maintenance and revival of Welsh. Beyond the comparatively straightforward 'top-down' policies of promotion, demotion, and *laissez-faire* respectively, there are, within each of these polities, undercurrents of language uses in the population, in various speech communities and communities of practice, which are the result of much more organic and 'bottom-up' kinds of language policies. In most instances, the values of the market economy trump those of cultural (etc.) identity. Consider, for instance, the fact that in 2009, 25.6% of the 1st-year cohort in English-language *cégeps* was of French mother tongue (Conseil supérieur de la langue française 2011: 8). In these post-secondary colleges the choice of the medium of instruction is not constrained by the legal provisions of the Charter of the French language, meaning that students are free to choose to go to either French or English colleges. This also explains why Allophones were more highly represented in English *cégeps* (18.9% of the cohort) than in French ones (6.8%); furthermore, around 40% of Allophones who went to French secondary schools eventually opted for an English *cégep*. Clearly, English exerts a certain degree of attraction for both Francophones and Allophones. Particularly for the latter, the mobility afforded by the language is of relevance: as Figure 7.1 shows, interprovincial net migration has long been negative for Quebec, and assuming that much of this goes into English-dominant areas of the country (i.e., disregarding migration to Francophone parts of Ontario and New Brunswick), skills in English will be required.

The Allophones in Quebec's case present a nice example of overlapping multilingual communities of practice. The French language is accepted as an unavoidable part of (making a) living in the province, whereas English remains the global lingua franca needed for local social advancement as well as transnational mobility. Additional (heritage) languages may well be maintained for the purposes of circular migration. This linguistic behaviour would seem to confirm the post-national argument sketched out above, with nationalism effectively supplanted by transnationalism (*qua* Anderson 1991). One way to conceptualise this globalised existence, characterised by ubiquitous technological interconnectedness, is to consider transnational lives to be lived in the 'space of flows' of Castells (1999; 2016), where physical ('space of place') location is decreasingly important to social interaction. This approach is premised on the work of Appadurai (1990), who proposes five dimensions of global cultural flows, all built on the suffix *-scape* reminiscent of *landscape*: (i) ethnoscape, i.e. persons on the move as individuals
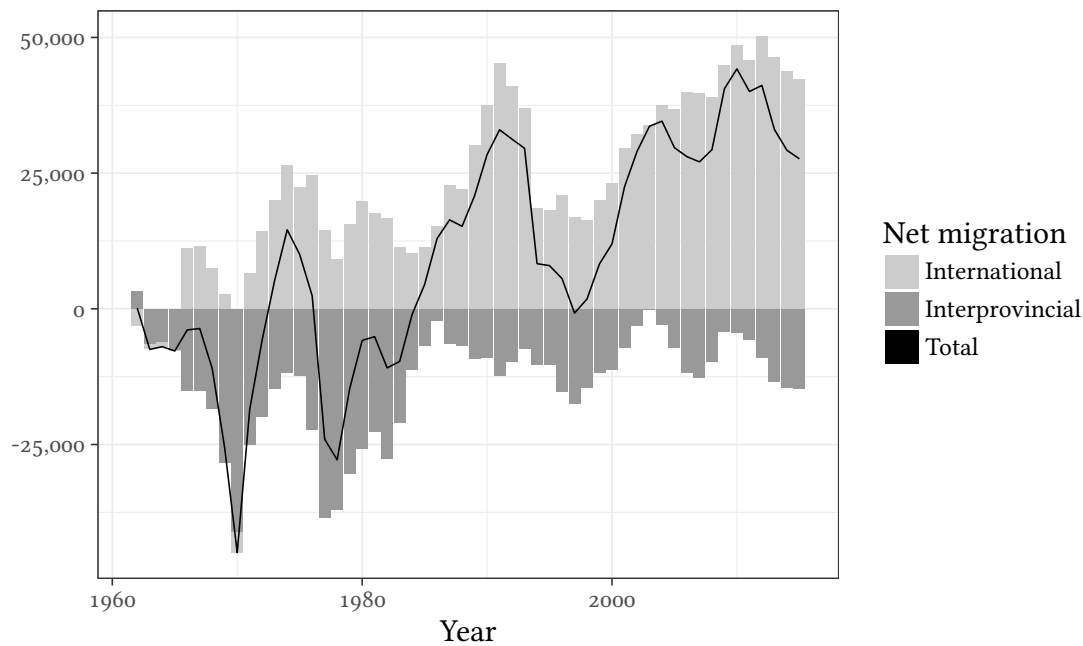
Figure 7.1: Evolution of net migration for the province of Quebec, showing both international and interprovincial migration, overlaid with the total net migration figure.

or as parts of a group (tourists, refugees, migrants, guest workers, etc.), (ii) technoscape, including high and low forms of technology, as well as the global supply chain that has an effect on global relationships at the nation-state and individual levels, (iii) finanscape, the resulting globally connected marketplace of currency, virtual goods and commodities, the interconnectedness of which becomes apparent in every new financial crisis, (iv) mediascape, the actual (private or public) channels of information distribution (television, newspapers, also the internet) as well as the world view transmitted via these channels, and (v) ideoscape, i.e. ideological flows at the basis of state power as well as its counter-ideologies (here Appadurai references in particular the Enlightenment world-view, which has spread globally but is instantiated differently in different locales). In Appadurai's view, current global flows occur 'in and through the growing disjuncture between ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes' (Appadurai 1990: 301).

Castells offers a similar view in arguing that the physical location of our life, the 'space of place', although of course eminently relevant to our everyday experience of the world around us, and subject to change as e.g. the ethnoscape (above) changes with the very real-world consequences of migration, is but one kind of 'space' in which we exist. The 'space of flows' refers to

the material arrangements [that] allow for simultaneity of social practices without territorial contiguity. It is not a purely electronic space [...] although cyberspace is a component of the space of flows. First, it is made up of a technological infrastructure of information systems, telecommunications, and transportation lines.
(Castells 1999: 295)

It is important to note that the space of flows is not entirely non-material, since transport infrastructure, which facilitates travel and communication, is considered a part of it. However, it makes sense to consider online activity as particularly relevant to this kind of space, both because it brings about 'simultaneity of social practices' and because it is of primary relevance to language. Social interaction, mediated through spoken or written language, can now take place in a borderless and quasi-instantaneous space that transcends the physical location of those who participate in the interaction.

While Appadurai and Castells provide useful theoretical tools to explain current globalised realities, the more recently introduced concept of *languagescapes* may provide even stronger explanatory power. First coined by Loven (2008), who sees it as an addition to the *scapes* of Appadurai (1990) introduced above, the term builds on the association with the geographical concept of *landscape*, which combines physical features in space with the human interpretation of these features, and 'like a natural landscape, the silhouette of a languagescape too may be fluid and irregular' (Loven 2008: 104). *Languagescapes*, therefore, include not only the languages present in a particular location, but also the various social and individual experiences of these languages in the speech community. Describing the languagescape of Indonesia, Loven says it

consists of hundreds of tongues from different language groups and language families. [...] a languagescape is experienced differently by different people and institutions. The national language Indonesian will have different connotations for a primary school teacher of this language who lives and works in the capital Jakarta, for example, than for an uneducated pedicab driver in Central Java, or for a Papuan politician. [...] The languagescape is furthermore like a natural landscape in that its composition changes over time. Whereas Dutch was an important language of communication in the colonised archipelago, it has little significance as such for contemporary Indonesians, who would rather learn English or Japanese.
(Loven 2008: 104–105, quoted in Mair forthcoming [2018]: 16)

As suggested by Mair (forthcoming [2018]: 16–17), the concept is useful because it enables a holistic view of the language situation in a given territory, but also recognises this territoriality as composed of potentially 'shifting and fuzzy' boundaries. This is particularly true for the English language, as well as in the almost boundary-free mediascape of the internet, for instance. Furthermore, the analysis of individual languages in isolation, even within the same territorial entity, is no longer the gold standard in a languagescape approach, in which the entire set of linguistic resources is taken into account, thereby providing a more complete description of

the language practices by members of various speech communities. Most crucially, however, languagescapes do not have any intrinsic monolingual or national bias whatsoever – Loven is quite clear that the concept covers the entire set linguistic resources available; likewise, there is a non-territorial, 'postnational' element to it that includes speech communities held together by a shared diasporic experience or by the internet alone. As such, one could talk about the languagescape of Montreal, taking into account the various codes in use within the city, but also those used by people in the city while engaging in online activities with others well beyond the country's borders.

In light of these reflexions, it would seem that language planning and language policy do in fact have a future as a field of study. Whereas Wright (2016) is of the opinion that the spread of post-nationalism and increased globalisation mean that LPP is on its way out, I would call for a more optimistic view: firstly, post-nationalism does not result in a complete disappearance of borders, with certain aspects of nationalism remaining even as the world does indeed become increasingly interconnected. Secondly, even this (very real) increase in transnational flows and global migratory phenomena can provide fertile ground for LPP research, in particular when taking the view, defended by Spolsky (2004; 2009a) and explained in section 3.1, that language policy should include bottom-up aspects of language planning, management, and ideologies. A new LPP also has the potential to deal even with the efforts of nation-states, entities that remain, to this day (and that will continue to do so for the foreseeable future), powerful agents in steering language use within their territories (if only in the education system).

Wright is, however, right in suggesting that policies aligned solely with identity politics or the traditional kind of nationalism are of diminishing relevance for planners (and of diminishing interest to scholars of LPP); policies that take economic realities into consideration, on the other hand, seem bound to remain in place in one form or another, and, therefore, merit scholarly attention.

Ways to capture LPP efforts in the new globalised world include methodological adjustments that will, ideally, rely on a combination of methods, some of which were presented in these pages. Certainly the traditional critical review of policy documents cannot be fully ignored, but broader sociolinguistic approaches, such as language attitudes studies, ethnographic fieldwork, and even linguistic landscape surveys, can, when appropriately combined, offer a better understanding of the LPP situation in a given analytical space. Finally, the cognitive element introduced in section 5.5, in which the linguistic landscape, as a reflection of real-world implications of top-down language policies, is subjected to psycholinguistic evaluation by language users, thereby revealing language ideological responses, certainly offers a new insight into how such policies resonate in the wider population. While it may be premature to call for a cognitive turn in linguistic landscape studies, further research into how this landscape is *noticed*

and commented on by the population, hitherto considered passive, is bound to have a lasting impact on both the fields of linguistic landscape studies and language planning and policy.

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Appendix

A Linguistic landscape photos

A Linguistic landscape photos
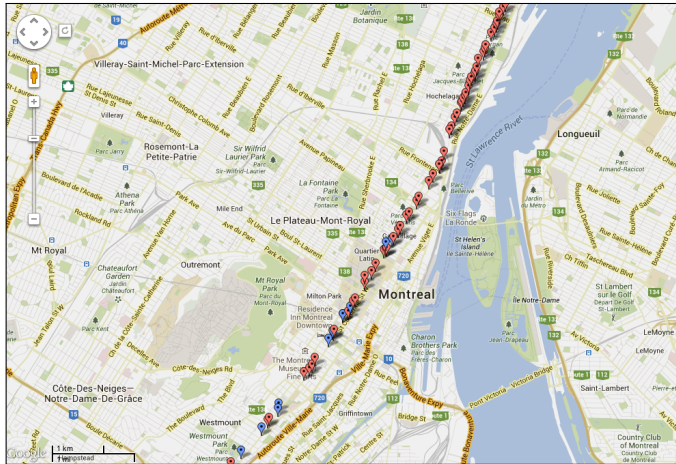
Figure A.1:
Monolingual signs along rue Sainte-Catherine. Red = French, blue = English.
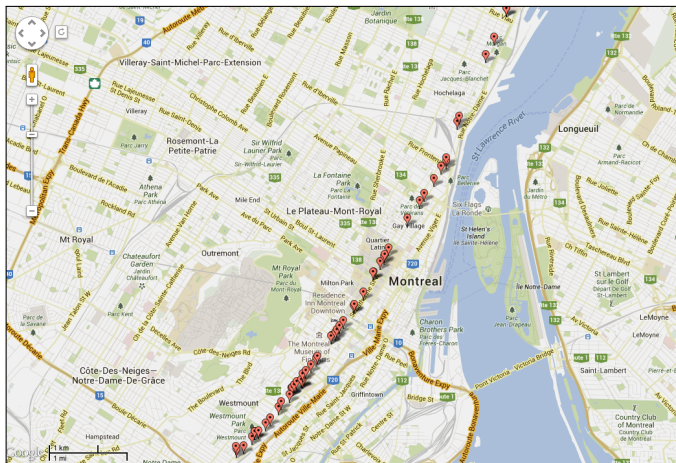
Figure A.2:
French–English bilingual signs along rue Sainte-Catherine.
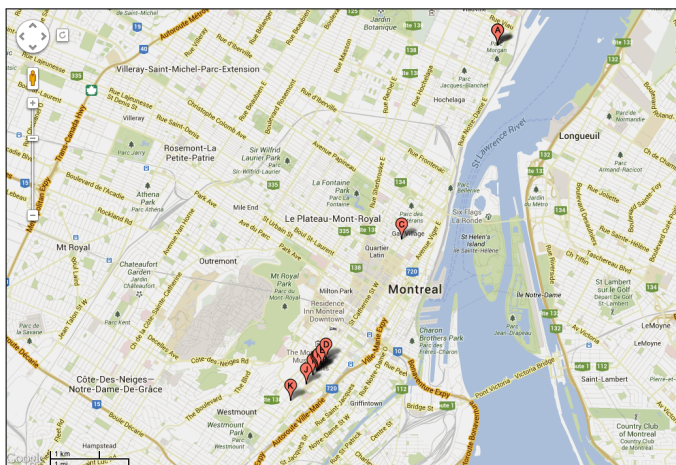
Figure A.3:
Signs along rue Sainte-Catherine including at least one language other than French and/or English.

Figure A.4:
Storefront sign on rue Sainte-Catherine in eight languages. Notice reversed Korean 옹됴싸 instead of 새로운.

Figure A.5:
Signs on a church in Mile End. French and English on one sign, Polish on the other. All languages are of the same size, but French is placed to the left of or above English on the left-hand sign. Note the use of English *a.m.* after all hours, which is not the standard usage in either French or Polish.

Figure A.6:
Municipal sign on rue Sainte-Catherine, Westmount. Note the presence of both French and English with identical font size and the order of the languages (French first).

Figure A.7:
Sign in Chinatown. French (first from top) is twice as large as English, but Chinese is largest. One might argue that the main, unofficial goal of the legislation has been achieved, since French has a higher visual impact than English. For the average passer-by non-literate in Chinese, the sign conveys that hierarchy clearly.

Figure A.8:
Sign on rue Sainte-Catherine, in Shaughnessy Village. Very large Chinese, followed by French and a slightly smaller and non-bold English. Note the 'translation' of *fortune dumplings* into French as *fortune dumpling*. Neither are a translation of the Chinese 福香緣, which seems to simply be the restaurant's euphonious name.

Figure A.9:
Storefront sign 'identi~t'.

Figure A.10:
'T& BİSCUİTS'.

Figure A.11:
'Bilingual' directional sign to Atwater métro station in a Westmount tunnel.

Figure A.12:
Symmetrically bilingual logo in the Montreal Eaton Centre.

Figure A.13:
'LE "GRAMMAR SCHOOL"' in Frelighsburg.

B English questionnaire

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Questionnaire
for the **project** 'Language planning and attitudes in Quebec'
funded by the European Union's Research Executive Agency
conducted by Dr Jakob R E Leimgruber, McGill University

Today's date: _____

About this questionnaire

For more information on the project, visit www.jakobleimgruber.ch/lpaq. Thank you for taking part. Your participation is voluntary. You may withdraw at any time without giving reasons. Data is collected anonymously and there is no way of linking your responses to your identity. Data collected will be stored securely and used solely for research purposes. **Only complete this questionnaire if you understand and agree to these conditions**.

Part 1 – About you

Your age: _____   Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Other

Were you born in Quebec? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If not, how many years have you been living in Quebec? _____

Your languages

Your level in **English**:	10 – Perfect	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1 – Non-existent
speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
listening	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

At what age did you start speaking English? _____

Who do you speak it with? _____

Your level in **French**:	10 – Perfect	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1 – Non-existent
speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
listening	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

At what age did you start speaking French? _____

Who do you speak it with? _____

If you speak any other language(s):

	10 – Perfect	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1 – Non-existent
Your level in _____:										
speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
listening	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

At what age did you start speaking it? _____

Who do you speak it with? _____

Your level in _____:										
speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
listening	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

At what age did you start speaking it? _____

Who do you speak it with? _____

Your level in _____:										
speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
listening	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

At what age did you start speaking it? _____

Who do you speak it with? _____

Please **rank** your languages from the one you know best to the one you know least. For example, if English is the language you speak best, followed by French and Russian, write "English" next to 1, "French" next to 2, and "Russian" next to 3.

1 ——————— 2 ——————— 3 ———————

4 ——————— 5 ———————

Part 2 – General questions

		7 – Fully agree	6 – Mostly agree	5 – Agree moderately	4 – Neutral	3 – Disagree moderately	2 – Mostly disagree	1 – Fully disagree	Don't know/not applicable
1.	Life in Montreal is easy for someone who speaks only English.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	I like it when service personnel greets me with "Bonjour, hi".	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Bilingualism is an advantage for Montreal.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	I think carefully about which language to use when first speaking to someone I don't know.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	It is important to know French if you live in Quebec.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	It is important to know English if you live in Montreal.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	It is important to know French if you live in Montreal.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	I am proud that Canada has two official languages.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	Bill 101 was necessary.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	The aim of Bill 101 is to diminish the importance of English in Quebec.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11.	Speaking more than one language makes you more intelligent.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.	Speaking more than one language is a disadvantage.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Part 3 – Questions about English

	7 – Fully agree	6 – Mostly agree	5 – Agree moderately	4 – Neutral	3 – Disagree moderately	2 – Mostly disagree	1 – Fully disagree	Don't know/not applicable
1. Canadian English is different from American English.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Canadian English is more beautiful than British English.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Anglophone Quebecers have a distinct way of speaking English.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. English is a necessary asset in a modern society.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. It is important to know English in Canada.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Knowing English allows me to communicate with people from all over the world.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. English is a beautiful language.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. English is a useful language.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Knowing English helps in getting a good job.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Part 4 – Questions about French

	7 – Fully agree	6 – Mostly agree	5 – Agree moderately	4 – Neutral	3 – Disagree moderately	2 – Mostly disagree	1 – Fully disagree	Don't know/not applicable
1. Quebec French is a dialect of European French.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Quebec French is more beautiful than European French.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Quebec French is more authentic than European French.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. European French is more correct than Quebec French.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. People respect me more when I speak French in a Quebec accent.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. French is a necessary asset in a modern society.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. It is important to know French in Canada.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Knowing French allows me to communicate with people from all over the world.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. French is a beautiful language.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. French is a useful language.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Knowing French helps in getting a good job.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

If you would like a summary of the results, write down your e-mail address here:

_____

C French questionnaire

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Questionnaire
pour le **projet** «Planification et attitudes langagières au Québec»
financé par l'Agence exécutive pour la recherche de la Commission Européenne
conduite par Jakob R. E. Leimgruber, Université McGill

Date: _____

À propos de ce questionnaire

Pour plus d'informations sur le projet, veuillez visiter www.jakobleimgruber.ch/lpaq. Merci de prendre part à cette étude. Votre participation est volontaire. Vous pouvez vous retirer à tout moment, sans donner de raison. Les données sont collectées anonymement et il est impossible de connecter vos réponses à votre identité personnelle. Les données seront enregistrées de manière sure et ne seront utilisées uniquement qu'à des fins de recherche scientifique. **Ne complétez ce questionnaire uniquement que si vous comprenez et acceptez ces conditions**.

1ère partie – Informations personnelles

Votre âge: _____   Genre: ☐ homme ☐ femme ☐ autre

Êtes-vous né(e) au Québec? ☐ Oui ☐ Non

Si non, depuis combien d'années résidez-vous au Québec? _____

Vos langues

Votre niveau de **français**:

	10 – Parfait	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1 – Inexistant
au parlé	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
à l'écoute	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
à la lecture	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
à l'écrit	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

À quel âge avez-vous commencé à parler le français? _____

Avec qui le parlez-vous? _____

Votre niveau d'**anglais**:

	10 – Parfait	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1 – Inexistant
au parlé	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
à l'écoute	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
à la lecture	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
à l'écrit	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

À quel âge avez-vous commencé à parler l'anglais? _____

Avec qui le parlez-vous? _____

Si vous parlez d'autres langues:

	10 – Parfait	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1 – Inexistant
Votre niveau en _____ :										
au parlé	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
à l'écoute	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
à la lecture	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
à l'écrit	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

À quel âge avez-vous commencé à le parler? _____

Avec qui le parlez-vous? _____

Votre niveau en _____ :
au parlé ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
à l'écoute ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
à la lecture ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
à l'écrit ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

À quel âge avez-vous commencé à le parler? _____

Avec qui le parlez-vous? _____

Votre niveau en _____ :
au parlé ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
à l'écoute ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
à la lecture ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
à l'écrit ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

À quel âge avez-vous commencé à le parler? _____

Avec qui le parlez-vous? _____

Mettez vos langues dans l'ordre dans lequel vous les connaissez. Par exemple, si le français est la langue que vous parlez le mieux, suivi de l'anglais puis du russe, écrivez «français» sur la 1ère ligne, «anglais» sur la 2ème et «russe» sur la 3ème.

1 _____   2 _____   3 _____

4 _____   5 _____

2ème partie – Questions générales

	7 – Entièrement d'accord	6 – Très d'accord	5 – Plutôt d'accord	4 – Neutre	3 – Plutôt pas d'accord	2 – Pas très d'accord	1 – Pas d'accord du tout	Ne sais pas/pas applicable
1. Il est facile de vivre à Montréal pour quelqu'un qui ne parle que l'anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. J'aime qu'on me salue avec «Bonjour, hi» dans les magasins.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Le bilinguisme est un avantage pour Montréal.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Je fais très attention à mon choix de langue lorsque je parle à quelqu'un pour la 1ère fois.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Il faut savoir parler le français pour vivre au Québec.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Il faut savoir parler l'anglais pour vivre à Montréal.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Il faut savoir parler le français pour vivre à Montréal.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Je suis fier que le Canada ait deux langues officielles.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. La Loi 101 était nécessaire.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. La Loi 101 a comme but de réduire l'importance de l'anglais au Québec.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Quelqu'un qui parle plus d'une langue est plus intelligent.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Parler plus d'une langue est un désavantage.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3ème partie – Au sujet de l'anglais

	7 – Entièrement d'accord	6 – Très d'accord	5 – Plutôt d'accord	4 – Neutre	3 – Plutôt pas d'accord	2 – Pas très d'accord	1 – **Pas d'accord du tout**	Ne sais pas/pas applicable
1. L'anglais canadien est différent de l'anglais américain.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. L'anglais canadien est plus beau que l'anglais d'Angleterre.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Les anglophones du Québec ont une façon de parler l'anglais qui leur est propre.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. La langue anglaise est un atout nécessaire à la vie dans une société moderne.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Il est important de savoir parler l'anglais au Canada.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Savoir parler l'anglais me permet de communiquer avec des gens partout au monde.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. L'anglais est une belle langue.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. L'anglais est une langue utile.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Savoir parler l'anglais aide à trouver un bon travail.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4ème partie – au sujet du français

	7 – Entièrement d'accord	6 – Très d'accord	5 – Plutôt d'accord	4 – Neutre	3 – Plutôt pas d'accord	2 – Pas très d'accord	1 – Pas d'accord du tout	Ne sais pas/pas applicable
1. Le français québécois est un dialecte du français européen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Le français québécois est plus beau que le français européen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Le français québécois est plus authentique que le français européen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Le français européen est plus correct que Le français québécois.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. On me respecte plus quand je parle français avec un accent québécois.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. La langue française est un atout nécessaire à la vie dans une société moderne.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Il est important de savoir parler le français au Canada.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Savoir parler le français me permet de communiquer avec des gens partout au monde.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Le français est une belle langue.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Le français est une langue utile.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Savoir parler le français aide à trouver un bon travail.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Si vous souhaitez un résumé des résultats, merci d'indiquer votre adresse courriel ci-dessous:
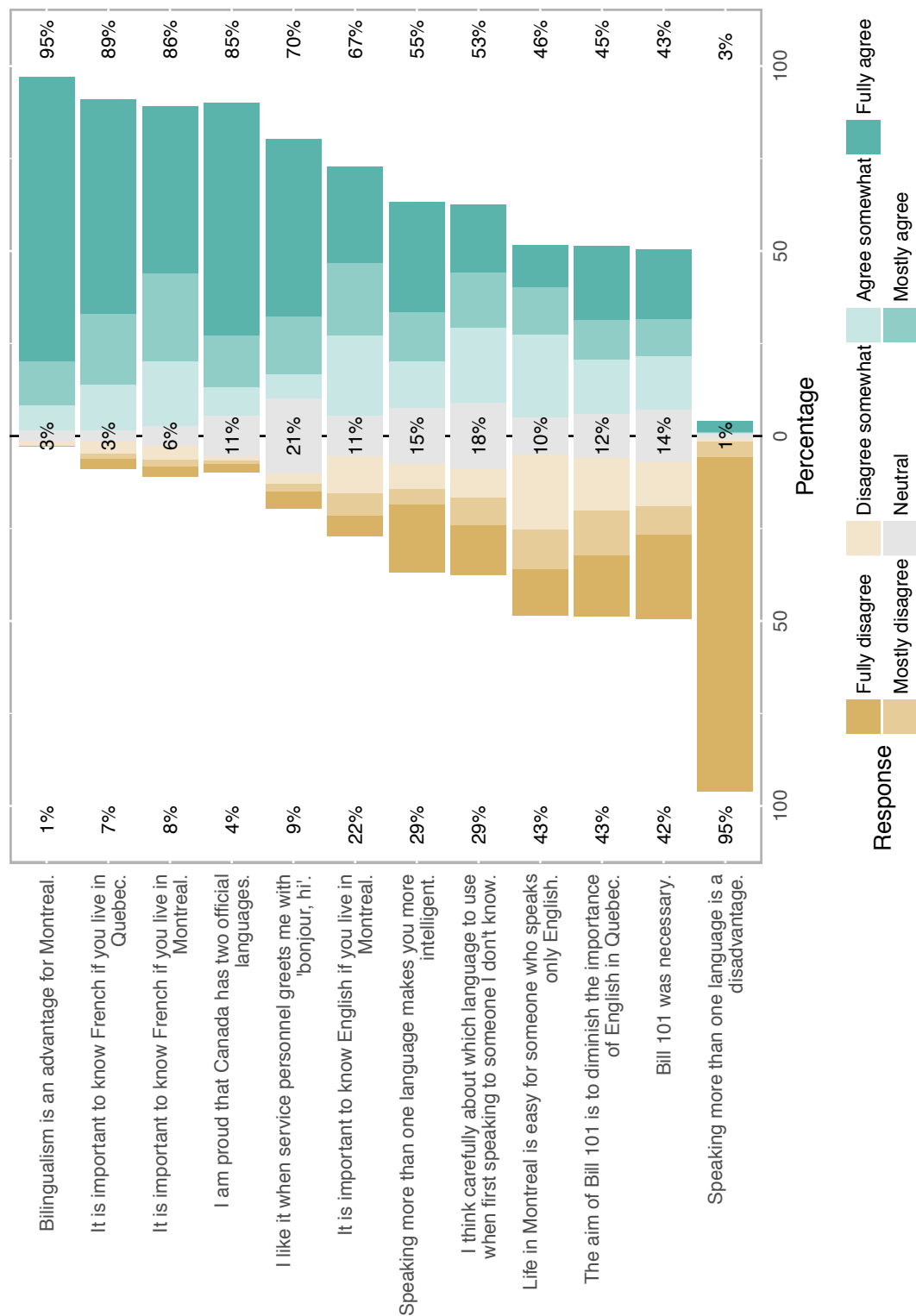
_____
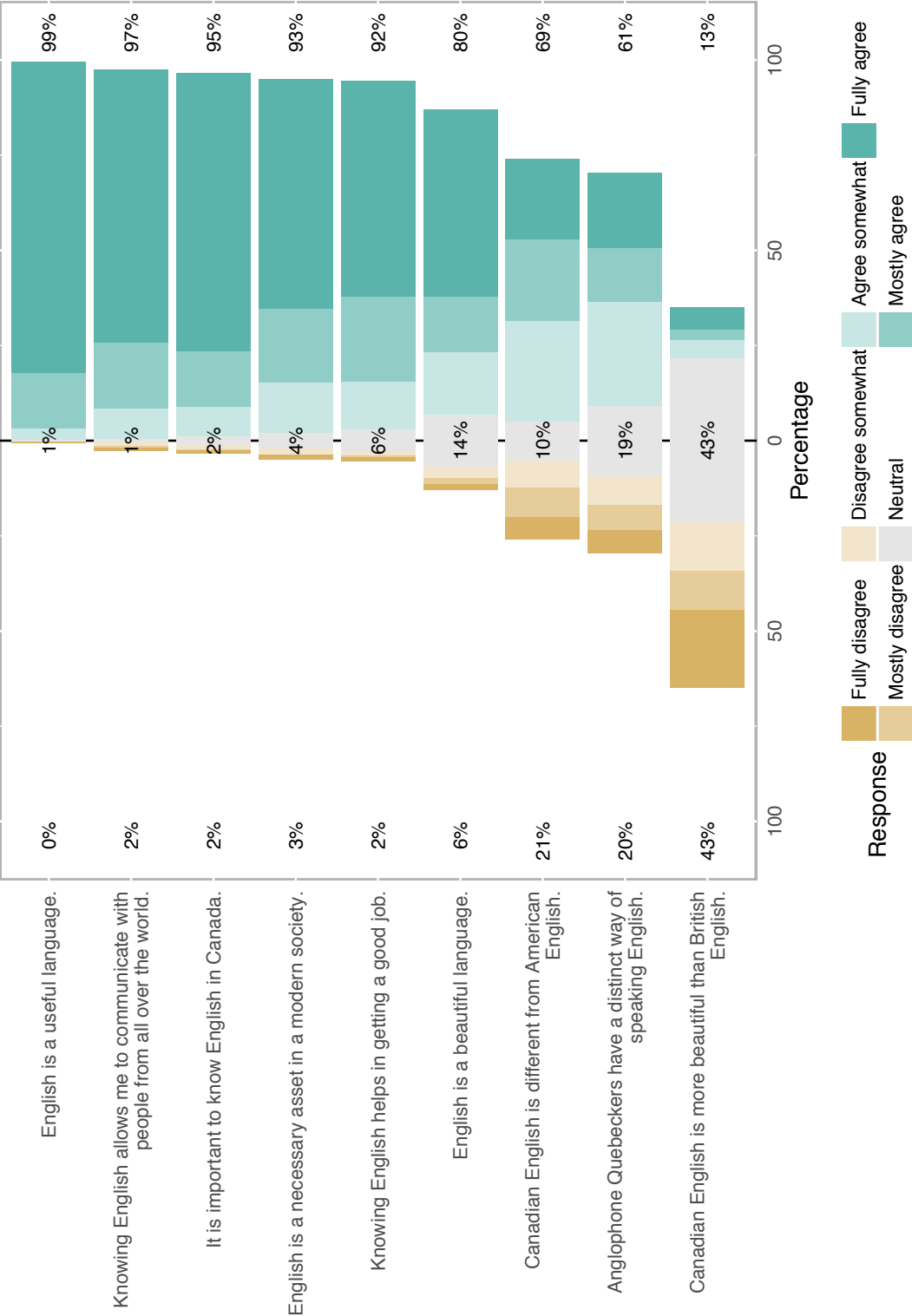
D Graphs

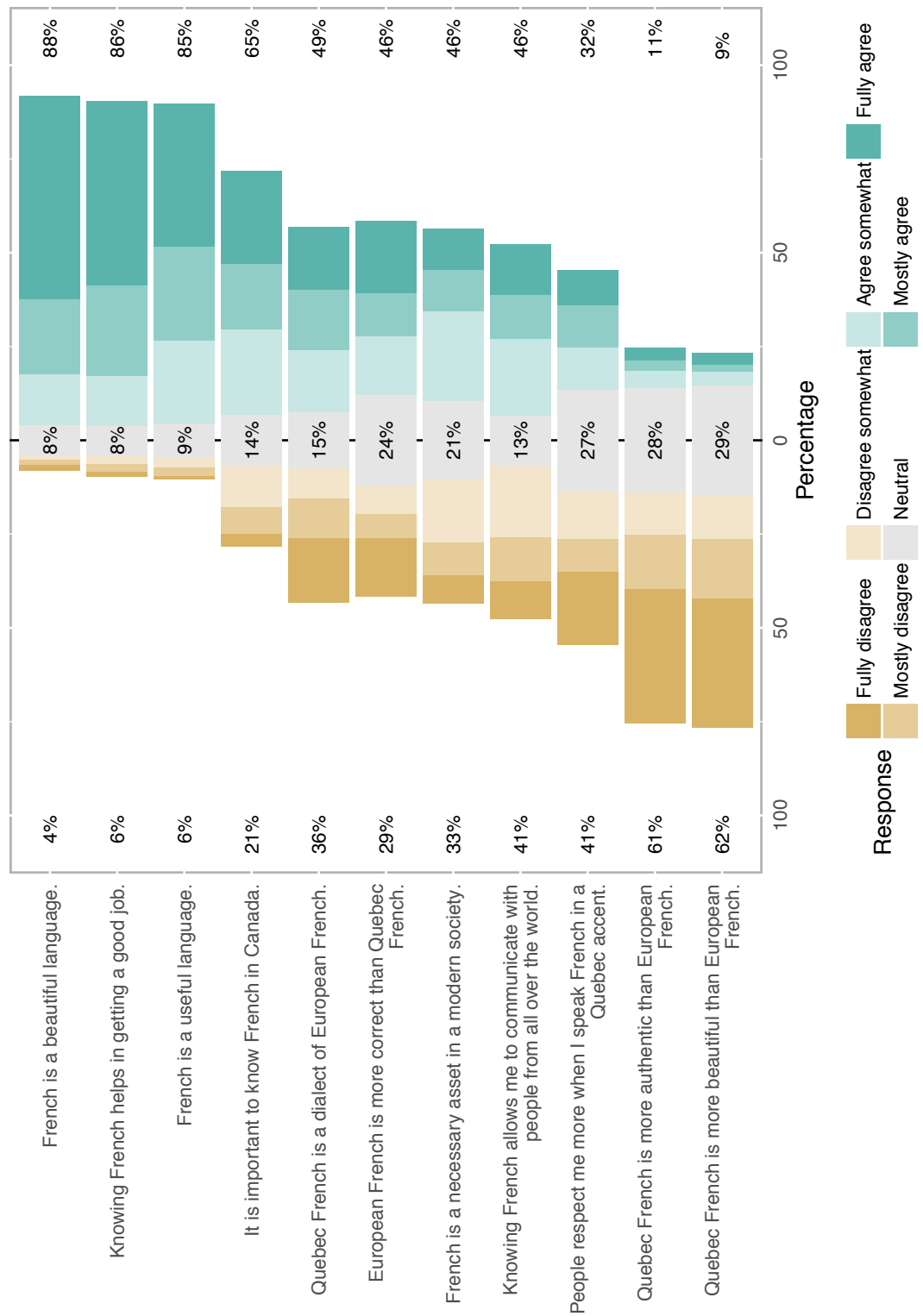Figure D.1: All responses to part 2.

Figure D.2: All responses to part 3.

Figure D.3: All responses to part 4.

E Public transit station names and their pronunciation

E.1 Montreal métro

Ligne verte	
Angrignon	ɑ̃gʁiɲɔ̃
Monk	mɔŋk
Jolicoeur	ʒɔlikœʁ
Verdun	vɛʁdœ̃
De l'Église	də legliz
LaSalle	lasal
Charlevoix	ʃaʁləvwa
Lionel-Groulx	liɔnɛl gʁu
Atwater	atwatɛʁ
Guy-Concordia	gi kɔ̃kɔʁdja
Peel	pˉil
McGill	mɛgil
Place-des-Arts	plas dezaʁ
Saint-Laurent	sɛ̃ lɔrɑ̃
Berri-UQAM	bɛʁi ykam
Beaudry	bodʁi
Papineau	papino
Frontenac	fʁɔ̃tənak
Préfontaine	pʁefɔ̃tɛn
Joliette	ʒɔljɛt
Pie-IX	pi dis
Viau	vjo
Assomption	asɔ̃psjɔ̃
Cadillac	kadilak
Langelier	lɑ̃ʒəlje
Radisson	ʁadisɔ̃
Honoré-Beaugrand	ɔnɔʁe bogʁɑ̃

Ligne orange	
Côte-Vertu	kot vɛʁty
Du Collège	dy kɔlɛʒ
De la Savane	də la savan
Namur	namyʁ
Plamondon	plamɔdɔ̃
Côte-Sainte-Catherine	kot sɛ̃t katʁin

Snowdon	snodən
Villa-Maria	vila maʁia
Vendôme	vɑ̃dom
Place-Saint-Henri	plas sɛ̃t ɑ̃ʁi
Lionel-Groulx	liɔnɛl gʁu
Georges-Vanier	ʒɔʁʒ vanje
Lucien-L'Allier	lysjɛ̃ lalje
Bonaventure	bɔnavɑ̃tyʁ
Square-Victoria	skwaʁviktɔʁja
Place-d'Armes	plas daʁm
Champ-de-Mars	ʃɑ̃ də maʁs
Berri-UQAM	bɛʁi ykam
Sherbrooke	ʃɛʁbʁuk
Mont-Royal	mɔ̃ ʁwajal
Laurier	lɔʁje
Rosemont	ʁozəmɔ̃
Beaubien	bobjɛ̃
Jean-Talon	ʒɑ̃ talɔ̃
Jarry	ʒaʁi
Crémazie	kʁemazi
Sauvé	sove
Henri-Bourassa	ɑ̃ʁi buʁasa
Cartier	kaʁtje
De la Concorde	də la kɔ̃koʁd
Montmorency	mɔ̃mɔʁɑ̃si

Ligne jaune	
Berri-UQAM	bɛʁi ykam
Jean-Drapeau	ʒɑ̃ dʁapo
Longueuil–Université-de-Sherbrooke	lɔ̃gœj ynivɛʁsite də ʃɛʁbʁuk

Ligne bleue	
Snowdon	snodən
Côte-des-Neiges	kot de nɛʒ
Université-de-Montréal	ynivɛʁsite də mɔ̃ʁeal

Édouard-Montpetit	eduaʁ mɔ̃pəti
Outremont	utʁəmɔ̃
Acadie	akadi
Parc	paʁk
De Castelnau	də kastɛlno
Jean-Talon	ʒɑ̃ talɔ̃
Fabre	fabʁ
D'Iberville	dibɛʁvil
Saint-Michel	sɛ̃ miʃɛl

E.2 Suburban railway

Line	Station name	Pronunciation	
		Expected	Observed
Saint-Jérôme	Parc	paʁk	*idem*
	Chabanel	ʃabanɛl	*idem*
	Bois-de-Boulogne	bwa də bulɔɲ	bwadbulɔɲ
	De la Concorde	də la kɔ̃kɔʁd	*idem*
	Vimont	vimɔ̃	*idem*
	Sainte-Rose	sɛ̃t ʁoz	*idem*
	Rosemère	ʁozmɛʁ	ʁozmëʁ
	Sainte-Thérèse	sɛ̃t teʁɛz	sɛ̃tɛʁɛz
	Blainville	blɛ̃vil	blĩvil
	Saint-Jérôme	sɛ̃ ʒeʁom	*idem*
Candiac	Lucien-L'Allier	lysjɛ̃ lalje	*n.an.**
	Vendôme	vãdom	*n.an.*
	Montréal-Ouest	mɔ̃real uɛst	*n.an.*
	LaSalle	lasal	*n.an.*
	Sainte-Catherine	sɛ̃t katrin	*n.an.*
	Saint-Constant	sɛ̃ kɔ̃stɑ̃	*n.an.*
	Delson	delsɔ̃	*n.an.*
	Candiac	kɑ̃diak	*n.an.*
Deux-Montagnes	Gare Centrale	gaʁ sɑ̃tʁal	*idem*
	Canora	kanɔʁa	*idem*
	Mont-Royal	mɔ̃ ʁwajal	*idem*
	Montpellier	mɔ̃pəlje	*idem*
	Du Ruisseau	dy ʁɥiso	dy *idem*
	Bois-Franc	bwa frɑ̃	bwa frɛ̃
	Sunnybrooke	sanibʁuk	sʌnibɹʊk
	Roxboro-Pierrefonds	ʁɔksbɔʁo pjɛʁəfɔ̃	ʁɔksbɔʁo pjɛʁfɔ̃
	Île-Bigras	il bigʁa	*idem*
	Sainte-Dorothée	sɛ̃t dɔʁote	*idem*
	Grand-Moulin	gʁɑ̃ mulɛ̃	*idem*
	Deux-Montagnes	dø mɔ̃taɲ	*idem*
Vaudreuil-Hudson	Lucien-L'Allier	lysjɛ̃ lalje	lysjĩ lalje
	Vendôme	vãdom	vãdom
	Montréal-Ouest	mɔ̃real uɛst	*idem*
	Lachine	laʃin	*idem*
	Dorval	dɔʁval	*idem*

	Pine Beach	pain bitʃ	paɪn biːtʃ
	Valois	valwa	*idem*
	Pointe-Claire	pwɛ̃t klɛʁ	pwɛ̃ klɛʁ
	Cedar Park	sidəʁ paʁk	siːd̪ɪ̯ pɑɹk
	Beaconsfield	bikənsfild	biːkənsfɪːɫd
	Beaurepaire	boʁəpɛʁ	*idem*
	Baie-d'Urfé	bɛ dyʁfe	be dˢyrfe
	Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue	sɛ̃t an də bɛlvy	sɛ̃t a̰ːn də bɛlvy
	Île-Perrot	il pɛʁo	il peʁo
	Pincourt-Terrasse-Vaudreuil	pɛ̃kuʁ tɛʁas vodʁœj	*idem*
	Dorion	dɔʁijɔ̃	*idem*
	Vaudreuil	vodʁœj	*idem*
	Hudson		

Mont-Saint-Hilaire	Gare Centrale	gaʁ sɑ̃tʁal	*idem*
	Saint-Lambert	sɛ̃ lɑ̃bɛʁ	sɪ̃ lɑ̃bɛʁ
	Longueuil−Saint-Hubert	lɔ̃gœj sɛ̃ ybɛʁ	sɪ̃tˢybɛʁ
	Saint-Bruno	sɛ̃ bryno	*idem*
	Saint-Basile-le-Grand	sɛ̃ bazil lə gʁɑ̃	*idem*
	McMasterville	makmastɛʁvil	mækmæstə.ɹvɪɫ
	Mont-Saint-Hilaire	mɔ̃ sɛ̃ t ilɛʁ	*idem*

* No announcements were made on either the outgoing or the return journey.