MALBAY

A Sociolinguistic Community-Study

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RESUME

Cette thèse est le résultat de huit mois de recherche sur le terrain dans le village bilingue de Malbay en Gaspésie (Province de Québec). L'ouvrage se divise en trois parties. La première partie traite des trois questions connexes du bilinguisme, de l'assimilation linguistique et de l'usage linguistique en Gaspésie et dans Malbay. L'étude de Malbay consiste en une comparaison détaillée de tous les foyers du village à deux époques différentes (1925 et 1970). Grâce à cette comparaison on aboutit à une meilleure compréhension du bilinguisme et de l'assimilation linguistique. Ces deux phénomènes sont en grande partie conditionnés par un ensemble de facteurs d'ordre démographique, économique et psychologique. La deuxième partie est une description détaillée des attitudes langagières de Malbay. Les anglophones et les francophones montrent un certain nombre d'attitudes homogènes et stéréotypées à l'égard des parlers locaux, de l'anglais standard et du français standard, de l'usage linguistique local et de certains aspects du bilinguisme. Dans la troisième partie de la thèse on trouvera une description de la prononciation, du vocabulaire et de la syntaxe de l'anglais de Malbay. L'anglais de Malbay comprend un certain nombre de traits qui, dans des ouvrages précédents, ont été mentionnés comme caractérisant d'autres variétés d'anglo-canadien. On peut aussi noter que l'anglais local contient une proportion non négligeable d'éléments linguistiques qui ont été probablement empruntés au français.

ABSTRACT

The thesis is the fruit of eight months of field research in Malbay, a bilingual village of the Gaspé (Province of Québec). The study is divided in three parts. The first one deals with the three related questions of bilingualism, language maintenance and language use in Gaspé and in Malbay. The study of Malbay involves a detailed comparison of all the households of the community at two different points in time (1925 and 1970). It provides a clearer understanding of bilingualism and language maintenance. The two phenomena are shown to be primarily conditioned by a combination of demographic, economic and attitudinal factors. In the second part, the language attitudes of the community are described in detail. Malbay anglophones and francophones hold a number of fairly homogeneous and stereotyped attitudes to the local language varieties, to standard English and standard French, to the local language use and to the various aspects of bilingualism. In the third part of the thesis one will find a description of the pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax of Malbay English. Malbay English exhibits a number of features which have already been found to characterize other varieties of Canadian English. Interestingly it also contains a substantial proportion of linguistic items which have probably been borrowed from the French language.

PREFACE

This study has been conducted in Malbay, a predominantly English-speaking but also French-speaking village, located in the Gaspé Peninsula, Québec, Canada. It is a comprehensive sociolinguistic study concerned with most of the major questions which of late have been the object of sociolinguistics. Thus it deals with bilingualism, mother tongue maintenance and mother tongue loss, language use in a bilingual setting, language attitudes and finally dialect description.

The main part of the fieldwork for the thesis was carried out in the summer months of 1970 and 1971. Shorter visits were made to the research area in the winters of 1970-1971 and 1971-1972. Altogether about eight months were spent in the field. Most of the work was done in a single village of 66 households. It was primarily based on a detailed household survey. An attempt was made to interview all heads of household using as a framework a prepared questionnaire (see appendix, p.190). As a complement to the 1970/71 household survey, information was collected on all the households in the community in the year 1925. The information provided by the old people was crosschecked against the municipal census for that year. The information for the community at the present time, as far as possible is standardized to a 1970 dateline. This was facilitated by the fact that there was a municipal census in that year. Further,special interviews (see p.158) were carried out with a number of English-speaking informants for the purpose of gathering linguistic data. Throughout my stay in the research area the household interviews and linguistic interviews were complemented by daily casual observation of the community members' language

behavior in the village. The fieldwork in the community was regarded with great suspicion by the local people. Progress with the household survey was slow. However entry into the community was helped considerably by the hospitality of several key residents. First among these was Austin Girard, a former entrepreneur and prominent figure in the locality. His help in providing accommodation, information and introductions to many people was invaluable. More rapid progress was made with the household survey in the Winter months, when the people had time to spare and had got used to seeing me around the place. However in the Summer of 1971 it became clear that there was a substantial group of people who were less willing to be interviewed. Many of these people were embarrassed by their social situation, which chiefly meant being poor and receiving welfare payments. Rather than risk rejection by the community as a whole, no pressure was put on these people to accept the interview. Instead basic non-attitudinal information was obtained for all these households from various other sources. About 50 of the 66 heads of households were interviewed directly. The historical information (about 1925) was obtained from a few selected informants. This presented no difficulties, for the local people are usually quite willing to speak about the past. In general the people of the village were very hospitable and endured persistent questioning with a great deal of patience.

Outside the community about 20 interviews were carried out with regional leaders and officials. These notably included Church and School Board personnel and officials of the Canada Manpower. Visits were made to a large number of other villages in the region. In one of these, Cape-Cove (see map C) with the assistance of Syd Cass, retired farmer, church warden

and school board secretary, a detailed survey was made of community life on the same lines as the principal community study, however the results of Cape-Cove study are not included in this thesis.

A visit was also made to Memorial University, St. John's, for discussion of the work with members of the department of English Studies and the Department of Linguistics.

Many people have assisted in the course of the research though the final responsibility for the contents of this thesis remains mine. I carried out nearly all my field-work with Roger Clarke, now Ph.D. graduate from the department of Geography at McGill University. His study is concerned with the way the population of Malbay has adapted to economic change which has been partly the result of government intervention. His study describes in detail the breakdown of the traditional peasant economy which characterized Malbay until the 1930's. It analyzes the consequences of the recent government intervention in the local economy which is chiefly restricted to the distribution of transfer payments and the impact of the government policy of regionalization. His study is also concerned with the status of the English-speaking minority in rural Québec and the importance of bilingualism as a factor of economic change in the local economy. To Dr. Clarke I owe an increased awareness and understanding of the importance of sociological and economic factors in a bilingual region. More important I shared with him all the hopes and frustrations of the field-work. By comparing our divergent perceptions and drawing from each other's methodological and theoretical background, we were able to gain a better understanding of the community than would have been possible on our own. My deepest gratitude goes to the many people of the Gaspé Coast, too numerous to name, who

helped in the research by providing information and assistance. To mention a few implies omitting many whose contribution was also valuable. However I am very grateful to the local Catholic priest M. l'Abbé Jiona and to the Anglican minister, Rev. David Belden. Among local people, Syd Cass, Austin Girard, Vane Le Page, Eugene Chicoine, Leonard Girard and members of their families were outstandingly generous. Among non-local Gaspesians I want to mention Lorne Hayes and Arthur Le Gros. In the university world, various people have read the thesis during its preparation and provided helpful criticism; notably Richard Tucker, David Lightfoot and Françoise Donzeaud. I have received most assistance from my supervisors John Macnamara and Rose-Marie Weber who provided a good deal of patient criticism and moral support in the darker days. Finally I am grateful to the Federal Government for a Canada Council Scholarship which enabled me to study and carry out research in Canada, and to McGill University for a summer travel grant in 1971, and the Max Binz bursary organization for a summer grant in 1972. Without all these the research would have been impossible.

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INTRODUCTION

The Scope of the Thesis

The present thesis is divided into three chapters. At the beginning of each chapter the reader will find a review of the major recent studies related to the matters dealt with in the chapter. With this, he will also find a detailed outline of the content and main findings of the chapter.

Chapter I deals with: (a) bilingualism among the anglophones and the francophones; (b) the maintenance of English and French and (c) the language use of the anglophones and the francophones, in the Gaspé, in Gaspé County East (regional unit including Malbay) and in Malbay over the last forty years or so. The study is primarily based on an analysis of information drawn from the Canadian Census and of information gathered during interviews conducted in Gaspé County East and in Malbay.

Chapter II is divided into two parts. The first one deals with the theoretical and methodological problems of language attitude studies in the context of a community. The second part consists of an ethnographic description of Malbay anglophones and francophones' language attitudes. The description focuses on the attitudes of both language groups to the local language varieties, to the local patterns of language use and to several aspects of bilingualism. The study is based on an analysis of attitudinal material gathered during tape-recorded interviews conducted in almost all of Malbay households.

Chapter III is a description of the variety of English spoken in Malbay. The dialect is described at the three levels of phonology, lexicon and syntax. Throughout the description the findings of several recent

descriptions of varieties of Canadian and American English lend perspective to the interpretation of the data. The material for this study was gathered during a series of specially designed tape-recorded interviews conducted in the community.

I believe the thesis to be unique in two respects. It is the first time in the field of sociolinguistics that all the questions mentioned above are studied together in a single community. It is also the first time in the field that a microstudy of bilingualism, language maintenance and language shift, and language use involves a detailed comparison of the community at two different points in time (1925 and 1970).

There are several ways in which it is hoped this thesis will make an original contribution to knowledge. It studies in detail the bilingualism and language maintenance trends of the various ethnic groups of the community. This detailed study affords a clearer understanding of bilingualism and language maintenance in a traditional Canadian community. The study of language attitudes yields a substantial amount of new information as regards the way a community of Canadian anglophones perceive their own dialect and the language variety spoken by the French-speaking minority of the village; the attitudinal study also provides new information as regards the way the same anglophones perceive several different aspects of bilingualism. It is also the first time that the language attitudes of Canadian anglophones and Canadian francophones are systematically contrasted. The description of the dialect spoken in the research area is also an original contribution to knowledge in the field of Canadian English dialectal studies. It is the first description of a variety of English spoken in rural Quebec and more specifically in the Gaspé Peninsula.

CHAPTER I

BILINGUALISM, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE USE

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Related studies

Chapter I deals with the related questions of bilingualism, language maintenance and language shift and domains of language use. These three questions have been lately the objects of several sociolinguistic case studies. Such studies belong to two categories: macrostudies and microstudies. The macrostudies investigate the three questions just mentioned at the group level and focus on large population units: cities, states or countries. Among recent major macrostudies, one can quote those of Haugen (1953), Fishman (1966), Cooper (1969), Lieberson (1970), Macnamara (1971). Microstudies deal with smaller population units (town or villages). Unfortunately, there is a dearth of such studies in the subfield of language maintenance and bilingualism. One can mention here the studies of Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1968), Rubin (1968), Weber (1967) and Tumin (1952) .The latter is a community study which deals only incidentally with bilingualism and language use.

Fishman's study deals with the maintenance of non-English mother tongue in the U.S.A., Haugen's with the maintenance of Norwegian. Fishman and Haugen study the maintenance of non-English mother tongues over the last hundred years or so. In their studies, they show clearly that language maintenance and its converse, language shift, are closely related to a number of different factors, among these, the numerical strength of the ethnic mother tongue groups, the location of the ethnic groups (country vs. city),

the socioeconomic status of the members of the ethnic groups, their religious affiliation, their attitudes toward the ethnic language and toward English, and last but not least, their bilingualism (i.e. their knowledge and usage of English and of the ethnic mother tongue). Thanks to Fishman's and Haugen's studies, a better understanding of the mechanisms of language maintenance has been achieved.

Cooper's "Language Survey of Ethiopia" is a collection of different studies which describe the status of Amharic (Ethiopia's official language) and the other languages spoken in the country (mainly Galla and Tigrinya and English). The author studies successively language use in the government sphere, the court, the factories, the schools and more generally in the country and the towns. Amharic is the dominant language of Ethiopia; it claims more speakers than the other languages, especially in the towns. Analysis of the Ethiopian census indicates that in the towns especially, Amharic is displacing the other languages. Amharic is the language which is mostly favored and used in the government, the court, the factories and in the few primary and elementary schools of the country (higher education is mostly given in English). In a concluding study, Cooper predicts that with the joint development of schooling, and of the mass media, Amharic will spread rapidly throughout Ethiopia.

Lieberson's more recent study of the maintenance of English and French in Canada has a similar orientation to that of Fishman and Haugen's studies although it focuses primarily on the role played by purely sociological factors to the exclusion of psychological ones (language attitudes) in the maintenance of French and English in Canada. His study shows that Quebec is the only Canadian province where French has succeeded in maintaining

itself. In all the other provinces, a varying number of French Canadians have been assimilated to the English-speaking group. This he mainly attributes to the fact that the French Canadians are a minority in those provinces, that they lack some of the institutions necessary to maintain their language, and that the usage of French is increasingly restricted to the home domain.

In his study of the displacement of Irish by English in Ireland, Macnamara examines the reasons why so far the movement for the restoration of Irish has achieved only little success over the past 70 years or so. The author examines in great detail the status of Irish and English at all levels of education in Ireland. It appears that the higher the educational level the less Irish is taught or used as a medium of instruction. Then the author procedes to examine the status of Irish and English in the three spheres of officialdom, business, and the church. In comparison to English (the dominant language) Irish is very little used in all three spheres. The author attributes the failure of the restoration movement to the fact that the efforts made by the schools to promote the learning and use of Irish are met with indifference by the greater part of Irish society.

Fishman, Cooper and Ma's research project focuses on bilingualism and language use in a Puerto-Rican neighborhood in Jersey City, New Jersey. The report is mainly composed of three types of studies: sociological, psychological and linguistic studies. Two of the sociological studies will be examined here. The first of the two studies is: "A Sociological Census of a Bilingual Neighborhood" by Fishman. It is based on a household-language survey conducted in the neighborhood selected for study. The members of 86 households were asked questions about their proficiency in speaking, reading

and writing Spanish and English and also about their use of English and Spanish in the domains of the home, work and religion. Patterns of domain dominance emerge from the answers of the household members. Dominance variation is correlated with the socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents. In the second study "Situational Measures of Language Use in Relation to Person, Place and Topic among Puerto-Rican Bilinguals", L. Greenfield and J. Fishman devised and used the following method: a selected sample of bilingual subjects were asked to assess how much Spanish and English they would use in a number of hypothetical predefined conversations. The three components of the conversation were: Person, Place and Topic. These components illustrated one or another of five different domains: Family, Friendship, Religion, Education and Employment. The responses of the subjects suggest that in the community studied, the amount of Spanish and English used for conversation differs according to the domain of interaction. Also within a given domain, the language preferences of the subjects are shown to be almost entirely the result of interlocutor differences and only marginally the result of differences in topic and locale.

Weber's study is concerned with Maya/Spanish bilingualism in a Mexican village and more specifically the bilingualism of the preschoolers. Her microstudy gives a detailed account of the forces which bring about the displacement of a weak language (Maya) by a strong one (Spanish). Thus Spanish is shown to serve an increasing number of functions which used to be served by Maya. Spanish is used as the only medium of education at the local school. Its worth and prestige are rated higher than those of Maya by most community members. The village preschoolers were found at the

time of the study to acquire some Spanish before going to school; this was not the case 30 years ago. The author hypothesizes that Maya will be soon displaced by Spanish.

Rubin's study of Guarani/Spanish bilingualism in Paraguay, is chiefly based on two microstudies of bilingualism, language maintenance and language use conducted in one village and one small town which the author claims are two representatives of the overall Paraguayan culture. The study shows that both in the country and the towns, but especially in the country, the majority of the people have Guarani as a first language; rural citizens tend to have less bilingual proficiency than urban citizens; amount of schooling is the single most important factor in determining Spanish proficiency. The author predicts that the number of bilingual Paraguayians is likely to increase in the future but that Spanish is not likely to displace Guarani. This is due to the fact that Guarani and Spanish are mutually exclusive in a substantial number of domains of usage and are likely to remain so in the future.

In his study of a linguistically and ethnically mixed village of Guatemala, Tumin devotes a chapter to bilingualism and language use. The village is a self-contained community composed of about two-thirds of Indians and one-third of Spaniards. The Spanish-speaking group controls the local economy. There are scarcely any Spaniards who know the Indian dialect whereas almost all the Indian adult population has some knowledge of Spanish. Despite the huge proportion of bilinguals among the Indian villagers the Indian dialect showed little signs of being displaced by Spanish at the time of the study. This was due to two factors mainly, the near absence of interethnic marriages and the relative strength and

intactness of the local Indian culture. The Indians view the use of their dialect as the hallmark of Indianness. The Indian dialect is the only language of the home and is used in all intergroup matters.

1.1.2 Scope of Chapter I

Chapter I starts with a macrostudy of the English-speaking and the French-speaking populations of the Gaspé Peninsula focusing on their socio-economic status, mother tongue retention trends and bilingualism rates, over the last 40 years or so. This is followed by a similar but more fine-grained study of the anglophones and francophones of Gaspé County East regional unit which includes Malbay.

The two macrostudies are primarily based on an analysis of information drawn from the Canadian census, and on the contents of several interviews of key-Gaspesian people in the government, educational, economic and religious spheres, that I conducted in the course of my field research. The two studies have an orientation similar to the macrostudies reviewed above. They show that the Gaspesian anglophones have on the whole succeeded in maintaining their language despite their being a minority in the Gaspé. The anglophones are also shown to include fewer bilinguals than the francophones in situations where both groups are a minority. The good mother tongue retention and low bilingualism rate of the Gaspesian anglophones, are to a great extent attributable to the fact that until very recently, they have controlled the major part of the Gaspesian economy. This economic control has contributed to strengthen the status of English in the Gaspé. The two macrostudies are followed by a detailed microstudy of Malbay as it stood in 1925 and as it was in 1970 (see Preface) when the research was conducted.

The study consists of an analysis of (a) information for the years 1925 and 1970 about the status of French and English in the local institutions and industry; (b) information about the occupations of all the heads of household, the language abilities of all the heads of household and their wives, their religious and ethnic affiliation, and the local marriage pattern; (c) to this should be added, for the year 1970, information about the language abilities of all the children living at home, the language in which they are brought up at home and the language in which they are educated at school. The microstudy focuses on the two areas of bilingualism and mother tongue retention which are both analyzed in great detail. Both in 1925 and 1970 the francophone minority have a high proportion of bilinguals in their ranks, whereas the anglophone majority have very few bilinguals. The differences of bilingualism rate across language groups are correlated with a number of factors such as, the numerical strength of each language group, the local marriage patterns, language use in the local industry and institutions, and the economic status of each language group. Both in 1925 and 1970 the French-speaking group shows a poor level of mother tongue retention. The French-speaking group was composed of Catholic French Canadians and Protestant French people from the Channel Islands who speak a variety of French known as Norman French. The latter group suffered considerable losses through assimilation. By 1925, around 90% of the Norman French population had already been assimilated to the English-speaking group. In 1970, the assimilation was complete. The microstudy shows that the assimilation of the Norman French people can be chiefly attributed to their religious affiliation and the patois status of Norman French. The local French Canadian group has been somewhat more successful

in maintaining its language. However their resistance to assimilation is only relative, for both in 1925 and 1970 about half of the French Canadians are assimilated to the English-speaking group. The losses suffered by the French Canadians can be chiefly explained by the overall higher status of English locally, a consequence of the dominance of the anglophones on the local and regional economy. The additional information about language use at home, and the language abilities of the children in 1970 affords a more refined understanding of assimilation. Linguistically-mixed marriages are shown to be the main source of language shift in Malbay. The shift toward English is linked with the fact that the bilingual parents of linguistically-mixed households give preference to English as a home language, as the language in which they bring up their children and as the language in which their children are educated at school. These choices are correlated with the dominant status of English in Malbay and neighboring villages.

1.2 General description of the English-speaking and French-speaking population from the Gaspé[1]

1.2.1 Settlement of the Peninsula

The majority of the ancestors of the present day Gaspesian people settled the Gaspé during the period 1760-1875. After this period there has been little immigration but there has been a sizable amount of emigration toward the city. In fact, it is commonly believed that there are more Gaspesians in Montreal than in the Gaspé.

Following the Conquest in 1760 a number of different ethnic groups arrived in the Gaspé. They were respectively Channel Islanders from the

Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, Loyalists from the U.S.A., Irish, Scots and English. These people chiefly settled the south coast of the Peninsula. Following the expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia a group of Acadian people settled the area now known as Bonaventure County. They grew in numbers and some of them moved later on to the Malbay area.

In the eastern and northern part of the Peninsula a substantial French Canadian population settled and grew during the XIXth Century.

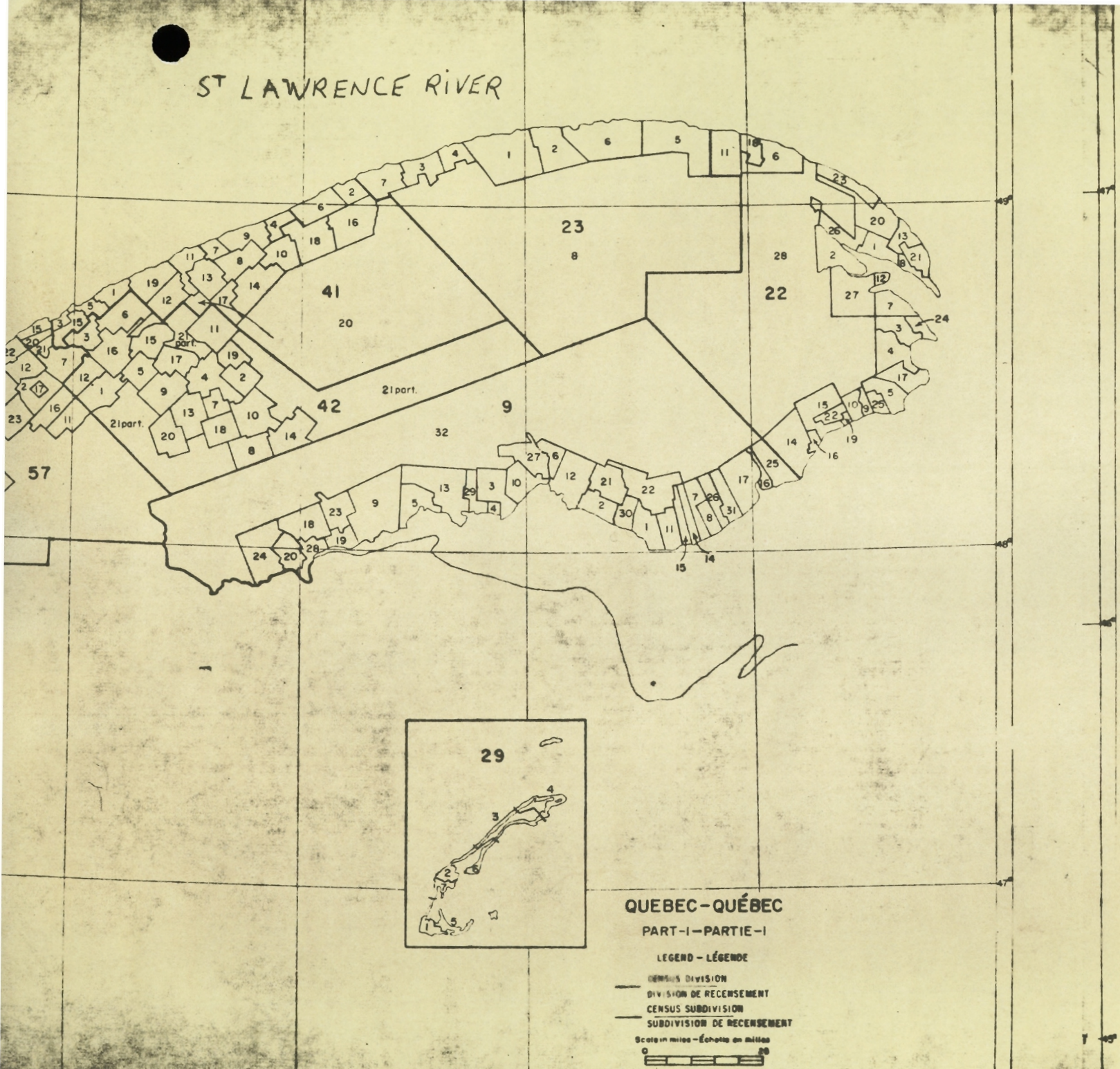
All these various ethnic groups are still represented in Gaspé County East, regional unit, including our community and extending from Grande-Vallée to New Port (see maps A and B).

In 1970 descendants of all the different ethnic groups mentioned above were to be found in varying proportions in Malbay.

1.2.2 The Gaspé Peninsula today

The Gaspé had a total population of 177,477 in 1961.[2] It is divided into five counties: Gaspé East which includes our community and constitutes the eastern end of the Peninsula, the counties of Gaspé West and Matane which include most of the villages located on the north coast of the Peninsula, Bonaventure county which includes most of the villages located on the south coast of the Peninsula and finally Matapedia county which comprises a few localities situated alongside the CN railroad track which runs along the Matapedia river.

Out of these five counties only two have a significant proportion of anglophones (Gaspé East, and Bonaventure) whereas the north side of the Gaspé (approximately Gaspé West and Matane) is almost completely a French-speaking area. Matapedia county is also predominantly French speaking.



Map A

This map of the Gaspé shows county and municipal boundaries.

9 Bonaventure

22 Gaspé East

23 Gaspé West

29 The Magdalen Islands

41 Matane

42 Matapedia

Municipal unit 24 of county 22 (Gaspé East) includes Malbay.

We shall reproduce here language information for the five counties calculated on the basis of 1961 census.

Table (1) Proportions of people of English mother tongue and French mother tongue in each county.

	English mother tongue population	French mother tongue population
Bonaventure	15%	84%
Gaspé East	18%	81%
Greater Matane[3] (Matane / Matapedia)	0.6%	99%
Gaspé West	5%	95%

It appears quite clearly from the above tabulated data that the English-speaking people from the Gaspé are a minority both at the regional and county level. The English-speaking population of Gaspé West and Greater Matane is almost insignificant.

Table (2) Proportions of bilingual[4] anglophones and bilingual francophones in each county.

	English mother tongue bilinguals	French mother tongue bilinguals
Bonaventure	17%	16%
Gaspé East	30%	15%
Greater Matane	50%	6%
Gaspé West	21%	6%

It is surprising to see that only 30% of the English-speaking population of Gaspé East is bilingual. A higher percentage of bilingual anglophones might have been expected on account of the fact that the county is predominantly French-speaking. We shall see further on, that the influence of demographic factors (the size of each language group) on bilingualism appears clearly at a more local level.[5] We shall see as well, that demographic factors are only one among many that can be correlated with bilingualism.

Taking into consideration the language-group proportions at the county level, the percentage of bilinguals among Bonaventure county anglophones appears surprisingly low. However one should know that the two biggest urban centers of the county with a significant proportion of anglophones (New-Richmond and Carleton) are spatially and economically close to New-Brunswick. The town of New-Carlisle and neighboring communities also constitute an area comprising a significant proportion of anglophones but there the anglophones are less numerous than in the New-Richmond-Carleton area.

Although no detailed analysis of bilingualism at a micro level will be made for Bonaventure county it can be assumed that the local variation which will be found for Gaspé East would also obtain for Bonaventure county.

The proportions of bilinguals for Greater Matane make more sense if one remembers the proportions of anglophones and francophones in this county. The high percentage of bilingual anglophones in Greater Matane may be partly attributed to the fact that, to our knowledge, nowhere in Greater Matane do the anglophones form substantial communities at the

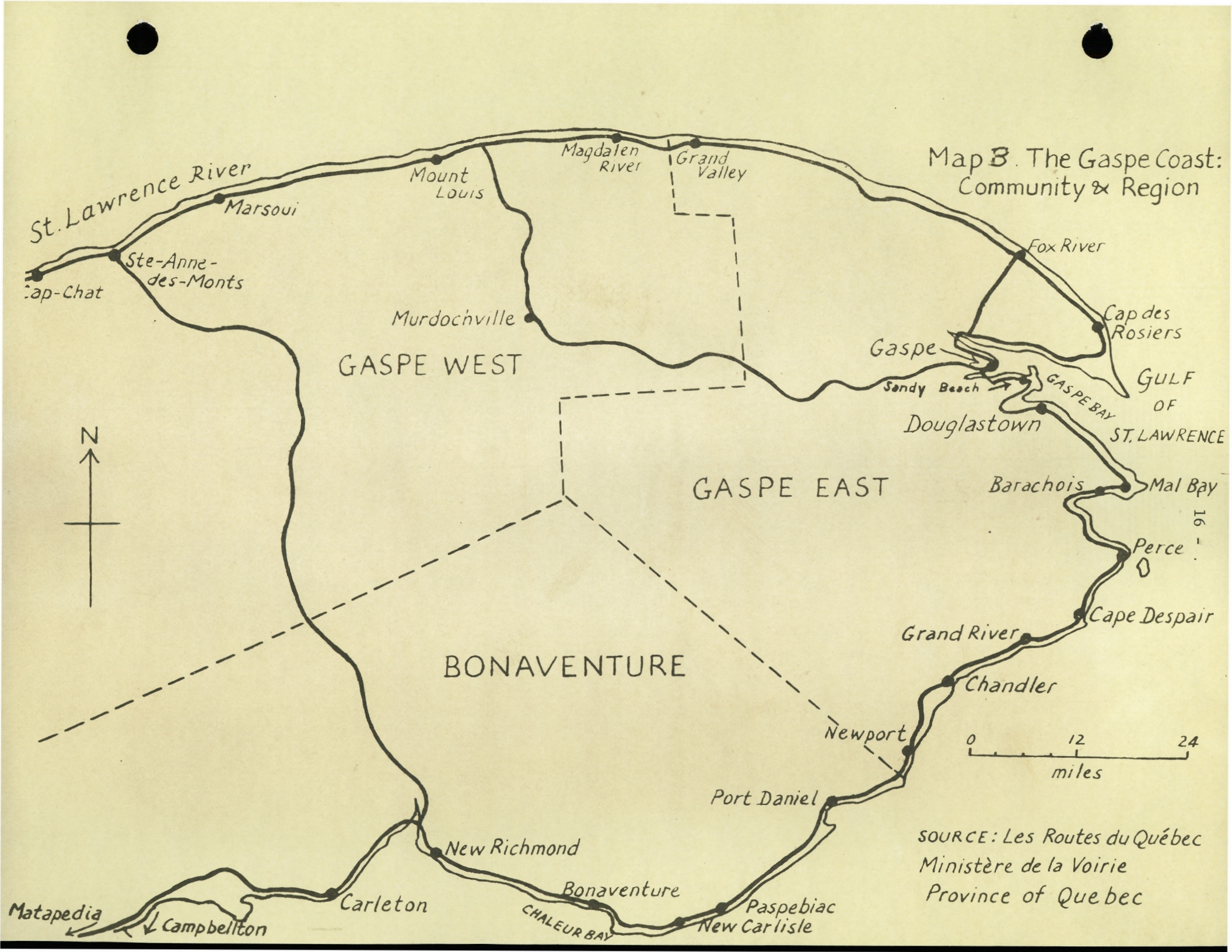
local level. It should also be noted that despite the near absence of anglophones in the counties of Matane and Matapedia the francophones have a relatively high percentage of bilinguals. As already noted this suggests that factors other than purely demographic ones are at work upon the bilingualism of the francophones in the Gaspé. We think in this respect that the overall economic importance of English in Québec and in Canada may well induce a certain proportion of francophones to acquire English, even in places where English speakers are virtually non-existent. The comments made for Matane and Matapedia countries we think apply also for Gaspé County West.

It appears from these data that the north side of the Gaspé Peninsula (Gaspé West and Matane counties) constitutes a "truly" French-speaking area characterized by a high proportion of monolingual French-speakers and a marginal minority of relatively bilingual anglophones.

In Bonaventure County and Gaspé East the presence of locally "strong" English-speaking communities shows at the county level and probably helps to explain the relatively low percentage of bilingual anglophones and the relatively high percentage of bilingual francophones.

Table (3) Maintenance of both language groups in Bonaventure and Gaspé East.

Bonaventure	English mother tongue population	French mother tongue population
	6,093	35,857
	British ethnic group population	French ethnic group population
	5,896	35,727


Map B. The Gaspe Coast: Community & Region
St. Lawrence River
Marsoui
Mount Louis
Magdalen River
Grand Valley
Ste-Anne-des-Monts
Cap-Chat
Murdochville
GASPE WEST
Fox River
Cap des Rosiers
Gaspe
Sandy Beach
GASPE BAY
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
Douglastown
GASPE EAST
Barachois
Mal Bay
Perce
Cape Despair
Grand River
Chandler
Newport
BONAVENTURE
Port Daniel
New Richmond
Bonaventure
Paspebiac
New Carlisle
CHALEUR BAY
Carleton
Matapedia
Campbellton
N
0 12 24
miles
SOURCE: Les Routes du Québec
Ministère de la Voirie
Province of Quebec
- 16 -

Gaspé East	English mother tongue population	French mother tongue population
	6,424	34,754
	British ethnic group population	French ethnic group population
	6,557	34,295

The figures of table (3) suggest a basically stable linguistic situation with only relatively small losses suffered by the English-speaking group. The minor gains made by the French-speaking one represent the presence of a few isolated Catholic groups which were once English speaking and were assimilated by the French. This will be analysed in more detail later on.

Owing to lack of relevant explanatory information for the other two counties mother-tongue retention trends have not been examined.

1.2.2.1 Gaspé County East and Bonaventure County: Socioeconomic status of the English-speaking population

The English-speaking Protestant population which constitutes the bulk of the anglophones in these two counties held a position of socioeconomic dominance during a period which extends approximately from the first half of the XIXth Century to the beginning of the "Great Depression". This was true of communities in which they were not numerically superior. They controlled the most important economic institutions, namely paper mills and saw mills and the various plants and factories linked with the fishing industry. In this respect the Channel Islands company, Robin Jones, owned a series of fishing establishments, stores and plants located all along the south coast and the eastern end of the north coast, see Clarke (1972).

Owing to their higher economic status which often went along with better education, they often held key positions in the local institutions, including municipal councils.

In most localities where they were present they had their own churches and system of education which was long considered to provide a better education than the Catholic schools.

However the "Great Depression" in the 30's and a combination of other factors, (Clarke 1972), brought about a severe economic recession in the Gaspé which has since been more or less endemic. The majority of the establishments mentioned above were closed down. This, combined with a rising standard of education which produced a change in people's aspirations, brought about heavy emigration to the more prosperous urban centers located outside the Gaspé (mainly Montreal and Toronto). By the beginning of the second world war the English-speaking Protestants had lost much of their socioeconomic dominance. They had also suffered severe losses from emigration, much more so than the francophones. The French have been less affected by emigration. Once the economic underdogs, they have recently taken over and gained control of a substantial part of what is left of the regional or local economy. They benefit more from the regional development plans devised and implemented by the provincial government. Language considerations may be partly at the root of this for most of these regional planning bodies operate in French.

The francophones are daily informed about matters of interest to the economic life of the Gaspé through the medium of newscasts televized from a regional station located in Bonaventure County. No such programs exist for the anglophones. The Gaspésian anglophones have no T.V. or radio stations

of their own, or more exactly no station located in the Gaspé. Programs from Montréal's main English-speaking T.V. or radio stations cannot reach their homes. They listen to programs transmitted from stations located in the maritime provinces. Needless to say most of the "local news" broadcast by these stations are of little interest to the English Gaspesians. On account of the distance, reception of maritime T.V. programs is sometimes poorer than reception on the French channel. Poor T.V. reception and most of all lack of regional news is complained about by the anglophones from Malbay. It was rumored in 1971 that the provincial government was about to take steps toward the installation of an English-speaking regional T.V. station for the benefit of Gaspé anglophones.

We shall now focus our description on Gaspé County East which turns out to be a more significant unit for our community from both the economic and linguistic point of view. It is also an area with which I have gained a considerable familiarity because of frequent visits to a number of its most important localities, and because I met and interviewed some of their local "leaders".

1.2.2.2 Gaspé County East

The county shoreline which is the only substantially populated area extends from Grande-Vallée (northern end of the County) to Newport (southern end of the County). The English-speaking minority group is located in an area which extends from Cape Bon Ami also known as Cape Gaspé to the locality of Cap d'Espoir or Cape Despair (see map C).

The following data will be tabulated and organised at two levels. The first level is the administrative county (Gaspé East), the second level is

the smaller above mentioned area (from Cape Bon Ami to Cape Despair) which contains a substantial proportion of anglophones.[6] We shall give this sub-region the name of Gaspé Bay.

Table (4) Population trends for Gaspé County East and Gaspé Bay (1931 to 1961)

Total population

	1931	1941	1951	1961
Gaspé East	-[7]	33,871	37,442	41,333
Gaspé Bay	12,368	13,915	14,375	15,181

Table (5) Compared evolution of the size of both language groups (1931 to 1961)

(a) French mother tongue population

	1931	1941	1951	1961
Gaspé East	-	26,303	30,368	34,754
Gaspé Bay	6,032	7,265	-	9,594

(b) English mother tongue population

	1931	1941	1951	1961
Gaspé East	-	7,537	7,042	6,424
Gaspé Bay	6,310	6,635	-	5,484

From this we can see that the English-speaking population has declined numerically and proportionately. In 1931 it made up 51% of Gaspé Bay but only 31% in 1961. The same trend is noticeable at the county level where

the anglophones represented only 18% of the total population in 1961.

Table (6) Compared evolution of the size of the Anglo-Protestant group and the Anglo-Catholic group (1931 to 1961).

(a) English mother tongue Protestant population

	1931	1941	1951	1961
Gaspé County East	-	3,851	3,300	2,931
Gaspé-Bay	3,676	3,663	3,154	2,834

(b) English mother tongue Catholic population[8]

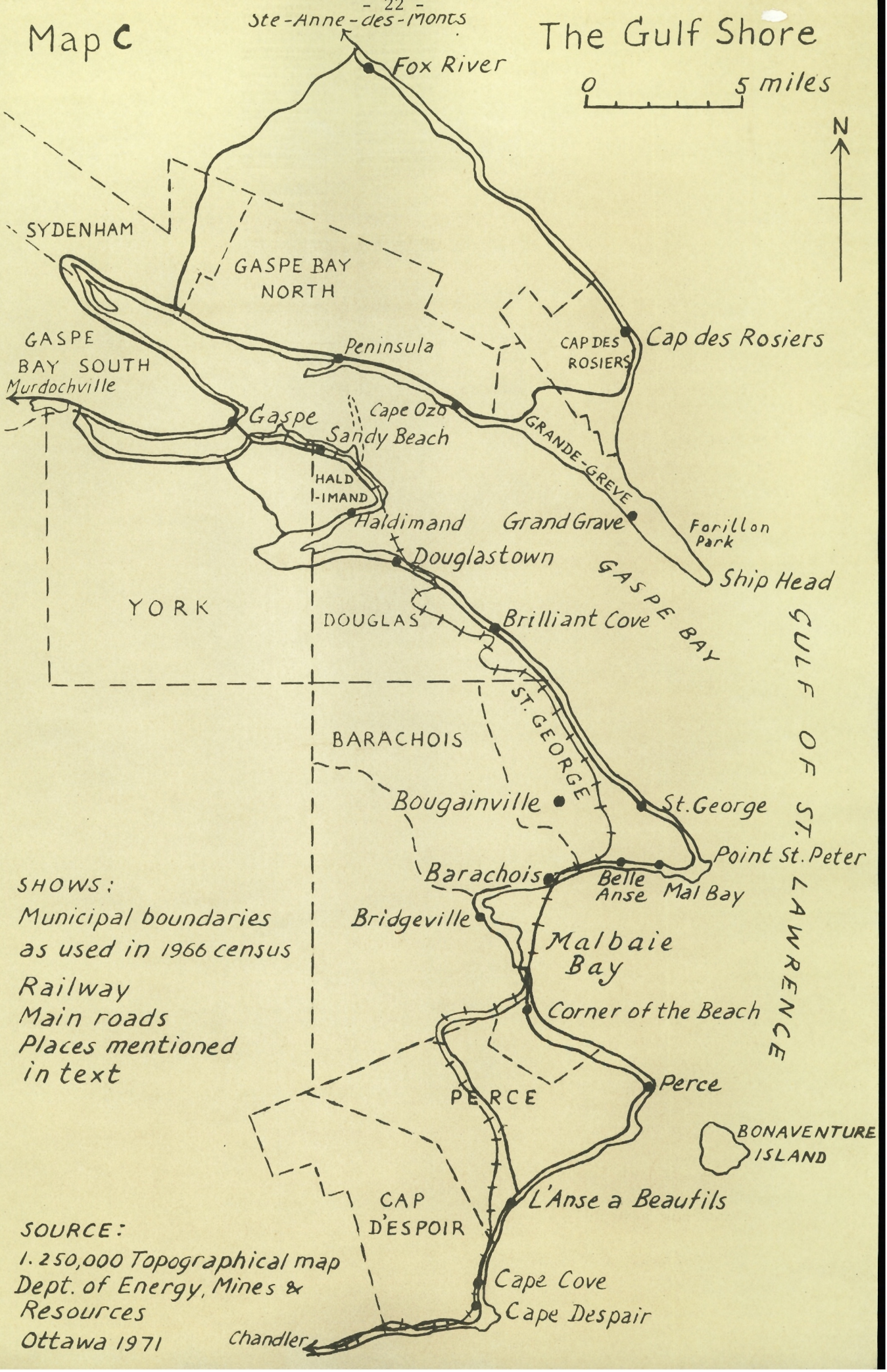
	1931	1941	1951	1961
Gaspé County East	-	3,636	3,742	3,443
Gaspé-Bay	2,634	2,972	-	2,650

Table (7) Maintenance of both language groups in Gaspé East.

1961 Gaspé East	English mother tongue population	French mother tongue population
	6,424	34,754
	British ethnic group population	French ethnic group population
	6,557	34,295

These figures indicate that the English-speaking group suffered only marginal losses through assimilation. Likewise the gains made by the French-speaking group are very small.

The overall decline of the English-speaking population is therefore explained by emigration losses. This is even more apparent in the case of


Map C
The Gulf Shore
0 5 miles
N
Ste-Anne-des-Monts
Fox River
SYDENHAM
GASPE BAY NORTH
GASPE BAY SOUTH
Murdochville
Peninsula
CAP DES ROSIERS
Cap des Rosiers
Gaspe
Cape Ozo
Sandy Beach
GRANDE-GREVE
HALD-IMAND
Haldimand
Grand Grave
Forillon Park
Douglastown
Ship Head
GASPE BAY
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
YORK
DOUGLAS
Brilliant Cove
ST. GEORGE
BARACHOIS
Bougainville
St. George
Point St. Peter
Barachois
Belle Anse
Mal Bay
Bridgeville
Malbaie Bay
Corner of the Beach
Perce
PERCE
BONAVENTURE ISLAND
CAP D'ESPOIR
L'Anse a Beaufils
Cape Cove
Cape Despair
Chandler
SHOWS:
Municipal boundaries as used in 1966 census
Railway
Main roads
Places mentioned in text
SOURCE:
1.250,000 Topographical map
Dept. of Energy, Mines & Resources
Ottawa 1971

the Anglo-Protestant group which shows a stronger population decline than the Anglo-Catholic group. The emigration losses of the English-speaking Protestants have already been accounted for in the preceding section. The small losses suffered by the nglophones as a whole have only very little affected the Protestant anglophones. Marriages across religious lines (religiously-mixed marriages) have until very recently been virtually non-existent because they were condemned by religious authorities. Besides, religiously-mixed marriages are not necessarily also linguistically mixed, for Protestant anglophones can marry English-speaking Catholics.

On the basis of our detailed study of Malbay and the study of several neighboring parish records,[9] we see that the main source of assimilation was linguistically-mixed marriages where one partner gave up his mother tongue and educated his children in the other language. The study also showed that there were only very few cases where bilingual married partners of identical mother tongue gave up their mother tongue for their common second language. They were therefore only a marginal source of assimilation.[10]

It appears from this that assimilation has mainly affected the English-speaking Catholic group. However it has done so only marginally for if assimilation within the Catholic group is more prevalent than between Protestant anglophones and Catholic francophones, it has taken place in both directions, i.e. the French-speaking Catholics assimilated the English-speaking Catholics and vice versa. The two directions of assimilation more or less neutralized each other hence the slight losses suffered by the English-speaking group as a whole.

1.2.2.3 Gaspé Town

Before focusing on the Malbay community we shall pay some attention to Gaspé town. Gaspé is the administrative and economic center of Gaspé County East. It has lately acquired added significance for the Malbay community. Most crucial governmental and non-governmental institutions are centralized in Gaspé. These include the employment office, the welfare office, the hospitals, the highschools, the Junior College (CEGEP), the railroad station, the fishery offices and a number of industrial or commercial enterprises, fish plants, refinery, supermarkets, etc. Gaspé has thus come to be the only significant source of employment aside from a few local enterprises located in Malbay and Barachois (cf. Malbay 1970). This centralization has made the members of Malbay community increasingly dependent on Gaspé in both economic and administrative matters. We shall see at the end of Chapter II that this dependence on Gaspé has an effect on the language behavior of the anglophones from Malbay.

Table (8) Number and proportions of anglophones and francophones in 1931, 1941, 1961 in Gaspé.

	English speaking	English speaking	French speaking	French speaking
1931	403	44%	504	56%
1941	294	32%	624	68%
1961	526	20%	2,048	80%

Table (9) Proportions of English-speaking bilinguals and French-speaking bilinguals in 1931, 1941, 1961 in Gaspé.

	English-speaking bilinguals	French-speaking bilinguals
1931	18%	78%
1941	19%	61%
1961	43%	38%

Table (10) Number of people of British origin and people of French origin in 1931, 1941, 1961 in Gaspé.

	British Ethnic Group	French Ethnic Group
1931	377	521
1941	287	629
1961	510	2,044

Table (11) Number of Catholics and Protestants in 1931, 1941, 1961 in Gaspé.

	Catholics	Protestants
1931	591	280
1941	742	182
1961	2,309	334

A comparison of information contained in (8) and (10) indicates that the English mother tongue population has not lost any speakers through assimilation despite its overall steady decline and the continuous influx of francophones over the past 40 years. However analysis of the information about religious affiliation (11) for the same period shows that the Protestants always represented an important proportion of the

British ethnic group. This partly explains why the English-speaking group has as a whole succeeded so well in holding on to their language. It is reasonable to assume that most of the language shift has taken place within the Catholic group and through the medium of linguistically-mixed-marriages. Over 20% of all the marriages recorded in the church register for the period of time analyzed here are linguistically mixed.

More interesting is the information on bilingualism. From a low 18% in 1931 the percentage of bilingual anglophones has risen to a high of 43%, whereas the percentage of bilingual francophones has sharply decreased over the same period of time. The remarks made about the socioeconomic status of the English-speaking group at the regional level are also valid for the anglophones from Gaspé. Until the beginning of the Great Depression in the early 30's, the anglophones controlled Gaspé economy and represented a strong numerical minority 44% in 1931. After World War II the anglophones and mainly the Protestants were seen "to pull out" while the French moved in and took over most of the economic institutions once controlled by the anglophones; (Clarke 1972) for an account of this phenomenon. A substantial proportion of the anglophones left Gaspé for the cities, hence the overall decrease of the English-speaking population (see p.18). Viewed in this context the rising number of bilingual anglophones appears to be correlated with a combination of economic and demographic factors which has brought about a lowering of the status of English in Gaspé town. It is reasonable to assume that in the early thirties English enjoyed a high status in Gaspé, hence the high proportion of bilingual francophones, although they were a majority. By the 60's the situation had considerably changed, the francophones had taken over, and the anglophones who had stayed in the place

were considerably more bilingual than 30 years before.

The increase in the number of bilingual anglophones and decrease in the number of bilingual francophones has brought about a change in language use. Generally speaking in Gaspé, French is in the process of becoming the language of business and administration. In the institutions which constitute these two domains, the French-speaking employees who deal with the public are not all bilingual. This is an indication of the changing status of French.

In 1970 in Gaspé the overall socioeconomic status of the anglophones stands sharply in contrast to the status they enjoyed before the 30's or for that matter the socioeconomic status of a substantial proportion of the anglophones in Montreal.

Thus the anglophones from Gaspé have almost totally lost control of the local economy. They have suffered losses through emigration. Consequently, the number of English-speaking bilinguals has sharply risen over the past 40 years.

As in the rest of the province of Quebec[11] both language groups in Gaspé have their own schools operating in English or French and divided along religious lines. In Gaspé all school levels are represented from elementary to CEGEP level. Catholic schools provide education both in French and English whereas the Protestant schools provide education in English only. The English-speaking minority from Gaspé thus have the right and facilities to educate their children in English at all levels including CEGEP. However Gaspé-Trade-School constitutes an exception; until 1970 it provided a number of courses in both languages. As of 1971, the trade courses which were given in English have been discontinued because the

number of English-speaking students attending them was thought to be too low. The phasing out of English in this school has affected some of the children of English-speaking parents from Malbay who were not bilingual enough to be transferred to the French classes and had to "drop" the course.

Both Protestants (three denominations in Gaspé: Anglican, United-Church, and Presbyterian) and Catholics have their own churches. All the Protestant churches located in Gaspé town or vicinity operate in English. Gaspé Catholic church operated in French only and does not provide services in English. The priest in charge whom I interviewed justified this by pointing out that the English-speaking Catholics are generally good bilinguals. If this corresponds to actual facts, given the present socioeconomic dominance of the French-speaking group an accelerated assimilation of the Catholic anglophones to the French-speaking group may be foreseeable in the not too distant future.

1.3 Malbay in 1925

The community is located at the eastern tip of the Gaspé Peninsula (Quebec) approximately halfway between the villages of Percé and Gaspé (see maps B and C). The community whose western end is known as Belle-Anse and eastern end is known as Malbay is included in the municipality of St. Georges de Malbay, the latter being a part of Gaspé County East (see map A). For the sake of brevity the community has been referred to as Malbay. The Malbay bay or for the French La MalBaie also refers to the large bay whose two ends correspond to the villages of Percé and Point St. Peters (see map C). La MalBaie has long been known as an important fishing area and is mentioned in some of the earliest maps of the Atlantic

"Provinces" including Champlain's map (1632), where it bears the name of Baie des Mollues.

1.3.1 Introduction

Having given a description of the anglophones at the regional and County levels we can now focus on the predominantly English-speaking community of Malbay. Three aspects of Malbay language environment will be studied in detail , bilingualism, language shift, language use. In order to add depth to the description of the community I have adopted an historical perspective and have attempted to give an account of some of the changes or the absence of changes that have taken place over the last 45 years in the areas mentioned above. Thus the first part of this section will be a description of Malbay in 1925[12] focusing on bilingualism, language shift and language use. This will be followed by a similar description of Malbay in 1970 based on data gathered during our fieldwork. The 1925 description is based on a reconstruction of the community done with the help of various local documents, parish records, municipal registers, detailed census information and last but not least the help of a number of selected informants whose memory and accuracy of perception were thought to be best suited for this type of work. The following information has been gathered for the year 1925. (a) Information about all the households: religious and ethnic affiliation of the head of household and his wife, occupation of the head of household, number of children living at home, mother tongue of the head of household and his wife; (b) information about language use in the local institutions and "industry": in the schools, at the churches, in the post offices, in the municipal council, in the local

plants and in the local stores.

1.3.2 Occupations of the heads of household in 1925

In 1925 Malbay was essentially a fishing place. Out of the 52 "active" or non retired heads of household, 29 were engaged in fishing. Fishing was carried on inshore during a period of time which extended from early May to early October or sometimes even later, following climatic variations. In 1925 most fishermen "made their own fish"[13] (gutted it, salted it and dried it) before selling to local or itinerant buyers. They either worked on their own or with a few other people, children or relatives mostly. Four of these 29 fishermen fished for salmon or lobster which was sold locally. Both types of fishing represented a highly independent type of occupation. We will see further on that this was not without implication at the level of language.

In addition to fishing almost everybody in the place owned a plot of ground on which subsistence farming was carried on. Most households kept a horse for farmwork as well as transportation. Hay, potatoes and a little grain were the main crops. Most people kept a garden assuring themselves of vegetables, for a good part of the year. Cattle and poultry were raised mainly to satisfy household needs. There were only two full time farmers in Malbay at that time. Finally in addition to these two activities most of the male heads of households did some lumbering in the winter time. There were two types of lumbering: (a) Many young men especially unmarried ones went away to the lumber camps in Ontario, Northern Québec, or Interior Gaspé and worked among predominantly French-speaking teams. Almost half of the informants who were interviewed in

1970 and who claimed they worked in the lumber camps in and around 1925 declared they "picked up some French that way". However the rest of them declared they did not. This was because they were not "interested" or because "the French spoke in English to them". (b) The second type of wood cutting which was also practiced at that time, took place on the wood lots attached to the farms. This wood was either sold or used for domestic purposes.

The 13 heads of households who were not engaged in this threefold type of activity consisted of two blacksmiths (important people at that time), one pulpwood dealer, three storekeepers, two of whom hold post offices in Belle Anse and Malbay, two carpenters, four laborers and one cooperative manager. The nine remaining heads of households were retired in 1925. Altogether there were 62 households in Malbay. The wives of the heads of households were mainly engaged in domestic tasks. The oldest sons would go to the lumber camps in the winter, the younger sons would perform useful chores on the farm and often as soon as they left school, i.e. between the age of 12 and 14, would help their father work at the fish.

In 1925 Malbay could be described as a relatively self-contained rural community representing a type of peasant society, similar to that described for example by Redfield (1969) or Miner (1963). Self-containment meant little mobility for most of the community members and a relative degree of isolation between the various neighboring villages. This isolation is still reflected at the linguistic level. Each little village still retains a relatively distinct variety of French or English, see also (Chapter II, p.109). The isolation was maximized when villages

of the same language group had a different religious affiliation.

At the family level, the typical head of household in 1925 could have been described as an independent fisherman farmer, whose main periodical contacts with the "external world" occurred in the context of the lumber camps.

1.3.3 Language use in the local institutions

In 1925 there were two post offices, one located in Belle-Anse, the other in Malbay. There was also a post office in Point St. Peter at the far end of Malbay. All three post offices were held by monolingual English-speaking people.

In 1925 there was an Anglican church in Malbay with a resident minister. The nearest Catholic church was located in Barachois. The Anglican church operated in English only.[14] Barachois Catholic church was "bilingual". The priest was bilingual and delivered his sermons in French and English. However around 1925 and later the priests in charge of Barachois church and the nuns who operated Barachois Catholic school favored the use of English and encouraged their parishioners to use it and generally speaking held the French language in low esteem. It is interesting to note that around the same period of time an incredibly large proportion of the French-speaking population from Barachois shifted toward English despite of the availability of French-speaking education at the church school. This distaste for French originating from the religious authorities of the parish may well have affected Malbay Catholics in terms of language use and language behavior. This will be examined in detail later on. In a similar respect Miner (1963), gives an interesting

description of the overall important role and influence of the Catholic priest on the life of a rural parish in Québec.

Church attendance was high among both Catholics and Protestants. However both religious authorities advocated intolerance toward the other group. This policy of intolerance was preached from the pulpit. Mixed marriages and social mixing were strongly discouraged. Parishioners were even discouraged from attending funerals at the "other" church. However the latter instruction was often disregarded probably on account of the importance of funerals on the local scene.

In 1925 there were a Protestant school and a Catholic school in Malbay. Both were one room schools, accomodating up to 50 to 60 pupils taught by one teacher only. The schools provided education for all grades before high school. There were no local high schools the nearest were in Gaspé, 25 miles away from Malbay. However transportation was slow at that time and children would have had to board there. This would have cost money and so none of the local children had secondary education in and around 1925. Formal education was thus a local matter. There seems to have been a low value placed on education at that time for it was not thought to be relevant to the local way of life. School-leaving age was low, 12 for most people, and children were encouraged if not anxious to leave school as early as possible to start work.

The Protestant school provided education through the medium of English only, whereas the Catholic school was run on a bilingual basis, i.e. the teacher was bilingual and taught in turn the French-speaking pupils and the English-speaking pupils in their own language. The exact number of French-speaking and English-speaking children is not known for that period

but the English-speaking children were a majority. This "bilingual" system of education was to be phased out in 1955. After that the French-speaking and English-speaking children were taught in separate centralized schools. In bilingual schools all pupils were bound to hear the other group's language in the schoolroom and the play-ground. This setting may have been favorable to bilingualism. Very little information is available about the important question of parental attitudes toward their children learning French or English in and around 1925. Although it should be noted that some of the older French-speaking informants told me that they learned "beaucoup d'anglais en jouant avec les petits anglais à l'école", see also Chapter II.

The municipality of St. Georges de Malbaie which included Malbay in 1925 was set up in 1914. In 1925 the municipal council consisted of six elected representatives, three English speaking and three French speaking coming from different localities, a mayor and a secretary treasurer. The latter was the most influential figure. Council meetings were held at his house. In 1931 (Census year) the municipality included 746 people of French mother tongue and 554 of English mother tongue. However, in 1925, the Council was controlled by a group of Anglican English-speaking families who formed an elite within the municipality. Council meetings were held in English and minutes kept in English. The French council members were bilingual. In 1925 the secretary treasurer was English speaking and monolingual. Attendance by French-speaking members was reported as being low. During the period between 1930 until 1970, seven mayors were elected, only one was a French-speaking Catholic, the rest were English-speaking Anglicans. Over the same period two people held the important

post of secretary treasurer, they were also English-speaking Anglicans but they both had a good knowledge of French.

In 1925, there were three local small grocery stores, two of which were owned and managed by local Anglican monolingual English-speaking people. The same two people also held, as we have already seen, post offices in their store. The third store was owned and managed by an Anglican English-speaking bilingual person. None of these store owners employed any clerks in their stores. Besides these three, two general stores were operated by the Robin Jones company (see p.17). Both these stores had bilingual Channel Island managers and clerks.

There was one fish plant located in Malbay. It was operated by the Robin Jones company. However it was only a marginal source of employment, for only 10 people worked there in 1925, on account of the fact that most fishermen made their own fish. Precise information about language use in the plant is not available for 1925 although we know that the beach master (foreman) was bilingual at that time. The two local smithies were run by two Anglican monolingual English-speaking men.

In summary, the preceding description of the institutions existing in Malbay in 1925 in terms of ownerships, control, and language use indicates a control of these institutions by the English-speaking Anglican group as well as a dominance of English as the language mostly used in these institutions.

We shall now tabulate and analyse information on bilingualism, mother tongue retention, intermarriage patterns, religious and ethnic affiliation, in Malbay in 1925. We shall focus on the "adult population", namely the heads of households and their wives.

We hope thus, to understand the relationships existing between the factors mentioned above. Likewise the role and influence of the institutions described above, schools, churches, plants, etc., on various aspects of the language behavior and language use of the community members, will be assessed.

1.3.4 Language affiliation of the local adult population in 1925

In 1925 Malbay consisted of 62 households representing a total population of about 300 people. We have seen that 53 of the male heads of household were "active" in 1925 while 9 were retired. The heads of households did not all have a wife at the time and 7 were single. Of the 62 male heads of households 50 (80%) were of English mother tongue. Of the 55 wives 39 (70%) were of English mother tongue. Three of the 11 non-English mother tongue heads of households were of Norman French mother tongue; 1 of the 15 non-English mother tongue wives was of Norman French mother tongue. The remaining non English mother tongue 8 men and 15 women were of Canadian French mother tongue. In 1925 mother tongue information is missing for one head of household.

The four native speakers of Norman French are the remnants of a once substantial Norman French-speaking community. The Lower-Canada Census (1844) conducted in the year 1841 and 1851 for the Gaspé Peninsula indicates that in 1841 there were 54 residents of Malbay who had been born in the Channel Islands and in 1851 they numbered forty-five. I made a systematic study of the family history of the present day descendents of the original Channel Islands settlers and I found that the original ancestors of the Channel Islands descendents, grandparents in most cases,

came out from Jersey or Guernsey to Malbay, speaking Norman French as a mother tongue. It is therefore reasonable to assume that a substantial proportion of the Malbay people who had been born in the Channel Islands spoke Norman French at the time the censuses were taken. The analysis and discussion of ethnic affiliation and mother tongue retention will shed additional light on the interesting case of the assimilation of the Norman French group.

Table (12) Compared ethnic and language affiliation of the Malbay adult population.

	Ethnic affiliation		French[15] mother tongue		English mother tongue	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Channel Islands	38	24	3	1	34	23
France	15	20	7	13	8	7
Ireland	5	1	1	0	4	1
Britain[16]	2	5	0	0	2	5
Swedish	0	2	0	0	0	2
Unknown	2	3	0	2	2	1
	62	55	11	16	50	39

As can be seen the Channel Islands group formed a substantial proportion of the local population. The second largest group was the French ethnic group. The other ethnic groups were of a more marginal size.

If we focus on the Channel Islanders and look at their mother tongue affiliation, we see that only 4 out of 62 are of Norman French mother

tongue, whereas 58 are of English mother tongue. Thus if one assumes that almost all the original ancestors of this group were of Norman French mother tongue, the data show a significantly poor mother tongue retention for the Channel Islanders and point to large scale assimilation to the English-speaking group.

The French ethnic group had also suffered losses through assimilation but to a lesser extent although their retention ratio is only around the 50% level. The other groups are too small to be talked about in terms of assimilation. Nevertheless the British group seems to have a good mother tongue retention since there were no francophones of British origin.

Table (13) Marriage patterns of Malbay residents in 1925.

Males married to		Protestant	Eng. Cath.	French Cath.
Protestant	34	33	0	1
Catholic (English mother tongue)	12	1	6	5
Catholic (French mother tongue)	7	0	0	7

There is only one instance of religiously and linguistically-mixed marriage, (see p. 33 for explanations). However within the Catholic group, instances of linguistically-mixed marriages, are not infrequent. This trend is not only found in Malbay but in the whole of the parish. Study of the parish records over a period of 70 years (1900 to 1970) suggests that over 30% of all the Catholic marriages which took place during that period of time were marriages across language groups.

1.3.5 Bilingualism in 1925

Bilingual means here and further on in the thesis, able to carry on a conversation in a second language. Bilingualism is defined in a similar way in the 1931 Canadian Census. To back up our own findings we give here percentages of bilinguals by language group for the municipality calculated on the basis of 1931 census information.

Table (14) Proportions of bilinguals per language group in the municipality of St. Georges de Malbaie in 1931.

English mother tongue bilinguals	males	13%
	females	9%
French mother tongue bilinguals	males	71%
	females	62%

Table (15) Proportions of bilinguals in each language group in Malbay (1925).

English mother tongue bilinguals	males	26%
	females	10%
French mother tongue bilinguals	males	100%
	females	75%

Table (16) Proportions of anglophones and francophones in Malbay (1925).

Anglophones	males	85%
	females	63%

Francophones	males	15%
	females	37%

Our findings corroborate 1931 census returns for the municipality. The somewhat higher level of bilingualism in both language groups found for Malbay can be explained by two facts. First, in our reconstruction we have concentrated on the adult population only, whereas census information covers the whole of the population. Second, the municipality includes besides Malbay a predominantly French-speaking village and another almost all English-speaking village.

The data show that at both the community and municipal level and in both language groups the male population is more bilingual than the female one. They also share an overall high number of bilinguals among the francophones. This should be contrasted with the overall low number of bilinguals among the English-speaking population. One should recall here that the anglophones constitute a strong majority in Malbay.

Table (17) Proportions of bilinguals by religious group. Malbay 1925.

English mother tongue Protestant males	16%
English mother tongue Protestant females	11%
English mother tongue Catholic males	53%
English mother tongue Catholic females	2%
French mother tongue Catholic males	100%
French mother tongue Catholic females	70%

In this calculation the small group of people born on the Channel

Islands has not been included. In 1925 the French mother tongue Catholics are "overwhelmingly" bilingual. The proportion of bilingual Catholic anglophones stands in between that of the bilingual Protestants and that of the bilingual francophones. The Protestant English mother tongue group has the lowest proportion of bilinguals of the three groups with percentages as low as 16% and 11%. In all groups the male population has more bilinguals than the female population.

1.3.6 Discussion of 1925 results

1.3.6.1 Mother tongue maintenance

The assimilation to the English-speaking group of the once important Norman French-speaking population of Malbay poses several interesting problems which shall be discussed here. In Malbay as indicated by our own study and census information, the Norman French-speaking population has shifted towards English. In other places located on the south shore of the Gaspé where there were sizable communities of Channel Islands settlers, the Norman French speakers shifted in the other direction, i.e. were assimilated by the French-speaking group (this is particularly true of Paspébiac and New Carlisle). It is thought that several factors account for the assimilation of the Norman French-speaking group to the English-speaking group in Malbay.

Most of the Norman French-speaking people that came out to the Gaspé during the XIXth Century and at the beginning of the XXth Century (end of the migration) were monolingual Norman French-speaking youngsters. They were recruited in the Channel Islands to work as clerks in the fishing establishments owned and run by Jersey merchants in the Gaspé. The

managerial staff of these establishments was bilingual and was also "imported" from the Channel Islands. The Channel Islanders who came out to the Gaspé were almost all males and as a result had to find wives locally. Most of the Channel Islanders, it should also be noted, belonged to the Anglican church. Before they arrived there were hardly any French-speaking Protestants in the Gaspé. In Malbay there were some English-speaking Protestants when the Channel Islanders started to arrive but no French-speaking Protestants.

A reconstruction of the family histories of the present day descendants of Channel Island settlers coupled with a study of the Anglican church records indicate that most Channel Island settlers married English-speaking Anglican women and constituted linguistically-mixed marriages. There were twelve such marriages in Malbay. Only three Channel Island men married women who had been born in the Islands. These were monolingual Norman-French marriages. Our reconstruction indicates that in linguistically-mixed households Norman French was hardly ever handed down to the children. There is only one instance of a linguistically-mixed household where Norman French was handed down to the first generation of children born in the Gaspé. In the monolingual Norman-French households where one could expect a better retention of Norman French, things were only marginally better. Norman French was handed down in all three households but only to the first generation of children born in the Gaspé. There is a number of reasons accounting for the poor maintenance of Norman French in Malbay. One can note here that none of the two key local institutions, the Anglican church and the Anglican school functioned in French let alone Norman French. The lack of support from these two institutions must have

discouraged the parents from teaching their children a language which was to be of little use. Among other "discouraging" factors, one can mention the patois status of Norman French. Interviews with members of the rapidly dwindling Norman French-speaking Gaspesians or first generation of Channel Islanders born in Canada have yielded interesting information about the status and functions of Norman French both in the Gaspé and the Channel Islands.

In the islands of Jersey and Guernsey over the last hundred years English has gradually and almost completely superseded Norman French in a variety of domains where it was once used alone or with English. Thus about 50 years ago, Norman French and English were used in the courts of justice. Protestant and Catholic priests delivered their sermons in Norman French or in English according to the location of the parish (town vs. country) and the language abilities of the parishioners. Dramas were usually performed in Norman French. Generally speaking, English was spoken in the towns of St. Helier and St. Peter rather than in the country for it was more the language of administration and business. Norman French was the language of country people and the normal if not only medium of communication in country homes. The schools would use both French and English, but the former was continental French for it is only of late that Norman French has been assigned a spelling system and its vocabulary systematically compiled in a dictionary (Frank Le Maistre 1966). Nowadays Norman French has been abandoned in almost all the domains mentioned above including the home domain. It is only spoken by a dwindling fraction of older generation Channel Islanders. The local newspaper "Jersey Weekly" is written almost entirely in English but includes every week, one or two

columns of local news written in Jersey French for the benefit of the older people.

Some of my older informants born in the Channel Islands or belonging to the first generation of Channel Islanders born in Canada recalled the time when Norman French was used as a favored medium of communication among Gaspesians born in the Channel Islands. It was as such strictly used as ingroup language. The same informants also reported that Norman French was used as a semisecret code in the presence of outsiders (French or English-speaking Canadians). Thus when several speakers of Norman French were together among francophones or anglophones, they would sometimes "switch" to Norman French in order to communicate matters of a personal nature.[17] Older French Canadians from Malbay told me they found it very difficult if not impossible to understand Norman French.[18] The reverse was not true of the people born on the Channel Islands, mainly because they had been "exposed" to Continental French. Thus the people born in the Channel Islands that I interviewed, declared they "could follow the drift of conversations in Canadian French" and they "could pick up the local French in no time".

Feelings of pride about Norman French on the part of its speakers are also mixed with feelings of embarassment if not contempt. Thus Norman French is denied by its speakers any language status but is looked upon as a patois, or "lingo" of little value. It should be recalled here it has only quite recently been assigned a regular orthography followed by the writing of a dictionary.

In summary the rapid disappearance of Norman French can be correlated with several facts: the lack of support from the local school and church,

the patois status of Norman French, the high proportion of linguistically-mixed marriages due to the scarcity of Norman French-speaking women, and finally the fact that Norman French had to compete with two already well established strong languages of wider communication, namely French and English.

If the mother tongue losses suffered by the French ethnic group are less drastic than those suffered by the Channel Islands group, they are by no means marginal. The mother tongue retention of the French ethnic group in Malbay is relatively poor, for half of its members have been assimilated by the English-speaking group. Our information indicates that the men have been assimilated in larger numbers than the women: 8 of the 15 French males as against 7 of the 20 French females are of English mother tongue. We have also seen that the males are more bilingual than the females in both language groups, this may indicate that there is at least a weak correlation between the two phenomena.

Mother tongue losses among the French ethnic group have strangely enough taken place in one group of Catholic households all related to one common male Acadian-French ancestor and all bearing the same French family name. In 1925 there were 9 heads of households and 2 wives who went by that name, 2 only were of French mother tongue. The poor mother tongue maintenance of the Acadian group can be mainly attributed to two factors: (a) the group contains a high proportion of linguistically-mixed marriages; (b) the low status of French and higher status of English at the local level (cf. p. 32) may have caused a number of these bilingual households to give up French and shift entirely to English.

One should also note the total assimilation to the English-speaking

group of one group of French people related to one common ancestor from Britanny who converted to anglicanism shortly after arriving in Malbay. In 1925 all his descendants were Anglican and of English mother tongue. In this case, it is reasonable to assume that the adoption of anglicanism by the ancestor acted as an accelerating factor, depriving the group of the institutions necessary to maintain their French mother tongue (school and church) and of French-speaking marriage partners.

The remainder of the French group form a stronger core little affected by assimilation although highly bilingual. The main reason why that particular group maintained its mother tongue is the low proportion of linguistically-mixed marriages. However I did not find out why there were only a few linguistically-mixed marriages in this group.

The overall poor mother tongue retention of the French ethnic group sounds somewhat surprising if one recalls that contrary to the Norman French group, the French-speaking group could send their children to the local French-speaking class if they wanted to. The fact that a substantial proportion of them did not, is a further indication of the low status ascribed to French locally.

1.3.6.2 Bilingualism

The 1931 Census information for the municipality and our calculation for 1925 show one feature to be common to both language groups i.e. the higher proportion of bilinguals among the male population. This is felt to be a consequence of the role and occupational differences between men and women. As we have seen in p.31, women stayed around the house most of the time and had less contacts with the external world than their husbands. The

latters' occupations frequently brought them into contact with members of the other language group.

The mother tongue affiliation data show that the English-speaking group was a strong majority in Malbay (74% of the adult population). The francophone minority had the highest proportion of bilinguals (85%) whereas the English-speaking group had only 18% of bilinguals. In a way this situation adds some strength to Lieberson's hypothesis (Lieberson 1970) about the correlation which exists between the numerical strength of two language groups in a bilingual situation and the proportion of bilinguals in each language group. However at the municipal level the English-speaking group constituted a minority (43%) while the francophones were a small majority (57%). But despite these different demographic proportions the francophones had also a high proportion of bilinguals (60%) and the anglophones had only few bilinguals (20%). This is felt to be the result of the already mentioned high status ascribed to English in Malbay and neighboring villages. The higher status of English was itself a result of the dominance of the anglophones on the local economy and the favorable attitudes towards English fostered by the local Catholic authorities. This example shows the importance of economic and attitudinal factors for bilingualism at the group level, inasmuch as these factors may prove to be "stronger" than purely demographic ones.

The English-speaking Protestant group was the least bilingual of the three present in Malbay in 1925. This,one can attribute to a combination of factors.(1) Unlike the Catholics the Protestants have a school and church which operated solely through the medium of English; (2) a high proportion of the local institutions were controlled by the anglophones and

these institutions operated mostly in English; (3) the Protestant clergy disapproved if not openly discouraged social interaction with the Catholics. One result of this was the near absence of mixed marriages which could have been one source of bilingualism; (4) occupational pressures could have been another source of bilingualism but since most work was on a local basis, occupational pressures had only a marginal influence upon the bilingualism of the Protestants. Work like fishing and farming, selfcontained and independent activities, neither required nor produced bilingualism. Further, little bilingualism was found in occupations where it might have been expected (storekeepers, post office clerks). In this respect occupational pressures were partly neutralized by demographic and economic forces, i.e. the dominance and predominance of the English-speaking group as a whole in Malbay.

The significantly low proportion of bilingual Protestant females (11%) is a telling example of the overall isolation and low degree of "exposure" to French which characterized the Protestant English-speaking group in 1925.

Considered as a whole the Catholic group is significantly more bilingual than the Protestant group: (50% vs. 14%). However the fact that the Catholic group contains both anglophones and francophones has several implications at both the local and parish level for language use and bilingualism. (1) One should recall that both English-speaking and French-speaking pupils are taught in the same school by a bilingual teacher, a setting which may have been favorable to bilingualism. (2) Both anglophones and francophones went to the same school. The language used for mass in 1925 was Latin but sermons were delivered in both French and English. (3)

The Catholic clergy were not opposed to English-speaking Catholics mixing with French-speaking ones. Linguistically-mixed marriages were frequent, another "setting" favorable to bilingualism. As a result of all this Catholics of both language groups were bound to be more "exposed" to each other's language than the English-speaking Protestants were exposed to French.

The Catholic anglophones have more bilinguals than the English-speaking Protestants and represent an intermediary category between the latter and the francophones. Their bilingualism is a consequence of the combination of factors enumerated above. Or more generally the English-speaking Catholics heard more French than the Protestants in the institutions and organizations listed above. However the fact that the Catholic anglophones had fewer bilinguals than their French-speaking counterparts is to be attributed to the less important pressures and fewer opportunities for the former to learn French than for the latter to learn English. In other words the Catholic anglophones are part of the local English-speaking majority and as such are relatively less exposed to French. They probably also benefited from the high status of English at the local level.

The high percentage of French Catholic bilinguals can be attributed to several factors. (a) They represented a small minority at the local level. (b) French had a low status in Malbay and neighboring places. (c) English was the language of business in the local institutions and industry; (d) The French-speaking Catholics interacted with the Catholic anglophones in the institutions and settings mentioned earlier.

In summary, bilingualism in Malbay has been found to be a function of several factors of varying importance. The main factors are: the

numerical strength of both language groups at the local level, the status of both languages, religious affiliation, the latter influencing marriage patterns and language use in the local churches and schools.

1.4 Malbay in 1970[19]

The study of Malbay in 1970 will procede along lines similar to those of the 1925 one. The household information collected for the 1970 study is more extensive than the information gathered for 1925. Of particular interest is the new information about the language abilities of children living at home, language use in the home (language(s) spoken by the parents to their children) and the language in which the children are educated at school. This will help us arrive at a better understanding of the mechanisms of the shift towards English which we detected in our 1925 study and which was still going on in 1970.

The information about language use in the local institutions and industry is the product of my own observations in the field. It is more extensive and detailed than the information gathered for the 1925 reconstruction. It will enable us to define with greater accuracy and certainty the domains of usage of French and English in Malbay and show that in 1970 English is still the dominant language. This among other things will explain why in Malbay, French is being displaced by English and why there are so many bilinguals among the francophones and so few among the anglophones.

1.4.1 Occupations of the heads of household

In 1970 Malbay is no longer a fishing place, less than 10 people were involved in fishing. The causes which brought about the decline of fishing have been analyzed by Clarke (1972). Subsistance farming is still carried on but to a much lesser extent than in 1925. Only a few people keep vegetable gardens or raise cattle and poultry. The local stores have grown in importance and supply most of the food stuff which was previously grown locally. Lumbering has been centralized in a few areas in the Peninsula and is done on a year-round basis. In 1970 no one from Malbay works on the new lumber camps although a few people still cut wood on their own property for domestic use or to sell to the few Gaspesian pulp and paper mills. Three people from Malbay work as laborers for 3 or 4 months at the local fish plant which is owned and managed by a single person resident in Malbay. Around ten people work in the stores. One man owns and operates a garage. There are two full time farmers and three full time fishermen. However the general picture is that of massive seasonal or year-round unemployment which is partly the result of government intervention. Many fishing ports and establishments on the Gaspé coast have been phased out for centralization purposes. Most of the local and regional industry, which was crippled by the general recession which followed the "Great Depression" has also been partially phased out for the same reasons. Many people in Malbay rely directly or indirectly on some kind of government unemployment payment. For a substantial proportion of the "working" male population (30% to 40%) this means year-round "welfare". Only 2 people "work away" in Gaspé. This is partly due to the fact that Malbay folks lack the training necessary for obtaining the few "service jobs" which Gaspé institutions have to offer and also partly because the local English-

speaking majority is still not bilingual enough to obtain work in these institutions.

As a result of the centralization of essential services in Gaspé (see p.24) and the availability of modern means of transportation, Malbay people are more mobile than in 1925. Their awareness of the non-Gaspesian external world has increased. This is particularly true of Malbay anglophones who are in touch with the English-speaking North American World (Canada and the United States) through the medium of T.V. and Radio programs from the Atlantic provinces (see, p.19), and through summer visitors. These are mainly local people who have gone away to the city (Toronto for the anglophones) and who come back regularly during the summer months to spend their vacations with "the folks back home". This increased awareness of the North American English-speaking world may to some extent counterbalance the feeling of isolation experienced by the Malbay anglophones as a minority group both at the regional and provincial level. The development of the mass media, transportation, emigration (summer visitors' feedback) have contributed to bring urban ways and values to the people of Malbay. As a result the traditional peasant society of 1925 has been considerably changed. Government intervention has increased in the economic sphere. The typical head of household is no longer the independent fisherman-farmer-lumberjack but rather a more mobile and urbanized individual who is unfortunately increasingly dependent on the government and its services for a livelihood. This brings about feelings of uncertainty and dependency among a substantial proportion of the local population and increases the local anglophones feelings of isolation (in this respect, see p.69).

1.4.2 The local institutions and industry

In 1970 the small local post offices mentioned for 1925 have been centralized in larger villages. The post office used by Malbay people is located in Barachois (see map B). It is held by a postmistress and her assistant. Both are fluent bilinguals and can provide the francophones with service in French. This was not the case in 1925.

In addition to Barachois post office, there is now a bank. It is operated by an anglophone from Barachois who has some knowledge of French and who can "serve his customers in French if the situation demands it" (the bank manager's own words). Also located in Barachois is the CN railroad station run by a francophone who is fluently bilingual.

In 1970 Barachois Catholic church is still "bilingual". French and English have been substituted for Latin and are used for service. Barachois church provides two Sunday morning masses, one in French, the other in English. Bilingual parish bulletins are written by the French mother tongue bilingual priest in charge and sent out weekly to all the parishioners. Despite the availability of masses in French or English, parishioners of both language groups and especially francophones attend either mass. Attendance patterns are dictated more by practical consideration than mother tongue affiliation. "I always go to the early morning mass whether it's French or English to get it out of the way" declared one of my informants. Absence of preference along language lines correlates with the high proportion of bilinguals among the Catholic groups (cf. p.48 and 49). Those bilingual individuals can if need be translate the sermon for unilingual parishioners. It looks as though the availability of masses in both languages has more symbolic than practical importance. In this

respect the parishioners think that the priest says mass in both languages, because "he wants to please everybody". In 1970, 51% of the parishioners were French speaking whereas 49% were English-speaking. In 1970 the Anglican church of Malbay is attended by English-speaking people only. The Anglican priest lives in Malbay and is in charge of a mission which extends over more than 65 miles from the village of Grand-River to Cape-Cove (see map B). The Anglican priest holds services in five different churches including Malbay. In the whole mission native speakers of Norman French are very few and all bilingual, see the assimilation of the Norman French, (p.44). All services in the mission are held in English. Weekly bulletins written in English are sent out to all the Anglican households.

For an open policy of intolerance towards the other group shared by both churches have been substituted genuine attempts at understanding one another and working together. The Anglican priest uses the xeroxing machine of the Catholic parish to reproduce his weekly bulletins. Ecumenical services are held periodically at Barachois church or Malbay and contribute to eradicate the past feelings of mutual mistrust and hostility.

All the Protestant schools of the municipality which existed in 1925 have been consolidated in one big school, located in Malbay. Protestant anglophones from neighboring villages are transported to school by bus. In 1970 French is taught as a second language by a French mother tongue teacher. This was the first time a native speaker of French had been appointed teacher of French at the Protestant school. Before, teachers of French were of English mother tongue and had the reputation of "reading the French books like the English do".

Interviews conducted with Anglican parents indicate that in Malbay little value is attached to French teaching at school mainly because the methods are thought to be bookish and the teachers are held to be incompetent. To the teaching of French at school the anglophone parents oppose the "natural way" of learning French, i.e. by "talking with the French".

The appointment of a French specialist first met with opposition from the parents because the teacher was not bilingual enough to communicate with the children in English. As a result a number of children did not attend French classes. This was approved by their parents. However as the teacher of French became more bilingual, difficulties were gradually ironed out. The new "French specialist" noticed that students from the higher grades were little interested in learning French whereas the "little ones" had favorable attitudes toward learning French, many of them taking it as a game.

The local Catholic schools which were run on a bilingual basis in 1925 were phased out in 1955 and centralized in a few more important places, the francophones and the anglophones being taught in different schoolhouses. This is particularly true of Barachois Catholic school in 1970 where French-speaking children are taught in different buildings. Mingling between francophone and anglophone children is discouraged and the anglophone and francophone children play in two separate parts of the play ground (see also p.32 for an account of the attitude of Barachois Catholic clergy towards French).

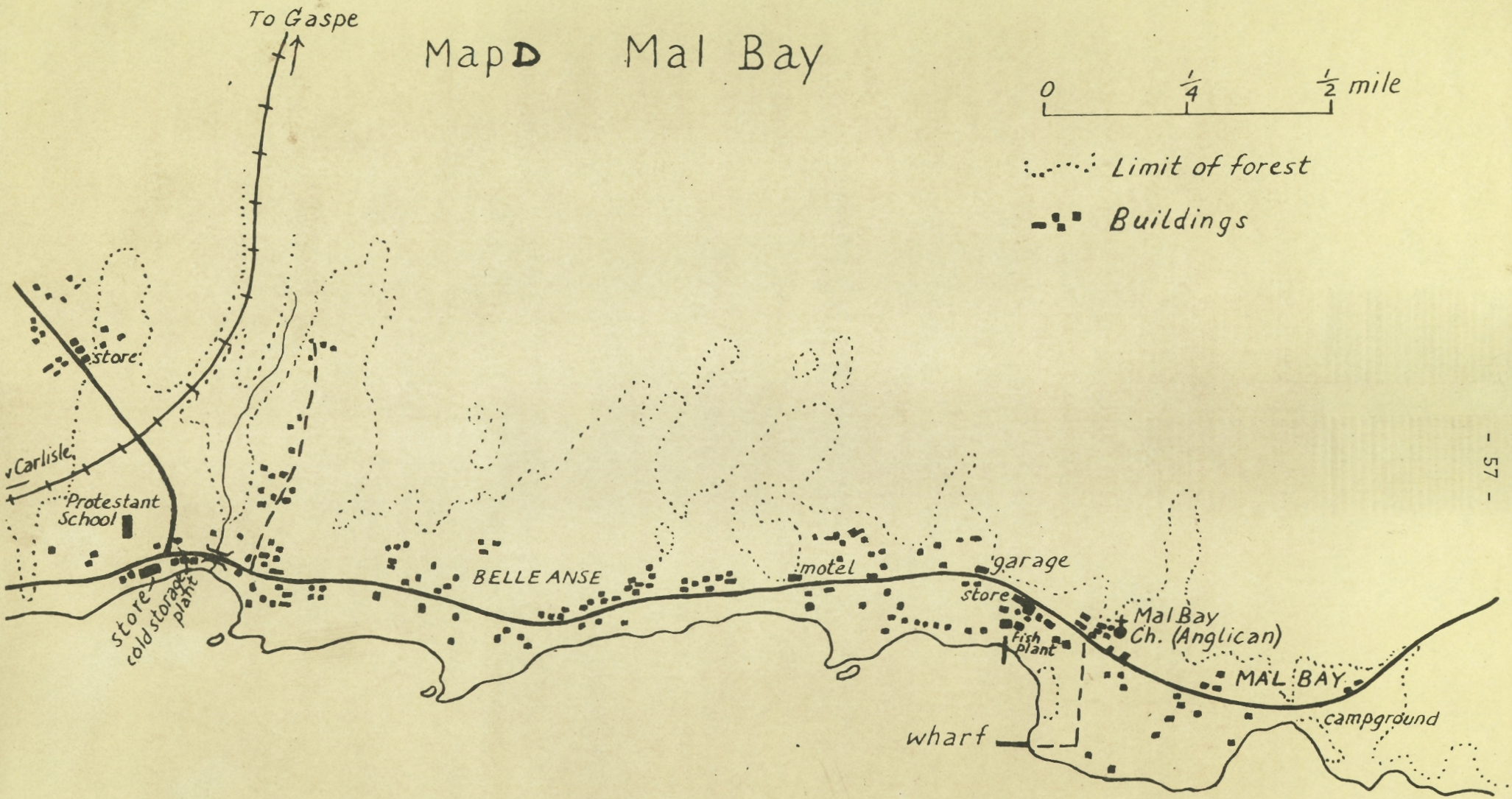
Political meetings for both federal and provincial elections are held in a movie hall owned and managed by an anglophone from Malbay. Meetings

usually last two hours. One meeting is held in French and another is held in English. However the political literature sent out to the constituents and local organizers is most of the time in French and is thought to be of "little use" by the local anglophones.

In 1970 municipal meetings are organized in much the same way as they were in 1925. Council meetings are still held at the house of the bilingual secretary treasurer who can act as an interpreter if need be. The mayor is English speaking and knows little French. The few French-speaking members that attend the meetings are all bilingual. Meetings are held in English and minutes kept in English. The proportion of councellors from both language groups has not changed (half and half). The francophones are now a small majority at the municipal level (55% French speaking vs. 45% English speaking).

In 1970 there are four stores in Malbay, two general stores and two grocery stores. The two grocery stores are owned and managed by monolingual anglophones who employ a few clerks. All of them are English-speaking monolinguals. One of the general stores is owned and managed by a bilingual francophone who works in the store with his son, also bilingual. The other general store is owned and managed by an English-speaking monolingual who employs a clerk who is also English-speaking and monolingual. The language used in this store is English. In the bilingual general store both languages are used and strangers are often addressed in English by the owner of the store who is a fluent bilingual.

The bilingual general store stands as a center of "social interaction" for the Catholic population of Malbay. There are both a radio and T.V. in the store. The radio set is switched on almost all day long, whereas T.V.



SOURCE: Région de la Gaspésie
Ministère des Richesses Naturelles
Province of Quebec 1965

is switched on in the evening. Both on the radio and T.V. French programs are favored by the owner. It is not unusual for a group of local English-speaking or French-speaking Catholics to gather around in the store to watch T.V. and exchange the latest local news. The language of conversation is either French or English according to the language abilities of the persons present. The English-speaking general store is the center of interaction of the Anglican English-speaking population and especially the "idle" ones who "hang around" the general store almost daily. People usually stand around the stove in the middle of the store and talk the hours away. The language of conversation is always English.

The 1970 situation shows little change if compared to the 1925 one. In 1970 three out of four stores are owned and managed by monolingual anglophones who make little attempt at providing service in French. In 1925 the situation was similar. This is because these stores still operate on a local basis and we know that the anglophones are a local majority and that most of the local and neighboring francophones are bilingual.

One of my informants from Malbay owns a dry goods store in Barachois catering for customers from local and less local communities. He personally noticed a change in the number of bilinguals and in the language use of francophones from outside the municipality. They are less and less bilingual and will use French rather than English in his store (see p.129 Chapter II). As a result he has lately hired a bilingual French mother tongue clerk besides his monolingual English-speaking clerk. Should his trade increase and the present language trend persist he envisages hiring another French-speaking clerk.

In Malbay the present mayor of the municipality owns and manages a

motel and restaurant. Like the owner of the dry goods store in Barachois he is favorable to bilingualism and thinks "there is money in bilingualism". Thus, not only does he hire bilingual employees in his motel and restaurant but, he advertises his motel with signs and billboards written in both languages and located by the side of the road almost every mile from Percé to Gaspé. He also makes it definitely clear that his place is "bilingual" with two big billboards located close to the entrance of his motel. The billboards say in printed block letters: STOP BILINGUAL. ARRETEZ BILINGUE.

Another anglophone from Malbay owns a campground and postcards and souvenir shop located about half a mile from the northern end of Malbay close to Point St. Peter (see map D, p.57). Like the mayor he advertises his place with billboards on the side of the road, but the billboards are in English only. Neither he nor his wife and daughter who work at the camp with him are bilingual. Most of the people that stop at his place are English-speaking tourists.

In 1970 Malbay fish plant is the only local industry. It is owned and managed by a fluently bilingual francophone who hires a maximum of 20 employees during the four to five months which correspond roughly to the fishing season. Bilingualism, i.e. a knowledge of French for the anglophone workers is not a requirement to work at this plant. His plant is small and it is easy for him to give directions and instructions to the workers in French or English. In addition to his supervising functions he also handles the buying and selling of the fish caught by the local fishermen. Needless to say his bilingual skills enable him to deal efficiently with sellers and buyers from both language groups.

In 1970 only five people from Malbay work at his plant. But the

number of local people working at the plant varies from one year to the other. In 1970 the majority of the workers are francophones from St. Georges. I had many opportunities to observe language use at his plant during my frequent visits to buy fish. Language use is straightforward. Work relationships as might be expected are extremely personalized: all the workers know each other personally and each other's language skills, see also (p.139). As a rule the anglophones talk to the francophones in English and the francophones talk to anglophones in English even if the former are not fluently bilingual. The owner of the plant has personally observed over the 30 years that he has been working at the plant, that "most of the time here in the plant, it's the French that pick up English. They talk to the English in English but the English they don't bother. It's always been like that".

Language use at the plant is only a particular case of the general usage patterns which characterize the bilingual community of Malbay, see (p.136).

There is a government-owned cold storage plant in Belle-Anse; it is operated by a fluently bilingual francophone and a monolingual anglophone who take shifts. Their job consists in buying fish from the local fishermen and in selling part of that fish to local and outside customers. The bilingual francophone is definitely at an advantage when he has to serve monolingual francophones.

1.4.3 Malbay 1970: Language affiliation of the adult population

In 1970 there are 66 households in Malbay, six of these households are run by women most of them widows. The adult population consists of 52

females and 60 males. Forty-nine of the 60 males are of English mother tongue (81%) whereas thirty-four of the 52 females are of English mother tongue (65%). As in 1925 the anglophones are still a majority in Malbay and the ratio of anglophones/francophones is almost the same.

In 1970 there are no Norman-French speakers left in the place. The Norman-French speakers listed for 1925 have either died or left the place. None of them handed down Norman French to their children.

Table (18) Malbay 1970: Ethnic and mother tongue affiliation of the heads of household and their wives.

	Males	Females	FMTM[20]	EMTM[20]	FMTF[20]	EMTF[20]
Channel Islands	22	11	0	22	0	11
France	20	20	9	11	16	4
Ireland	10	9	2	8	2	7
Britain[21]	5	6	0	5	0	6
Unknown	3	6	0	3	0	6

The Channel Islanders no longer form the most numerous local ethnic group. Unlike in 1925 they come second after the French group whose adult female population has increased. English is now the mother tongue of all the Channel Islanders. The shift which was far advanced in 1925 is now complete. As in 1925 the mother tongue retention ratio of the French ethnic group is still poor. Half of the members of the French ethnic group have shifted to English. As in 1925 the male population seems particularly affected by the shift toward English. The Irish and British ethnic groups show a high level of mother tongue retention. The former has only suffered

minor losses. This is remarkable since they are Catholics and that has been shown to be favorable to language shift through linguistically-mixed marriages. The British group has lost no speakers and thus shows the best mother tongue retention of the four groups.

Table (19) Marriage patterns in Malbay 1970.

	Males married with Female Protestants		EMTC[22]	FMTC[22]
Protestant	25	20	2	3
English mother tongue Catholic	14	0	10	4
French mother tongue Catholic	8	0	0	8

Most of these marriages involved local people. Of the 47 men married and living in Malbay in 1970, 40 were born in the village. Of their wives 20 were born in Malbay and 10 within the municipality. Only 4 out of the married people were born outside the Gaspé Peninsula.

By 1970 rules relating to religiously-mixed marriages have been somewhat relaxed. This is indicated by a small increase in mixed marriages for 1970. However the social pressures against such marriages are still strong. There are in fact no Catholics married with Protestant women. As in 1925 within the Catholic group there is still a substantial amount of marriages across language groups. Altogether there are 7 cases of marriages across language lines in Malbay. In 1925 there were six. Three of the 7 linguistically-mixed marriages are also religiously mixed; this represents a slight increase by comparison with 1925.

1.4.4 Bilingualism

As "back up" information we shall give first bilingualism rates calculated on the basis of the information about the small census unit which includes our community. This unit is smaller than the municipal unit utilized for the same purpose in our study of Malbay in 1925. In table (21) one will find the proportion of bilinguals in Malbay calculated on the basis of household survey.

Table (20) Proportions of bilinguals in each language group in the local census unit (1961).

French mother tongue bilinguals	males	80%	75%
	females	69%	
English mother tongue bilinguals	males	9%	9%
	females	9%	

Table (21) Proportions of bilingual anglophones and francophones in Malbay 1970.

English mother tongue	males	20%	12%
	females	4%	
French mother tongue	males	81%	71%
	females	62%	

If these figures are compared to those calculated for 1925 one can see a small decrease in the proportion of bilinguals in both language groups.

The male/female difference in bilingualism rate noted for 1925 is

still apparent in 1970. Most obvious is the very low proportion of English-speaking female bilinguals (4%). Calculations for Malbay correspond closely to those obtained for the Census unit. Note that within the unit, English-speaking Catholics are located only in Malbay, the other community Bougainville is all English-speaking Protestants. This accounts for the somewhat lower rate of English-speaking bilinguals found for the whole unit. Finally as in 1925 francophones are still substantially more bilingual than the anglophones at both the "unit" and community level.

Table (22) Proportions of bilinguals by religious groups.

Protestants	males	12%
	females	0%
English mother tongue Catholics	males	29%
	females	8%
French mother tongue Catholics	males	81%
	females	62%

As in 1925 the Protestant group has the smallest proportion of bilingual speakers with a noticeable low of 0% for the female population. The Protestants are followed by the English-speaking Catholics who still come between the Protestants and the French Catholics. The French Catholics still constitute the most bilingual group of the community. However it is interesting to note that they have fewer bilingual speakers than in 1925. This relative decrease will be elaborated upon in the section devoted to the discussion of the results.

1.4.5 Language use at home

(a) Households where English only is used: 45

(b) Households where French only is used: 9

(c) Households where both English and French are used; 4

Information about language use was unavailable or irrelevant (single people, etc.) for 12 households. In all the four households where both languages are used to a varying extent, the husband and wife are of different mother tongue and one of the parents at least is bilingual. In three other households French has been entirely "given up" by bilingual French mother tongue women married to monolingual English-speaking men. These households come under category (a). Finally the only local case of language shift in the strict sense of the term should also be noted. This is a household where one couple of bilingual French mother tongue people have voluntarily given up their mother tongue as a home language and educated their children in English.

1.4.6 Language abilities of the children

By children is meant here elementary and high school children living at home in 1970. There are 114 children living in monolingual English households. Ninety-five percent of these children are not bilingual except for the small amount of French they have learned at school. There are 32 children living in monolingual French households. Forty-five percent of them are bilingual. There are 11 children living in bilingual households and all of them are bilingual and their level of proficiency in one language or another correlates with the amount of French or English used at home and the language education of the children. In three out of the four bilingual

households English is the dominant language despite the fact that the three wives and mothers are of French mother tongue.

1.4.7 Mother tongue maintenance

Unlike the 1925 description the 1970 description provides information on language use at home and language of education chosen for the children in the case of bilingual households. This information will be discussed together with information on assimilation trends. It is hoped to gain thus a better and more thorough understanding of mother tongue shift processes.

The data on ethnic and mother tongue affiliation indicate that as a whole the British and Irish groups have suffered slight losses from assimilation. The high mother tongue retention level of the former group is to be attributed to its religious affiliation (Anglican) which was not conducive to linguistically mixed marriages. The good retention level of the second group can be attributed to the fact that despite their religious affiliation (Catholic) which is favorable to linguistically-mixed marriages, language shift in Malbay has mostly been toward English. The reason that most cases of language shift were in the direction of English emerges clearly from the next section.

As in 1925 the French ethnic group shows a poor level of mother tongue retention and the Norman French group the lowest level of retention, for in 1970 they have been entirely assimilated to the English-speaking group. The reasons for the assimilation of the Channel Islanders have already been discussed in detail in the 1925 description and will not be dealt with again here.

Linguistically-mixed marriages constitute the main source of language

shift. We have seen that in 1970, there is only one case of language shift in the strict sense of the term (cf. p.65). We have also seen that there are seven linguistically-mixed marriages in Malbay. These form the nuclei of seven households. In three of these households, the French mother tongue mothers are not using French at home. The fathers know very little French and the children of these households are sent to the English-speaking school. These three households constitute cases of language shift in the broad sense of the term (cf. Malbay 1925). In the four other households both languages are used at home, but English is the dominant language. French is used by the mothers only when speaking to their children, but to a very small extent. All the heads of these households know little French except one, who is bilingual, the mothers are of French mother tongue and highly bilingual. Here also, all the children except one, are sent to the English-speaking school.

During the household interviews six of the seven couples who had formed linguistically-mixed marriages commented on their language use at home and their language choice for the education of their children. They all said they gave preference to English because "the place is all English" (cf. preceding section on language use). Two of them added that they had chosen English because they thought their children "would stand a better chance in life". All this forces us to conclude that French has a relatively low status in the seven households mentioned above. As a consequence, English supplants to a great extent French as a home and education language in the linguistically-mixed households.

The shift toward English can be partially explained by the dominance of English locally (cf. preceding section on language use). This dominance

goes far back in the history of the community (cf. 1925 study). It probably explains the distaste toward French which emanated from the Catholic authorities in 1925. The fact that English is a dominant language in Canada (the language of better opportunities) may also influence the language preferences of the members of bilingual households in Malbay. However we have seen that only two households gave this explanation for having chosen English. This external factor may be of a more marginal influence.

In summary, one can say that in Malbay, language shift, takes the direction of English. Language shift stems from two "sources" (a) marriages between partners of the same mother tongue who on account of their both being highly bilingual "give up" their mother tongue (this we called language shift in the strict sense of the term);(b) marriages between partners of different mother tongue where one partner gives up his or her mother tongue both as a home language and language of education of the children. This we called language shift in the broad sense of the term. This type of shift is more frequent in Malbay than type (a). Our study has also shown that language shift involves a choice between the two languages in the two important domains of the home and the school.

1.4.8 Discussion of the bilingualism data

The data on bilingualism indicate only slight changes if compared to the 1925 results. The English-speaking group still contains fewer bilinguals than the French-speaking one. The proportion of English-speaking bilinguals has even slightly decreased in comparison with the 1925 data. In this respect one should note that over the last 25 years or so the English-

speaking male active population from Malbay has been little exposed to French in the field of occupation. The two main sources of employment at the local level, fishing and work at the fish plant, do not necessitate bilingual skills. Things are different in Gaspé, but one recalls that jobs there are not plenty and generally necessitate skills of all kinds including bilingualism which the anglophones do not possess yet. Most anglophones prefer to remain in the place and try to find work locally. Work at the local level is not plentiful and does not pay much. As a result a substantial proportion of the local population resort to year-round unemployment which "pays" more than doing jobs locally. Government intervention in the local economy in the form of unemployment payment, the scarcity of jobs suitable for the local people in Gaspé, and the fact that local jobs do not require bilingual skills, account for the low proportion of bilingual anglophones in Malbay. To this should be added the fact that the anglophones are still a majority at the local level (75% of the Malbay population). As a result the anglophones are on the whole little exposed to French in the course of daily interaction on the local scene.

The high proportion of bilinguals among the French-speaking group can be mainly accounted for by the fact that they are a minority and therefore highly exposed to English locally (cf. preceding sections on language affiliation and language use). However the high proportion of bilingual francophones is also a result of the past, i.e. when local occupational pressures forced the francophones to become bilingual (cf. 1925). We have seen that such pressures no longer exist at the local level. The francophones from Malbay are in a relatively better position to find jobs in Gaspé on account of their speaking French. Unlike the anglophones

bilingualism is becoming less and less of a requirement for them to obtain employment in Gaspé. All this probably explains why the proportion of bilingual francophones has slightly decreased in Malbay.

We have seen that owing to the centralization of economic institutions and public services in Gaspé the people from Malbay have to depend on Gaspé in an increasing number of matters. However we have also seen that Gaspé is becoming increasingly French speaking and so are the institutions and public services located there. This is bound to affect Malbay anglophones who have to use the services and institutions of Gaspé. If the proportion of bilingual anglophones is to increase at all in Malbay it will most probably be due to the progressive "frenchification" of Gaspé with its institutions and services. This will force the anglophones to acquire enough French to interact with the people who work in those services and institutions. Conversely we can predict that the number of bilingual francophones will decrease in Malbay, a consequence of the disappearance of occupational pressures to learn English both at the local and regional level.

What we have said about religion and bilingualism in our 1925 description is valid for 1970. The Catholic anglophones still represent an intermediary category between the Catholic francophones and the Protestant anglophones. They include less bilinguals than the francophones but more than the Protestants. Protestant imperviousness to French can be correlated with the fact that the Protestants have institutions of their own (church, school, etc.) and that still in 1970 social interaction with the Catholics is frowned upon. However within the Catholic group both language groups share common institutions and interact across language lines. We have also seen that within the Catholic group marriages across

language groups are not uncommon the latter constituting a favorable setting for bilingualism. The high proportion of bilingual Catholic francophones as we have seen is mainly attributable to their minority status.

In summary, one can say that bilingualism in Malbay is conditioned by a variety of economic and demographic factors, i.e. the numerical strength of both groups at the local level, government intervention in the field of "employment", evolution of the language situation in Gaspé, and last but not least religious affiliation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 In this thesis, following local usage, the Gaspé Peninsula will be referred to as the Gaspé or the Peninsula, whereas the town of Gaspé will be referred to as Gaspé or Gaspé Town.

2 The 1971 Canadian Census has not been released yet.

3 1961 Census information has not been broken down for Greater Matane.

4 As far as bilingualism goes, no distinction has been made here between males and females. This does not imply that we have not found the distinction meaningful. In point of fact the male section of the population is almost always significantly more bilingual (i.e. quantitatively) than the female section. This is valid for both language groups and can generally be attributed to the effect of occupational pressures. A more detailed study of some of the conditioning factors leading to bilingualism will be made later on in Chapter I.

5 The relationship between the proportion of bilinguals per language group and the respective size of the language groups in a given area is discussed at length in Lieberson (1970).

6 Outside Gaspé County East there are two other such areas with a relatively high concentration of English speakers. They are both located in Bonaventure County. The first one consists mainly of the two towns of Port Daniel and New Carlisle and neighboring communities. The second one consists of the two towns of New Richmond and Carleton.

7 When Census information is missing, it is indicated by a - .

8 Calculation of the English-speaking Catholic population has been made on the assumption that all Protestants are of English mother tongue, which is not always completely true (see Malbay 1925). However the error will be less than 5%.

9 Detailed analysis of the records of Barachois parish which includes our community showed that over 35% of all the marriages recorded from 1910 to 1970 were linguistically-mixed.

10 Lieberson (1970) in his study of language maintenance in Canada posits that bilingual marriages where both husband and wife give up a common mother tongue for a common second language are at the origin of language shift (mother tongue losses) at the group level. On the basis of my study, I feel that this is too narrow an account of assimilation processes. Linguistically-mixed marriages should also be viewed as a source of language shift and quite probably the most important one.

11 Quebec differs from the other provinces of Canada where the educational rights and institutions of the national language minority (the French) vary in importance: the equal status granted to the English-speaking minority in Quebec in the field of education may help them to maintain their language in predominantly French-speaking areas like the Gaspé.

12 The date 1925 has been selected for two reasons mainly. It is approximately the earliest point in the past which a substantial number of community members have lived as adult and are more likely to recall, also 1925 comes before the "Depression" which was to be followed by the gradual loss of control of the local and regional economy by the anglophones.

13 Fish: cod.

14 This was understandable for there were only a few Protestants of French mother tongue and besides they were bilingual. However earlier still it does not seem unlikely that a few Protestant churches in the Gaspé operated in French in areas where the Channel Islands settlers were in sufficient number. This assumption is based on reports by Bishop Mountain (1942) who says he attended services given in French during his tour of the Gaspé in 1826.

15 For the Channel Islands group read Norman French.

16 Britain: England and Scotland.

17 Samples of Gaspesian Norman French recorded in the field have been found to be quite different from Canadian French.

18 A similar phenomenon was observed by scholars from the University of Newfoundland in the trilingual situation of the Port au Port Peninsula, Southwestern Newfoundland. The bilingual Breton French-speaking settlers of the Port au Port Peninsula were observed to use Breton as an ingroup-language to communicate matters they would rather their English-speaking neighbors not hear. In Tumin (1952) (cf. Introduction to Chapter I) the Indians are reported to use their dialect when they wish to talk about matters which they don't want the Spanish-speaking villagers to understand.

19 Although some of the information which will be discussed here was gathered during the summer of 1971, for practical reasons all the information has been standardized for the year 1970 during which most of the field work was conducted.

20 FMTM: French mother tongue male
EMTM: English mother tongue male
FMTF: French mother tongue female
EMTF: English mother tongue female

21 England and Scotland.

22 EMTC: English mother tongue Catholics
FMTC: French mother tongue Catholics

CHAPTER II

HOW THE MALBAY PEOPLE PERCEIVE THEIR LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Scope of the study

The purpose of this study is to describe language attitudes in Malbay in 1970 (when the research was conducted). The study was largely inductive, i.e. generalization followed observation. Only to a limited degree were hypotheses formulated before the data were collected and tested by the data.

The study will procede along two different but complementary lines. The first will be descriptive and taxonomic. For this reason the study can be rightfully labeled ethnographic. The language attitudes of the community will be described, and illustrated by examples, in such a way as to highlight age and language group differences. Attitudes will also be classified under categories which will be presently examined (p.82): attitudes to the languages themselves, to their speakers, to language use and language choice, to second language learning and to the use and worth of bilingualism. The second line of study will be analytic and explanatory. Language attitudes will be analyzed in the broader socioeconomic context of the community and, where appropriate, of the region, province and nation. We shall then be in a position to answer such questions as where and when certain attitudes originated? What are the functions of certain attitudes in a community like Malbay? What impact do national language values have on a local system of attitudes? How do attitudes relate to behavior? The full implications of these questions will appear more clearly in the

following theoretical discussion. The method which underlies the study of language attitudes in Malbay is that of community study. My choosing that method was partly motivated by the paucity of similar studies within the field of sociolinguistics (cf. p. 3) and, more specifically, in the sub-field of attitudinal studies (Fishman 1970). My choice was also motivated by my working in Malbay with Roger Clarke, who introduced me to the merits and advantages of community studies as a method of understanding a certain group of people's perception of their environment and their behavior within that environment. Some of the methodological and theoretical problems of community studies are discussed in Redfield (1969) and in Arensberg et al. (1965).

2.1.2 Related studies

Language attitudes have been the object of a sizable number of different studies both in the field of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. They are too numerous to be all reviewed here. In the following review of some of the major works on language attitudes, I shall follow the classification adopted by Fishman (1970) and shall examine five major categories of language attitude studies. These will be classified on the basis of two criteria, the topic of the studies and the method used. All these studies deal with questions which shall be examined in this chapter. This review should help to locate our study within the field of language attitude studies, and lend perspective to the interpretation of the data.

The first category is that of studies which deal with the way members of a speech community perceive the coexistence of a classical or standard variety with a modern or nonstandard variety. Belonging to this category

is the study by Ferguson (1968). It is based on the author's personal observations and its topic is the attitudes of speakers of Arabic to the Arabic language and to its dialects. The study reveals that, throughout the Arab world, speakers of Arabic hold a considerable number of common attitudes toward the Arabic language, which is looked upon as superior (it is beautiful, logical, and rich), toward classical Arabic, which is thought to be a perfect model (divine and everlasting) and toward the various dialects of Arabic, which are thought to be more or less close to classical Arabic.

The second category of language attitude studies is the one which deals with the way creoles or pidgins are perceived by their speakers. There are very few studies of this kind. One can quote here Samarin's (1966) study of the influence of prestige factors on the language behavior of speakers of Sango, a creolized lingua franca of Central Africa. Two methods were used for this study, a survey questionnaire to gather attitudes toward the language, and interviews to gather linguistic data. In the Central African Republic, Sango is spoken by over half the population as a second or first language. French, the official language of the country, is restricted to government and education. It is quite clearly the language of the elite. Sango has no official status but it is the language of wider communication in the Republic of Central Africa, and serves to unify the numerous linguistic groups of the country. Sango is viewed by many Central Africans as the only means for upward social mobility. Samarin's study shows that contrary to ordinary expectations the relative prestige of Sango leads its speakers to diversify it rather than homogenize it. This is due to several causes. The native speakers of the numerous languages of the country only

have an approximative knowledge of what the Sango language is. When they speak Sango they try to avoid using forms which would betray their rural origin. When in search of a word or an expression they will borrow them from languages that are not their own. These borrowing processes are fairly unsystematic. Hence the diversity of Sango. To some extent Sango is defined negatively as what is not the speakers' native language. The study shows that the diversity of Sango is linked with the speakers' feelings of insecurity about this language.

The third category covers a wide range of studies whose object is the social attributes assigned to the speakers of a given language variety by the speakers themselves or by members of another language variety. There are many studies which belong to this category. Most of them have been conducted by Lambert in collaboration with other social psychologists. Typical of these studies is the one by Lambert, Frankel, Tucker (1970). The study investigates the way French Canadian high school teenage girls perceive French Canadians and English Canadians. It is based on an analysis of the girls' reactions to the recorded speech of bilingual speakers reading French and English versions of a similar text. The bilingual speakers were equally fluent in both languages and the teenage girls were not aware that it was the same person who was reading the text in both languages. The teenage girls were asked to rate the personality and social characteristics of the speakers whose voice they heard on tape. To do so, the French Canadian high school girls were given a number of personality and social traits which they had to weigh for each speaker on a five point scale. The study reveals that to a varying extent the French Canadian girls have a tendency to rate the English speakers more favorably than the

French speakers. Among other things the study also reveals that the more bilingual the teenage girls and the higher their socioeconomic background, the less favorably they rated French Canadian speakers and the more favorably they rated the English voices.

The fourth category of language attitude studies deals with the way speakers of a multilingual speech community perceive patterns of language use and language choice. Fishman, Cooper and Ma's Bilingualism in the Barrio (1968) contains a number of such studies. These studies show that the speakers of multilingual speech communities hold definite views about their own patterns of language use or those of other speakers. This is apparent from their answers to questions about language use. Two methods were used to gather attitudes to language use: semi directed interviews and questionnaires.

Rubin's (1968) study is perhaps the best example of studies of perception of language use in a bilingual community. The method used was a detailed questionnaire designed to elicit information about the usage patterns of Guarani-Spanish bilinguals in Paraguay. Rural and urban bilingual speakers were asked to indicate which language they would use (Guarani or Spanish or both) in thirty-nine given communication situations, e.g. "which language would you use when speaking with your grandparents?", "which language would you use with your children when angry?", "which language would you use in town or Asunciòn?". Analysis of the respondents' answers indicates that the language use of the bilinguals is conditioned by several variables: (a) the location of the speech event (town vs. country); (b) the degree of formality of the interaction (differences in role relationships); (c) the degree of intimacy of the speakers; (d) the

seriousness of the discourse (humorous vs. serious); (e) the sex of the speakers. From this emerges an overall distribution of usage where in a substantial number of situations, Guarani and Spanish are mutually exclusive and in other situations they are in free variation. The author hypothesizes that the sizable number of situations where the two languages are mutually exclusive indicates that Paraguay is moving toward a situation of stable bilingualism.

The last major category of language attitude studies to be reviewed here deals with attitudes to second language learning. Lambert is the author of several studies centered on the role of attitudes in second language acquisition. Attitudes to second language learning were primarily gathered with questionnaires. The main findings of these studies are summarized by the author himself in an article about the "Social Psychology of Bilingualism" (Lambert 1967, p.91-109). One of his findings is that the success of second language learners depends not only on their intellectual capacities but also to a considerable extent on the attitudes they foster toward the language they want to learn and the members of the linguistic-cultural group speaking that language. On the basis of his studies Lambert is led to differentiate between two basic orientations toward second language learning: the integrative one and the instrumental one. The former corresponds to a desire to know and understand better the speakers of a given language. This can go as far as wanting to become a potential member of the linguistic and cultural group. The latter is a desire to better oneself materially by means of the language. The integrative orientation is found to be more likely to lead to success in the acquisition of a second language than the instrumental one.

In "Attitudes and Learning a Second Language" Macnamara (1972) holds views about attitudes which run counter to those commonly held in the field. The author contends that attitudes of the type discussed by Lambert play only a minor role in second language learning. Success in second language learning, he claims, largely depends on the learning situation. A child or adult who learns a language during the course of his daily interaction with the members of the language group is primarily motivated by communication needs. He will primarily view language as the means of communication, rather than a means to achieve more abstract integrative or instrumental goals.

2.2 Theoretical considerations

2.2.1 Language perceptions, language behavior, language environment

By language environment[1] is meant here that subpart of the total environment which pertains to language varieties, and to the users and use of such varieties.

The "products" of the community's perception of their language environment will be labeled here language attitudes. In the preceding review of the literature we have seen that language attitudes, (particularly in multilingual settings), are not only related to language per se but also to a variety of usages, institutions, policies, media, etc. linked with language. Language attitudes as defined above are themselves a part of the community's language environment and therefore can in turn be the object of the community's perception. This is particularly valid for language attitudes varying across language groups.

Attitudes, we believe, constitute one aspect of man's adaptation to

his environment. This adaptation is of a dynamic nature. Man not only adapts to a given environment but also shapes and modifies this environment, thus bringing about new situations and institutions and behavior patterns, which in turn are the object of man's perception. The perception of such attitudes will itself to a certain extent influence man's behavior within and toward the above mentioned situations and institutions. Thus one can say that man reacts to his environment as a function of previously acquired experience and knowledge which amongst other things include attitudes. These reactive processes may generate new attitudes but are also themselves partly the results of knowledge of attitudes. The relationship is thus both dynamic and circular.

We have to bear in mind that what we are attempting here is an almost impossible task: to abstract man's attitudes and certain aspects of his behavior from the complex set that we have labeled environment. In the attempt we may sometimes lose the "global" perspective which one must have to understand the nature of man's attitudes and behavioral patterns. Underestimation of this global perspective may conceivably lead us more or less unconsciously to establish strong unidirectional causal relationships between a given set of attitudes and a given set of behavioral patterns, e.g. establishing a causal relationship between some of the attitudes and, say, second language acquisition or level of bilingualism. Several papers focusing on different aspects of bilingualism and/or second language acquisition (Macnamara 1972, in press; Fishman 1966; Lieberson 1970) remind us that attitudes are only one among the set of factors that account for these two phenomena. Economic, demographic, institutional, geographical factors have also been shown to have some influence on bilingualism and

second language acquisition. Attitudes tell only one part of the story. For the reasons stated above we shall therefore try to view language attitudes and language behavior in the most global context possible.

2.2.2 Classifying language attitudes

Language attitudes as defined in the preceding paragraph will cover a large body of perceptual products which we will attempt to classify. These perceptual products may be appropriately assigned some of the following labels: personal or common beliefs, institutionalized explanations, myths, stories, and reported facts. These may be the result or cause of more general feelings of like or dislike, admiration, contempt toward various aspects of the community's language environment.

2.2.2.1 Attitudes to language itself

These are perceptual products oriented toward the languages used in a given multilingual setting such as comments on their usefulness, difficulty to learn, esthetic qualities and purity. "The French spoken down here is not a language. It's a mixture, a gibberish."[2]; "The French language is a lot harder to learn than English.".

2.2.2.2 Attitudes to speakers

Language attitudes may also relate to the users of the language. They may for example as in Malbay include explanations for the bilingualism of a group of speakers, stressing the "innate" abilities of these speakers, their greater motivations. "The French they're a lot better at picking up languages than the English."; "The French they pick up English in no time.";

"The English, they don't want to learn French.".

Attitudes toward speakers may also focus on actual patterns of language use such as the general willingness of one group to talk the other group's language, the difficulties experienced by the other group when their linguistic advances are rebuffed, the propensity of one group of speakers to borrow from the other group's language. "The French from St. Georges[3] they're good. They talk to you in English. They're a different race of people."; "In Gaspé town it's getting more and more French now. And they don't always speak to you in English. So we have to muddle through.".

These attitudes may also be at a more general level and pertain to the nature of a broader type of interaction between the two communities. "The English and the French used to be like cat and dog around here."; "There never was any problem with the French.".

They may also be of a complex nature, i.e. a combination of ethnic, cultural and language considerations (e.g. the ethnic and linguistic components of Frenchness or Englishness and problems of loss of ethnic and language affiliation or identity). "In Cap des Rosiers[4] you have a lot of English people there. I mean they're French really. They talk French but they all have English names."; "I am English but I guess I must have a bit of French in me for I talk a lot with my hands.".

Speaker-centered attitudes may also be directed toward the users of a given language viewed as a group that grows or decreases in number. Thus they may include attitudes about the numerical strengths of the two groups. "Not so long ago it used to be all English in Gaspé, now it's all French."; "The French are trying to drive the English out of Québec.".

2.2.2.3 Attitudes to institutions

These may include: the perception of the language policy and usage of governmental and private institutions, the teaching of the other group's language at school and the general language policy of the government. "If you want to find work in Gaspé town you have to speak French."; "The Québec government they are pushing French too much these days.".

2.2.3 Sorting out language attitudes: The observer's point of view and the native perception.

If one attempts to understand part of man's perception and adaptation to his linguistic environment the study of language attitudes will prove to be valuable. We shall see later on that language attitudes can be important cues for a partial understanding of man's language and language-related behavior. But we should be aware of the discrepancy that exists between the observer's specialized perception and understanding of language and language problems and the perception of the average language user. We must refrain from labeling some of the native perceptions as naïve or simplistic for we would run the risk of underestimating their importance and value. Statements or explanations that may sound fanciful or mythical to the specialized observer often prove to have a different value and play an important role within the system of beliefs and perception of a given community.

When the observer arrives in the field he may be tempted to sort out rapidly a number of local perceptions as beliefs, myths, etc. because the local perceptions conflict with some fundamental assumption or principle of his discipline. This labeling will reflect the observer's outlook, but it

may not necessarily correspond to the native perception. The observer will have to be careful not to let his perception of reality interfere with his analysis and description of the local perception of reality. For example one could be tempted to label as myth or belief the following stereotype: "French is a lot harder to learn than English" which stands as an explanation for the very low level of bilingualism of the Malbay anglophones. However a more detailed analysis of the local language-oriented value system would convince one of the fact that this stereotype as a component of the local world view, is probably the most important and plausible explanation or reason given for the low level of bilingualism among anglophones. This explanation should be therefore viewed as an important unit of the local system of perception and values oriented toward language. Our aim we should recall is to describe the way the community members themselves perceive their language environment. This implies that the local perceptual products be assigned their proper value and function within the language-perception system of the community. To gain a better understanding of some of the functions and values of language attitudes we shall look at some of the attitudinal material gathered for our study. Our two main sources of attitudinal material were the answers given to a number of questions included in the interviews I conducted in the area and also in parts of relatively uninhibited informal conversations in which I took part as a participant observer. Some of the methodological problems related to the techniques utilized for gathering attitudinal information will be dealt with at length in Chapter II.

2.2.4 The ritualistic use and reassuring function of language attitudes in Malbay

At this point, one should recall the situation described in Chapter I, p.70. We have seen that the anglophones from Malbay, more so perhaps, than the anglophones from Montreal have now reached a stage where they are losing both their linguistic and economic dominance. As Gaspé becomes increasingly French and work becomes scarce, they are confronted with the two problems of incipient bilingualism and massive unemployment. They are also aware of the Quebec government's intentions and measures "to push bilingualism" in the Province. All these problems have prompted among Malbay anglophones a number of defense reactions, part of their overall adaptation to their environment, which notably include the ritualistic use of attitudinal statements.

As I have already mentioned, during the course of my research I took part as a participant observer in conversations centered on "the problems" of the Gaspé coast analyzed from a local perspective. The two most often discussed topics were on the one hand, welfare and unemployment and on the other hand, the growing nationalism of the French in Québec often associated if not equated with the present provincial government's language policy. Time and again these two issues came up and each time almost the same stereotyped attitudinal statements were exchanged such as: "There is not too much work around here, but one thing good about the place is that there is no pollution at all, and the air is pure."; "There are a lot of people on welfare down here, but they could all be back at work if they wanted to, for there is lots of fish in the bay and fishing has been pretty good these last few years."; "The French and the English always got

along fine down here."; "There never was any trouble around here, it's the cities that make all the trouble about languages."; "With language, things should have been left the way they were."; "The French, they have a gift for languages."; "They don't talk the proper French down here it's a jargon. They use words they shouldn't use."; "It's no use to learn the proper French for they[5] won't understand it.". Both the content and form of these conversations are highly predictable. The same stereotyped statements like those just listed, keep coming back in an almost ritualistic fashion. Some of these statements may be contradictory but their contradictory nature often passes unnoticed. What seems to be more important is the sense of security and group reassurance induced by such ritualistic exchanges. The same topics are raised and "solved" in the same way. These ritualistic conversations based on the exchange of a number of limited and stereotyped statements were felt to be characteristic of the English-speaking community of Malbay. We are here touching upon an important function of "attitudes" linked with their usage at the group level.

We hypothesize here that language attitude statements and attitudinal statements in general may be of a reassuring nature because they are part of that local common "language", the local value system produced and evolved by the community members in adapting to their milieu, hence their use as semi-ritualistic defense mechanisms when crucial issues are raised in the community. Another hypothesis comes to mind however. The frequency of such ritualistic "conversation" may be linked with the degree of importance which local people attach to the problems and the degree to which they are aware of them. In other words the more serious the local problems, the more frequent these "conversations".

It seems that within our discipline more attention should be devoted to the study of the expression of attitudinal patterns in informal conversations. Attention might be given to the occurrence (relative frequency and context) of the attitudinal statements, to their varying degree of stereotypy and to their form and content, so as to gain a better understanding of some of their functions and values, within a given community's system of adaptation to its language environment.

2.2.5 The genesis and evolution of language attitudes

2.2.5.1 General considerations

Another important question linked with the study of language attitudes is that of their origin and evolution in time and space. By introducing the time dimension we acknowledge the fact that attitudinal patterns as we have already seen are of a dynamic nature. The question can thus be raised as to how and when certain attitudes appear and change and are replaced by new attitudes. By introducing the spatial dimension we recognize the relationship that exists between locally-derived, regionally-derived and nationally-derived ideologies, value systems, in urbanized societies. In the increasingly rare case of a rural, homogeneous, selfcontained community, the problem of the spatial origin of attitudes will be comparatively simple, for in such a case it will usually be apparent when attitudes are locally derived.

In Malbay, the matter is not so simple. With the development of the mass media and transportation, Malbay anglophones now (as opposed to say a 100 years ago) identify with members of several social units, i.e. the local English-speaking majority of Malbay and neighboring village: "Around

here it's all English they (the French) have to talk English.", a regional minority: "In Gaspé we have to muddle through.", a provincial minority: "In the Province of Québec, like it or not, you have to talk French.", a national majority: "We better get out of Québec while the going is good.".

Tha language attitudes of the Malbay people are no longer limited to the locality as far as their origin and orientation go. The English-speaking population from Malbay has become increasingly aware of certain aspects of the language ideologies and policies of Québec and Canada. They are also aware of the respective numerical and economic strength of the anglophones and francophones at the regional, provincial and national levels. Viewed from this angle an attempt at understanding the genesis of the "local" language attitudes will be a complex and challenging task. Thus the origin and evolution of an increasing number of Malbay language attitudes can be viewed to a certain extent as the reaction of the community members to various aspects of the provincial and national language ideologies or policies. By reaction we mean here the assignment of a number of different values[6] to certain aspects of these ideologies. Needless to say these ideologies may differ from the values given to the same ideologies or policies by the people who have taken part in their elaboration.

2.2.5.2 The incorporation of the notion of bilingualism in Malbay value system

We shall give here a concrete example to illustrate the preceding paragraph. If one looks at the relatively recent impact of the provincial and national idea of "bilingualism" and the lexical item "bilingual" on the local value system and language, one may gain some understanding of the

genesis of some attitudinal patterns. At the level of language it is of some interest to note that the word bilingual itself has not yet become part of everybody's active vocabulary (cf. Chapter III). The idea of "bilingualism" is often rendered by "talking both" or "knowing both". This is especially true of the older speakers of English. The older people's lack of familiarity with the recently imported word "bilingual" is to be taken together with their relative lack of sensitivity to language-related issues. In this respect it is felt that a study of usage variations of a number of key words referring to specific language-related questions, along language group, socioeconomic lines should prove to be of interest in our field.

Local statements like "Today it's good to be bilingual.", "In the province of Quebec you have to talk both.", "X is raising his kids bilingual.", "I can talk bilingual.", "There is money in bilingualism.", are all in a different way a reflection of the impact of one aspect of the national ideology, on the local life. Here the generation of "language attitudes" is to be understood as the result of an increased awareness by the local people of several aspects of the multifaceted notion of bilingualism; it is this awareness which brings about their incorporation into the local perception system centered on language. Different aspects of the notion of bilingualism are assigned specific values and functions which are evidenced by the existence of attitudinal statements.

2.2.6 Summary

In the preceding theoretical discussion, we have viewed language attitudes within the larger context of man's adaptation to his linguistic

environment. The latter, we feel, has to be understood within the larger context of man's overall adaptation to his societal environment. We have then devoted some attention to some of the problems raised by the relationship existing between language attitudes and language behavior, the classification of language attitudes, some aspects of the functional use of language attitudes, and the genesis and evolution of language attitudes.

2.3 Questions of methodology

2.3.1 Introduction

In this section I will comment on some of the methodological problems raised by language-attitude studies. I will give an account of the methodological difficulties encountered in the field and how with varying degrees of success they were coped with. My excuse for extending this discussion is that so far, little has been written about field-method problems in the context of community studies centered on language attitudes. In the field of anthropological community study a similar lack was observed and regretted by Freilich in his book "Marginal Natives" (1969). One will see that some of the general methodological problems of anthropological descriptions are of interest to this study.

2.3.2 Questionnaires versus interviews

In order to elicit information concerning the language-perception system of Malbay I had to choose between several methods: written questionnaires, interviews and experimental techniques like the matched guise testing.

Written questionnaires were ruled out because they would have been too

complex and formal for the majority of my informants. Most Malbay adults have had only little formal education and some of the older generation cannot read or write. Questionnaires were also ruled out on account of the controversial nature of some of the questions I intended to tackle with the community members. Some informants would have probably been reluctant to set down in black and white their personal views and feelings about controversial issues.

I selected the interview method for the following reasons. Unlike written questionnaires, interviews allow for greater flexibility and variability. The probing of a given question is rendered easier, because the interviewer can if need be come back several times to the topic but from a different angle each time. What is more, interviews enable the investigator to adapt to the varying level of sophistication of his informants in the formulation of his questions. This was a most crucial consideration in Malbay.

The main drawbacks of interviews is that they are conducive to inhibitions on both the part of the interviewer and the interviewee especially when the interviewer takes notes while the informant is speaking. I personally experienced that my taking notes when controversial subjects were tackled was often a source of considerable embarrassment to both parties and caused the interviewee to become too guarded. The ideal type of interview is I believe the one where the observer takes very little notes. However having little confidence in my faulty memory I resorted most of the time to tape-recorded interviews which I think represent a satisfactory compromise. I noticed that most informants in the course of tape recorded interviews were on the whole less selfconscious and inhibited than during

interviews where I had to take notes. Tape-recorded interviews also present another advantage, i.e. they provide the investigator with precise contextual information that is often useful to gain a better understanding of the attitudinal statements. Such interviews also yield a substantial amount of linguistic material which often proves to be of value for community studies. This I personally found to be of paramount importance for the formulation of some of my questions and the interpretation of some of the attitudinal material that I collected. A good knowledge of the local language variety is a prerequisite to the study of language-attitude in a community.

Lambert's matchedguise testing (see introduction to Chapter II p.77) was not chosen on account of the small size of the community which would have made it difficult to select a suitable number of judges and speakers. Most of all the sophistication of the testing would unfortunately have been too much for most of Malbay people who would have been embarrassed by it and either failed to understand its procedure or simply refused to cooperate. The decision not to use the technique was motivated by the fact that an early attempt at testing members of the local population in a fairly simple way met with failure.

2.3.3 Content of the interviews

Before I started the interviews I gave a brief explanation of the purpose of my study and of the interview. I also made it clear that the questions which I was going to ask of the participants were not meant to test their intelligence. The interviews started invariably with a series of questions[7] addressed to the head of the household. These questions were

meant to gather information about: the age, place of birth, length of residence in Malbay, length of schooling, religion and work history of the head of household and his wife.

This was followed by questions also addressed to the head of household, to obtain information about: (a) the second language abilities of the head of household, his wife (the question was posed to the wife if she was present), his children, his parents and his wife's parents (the question was also addressed to the wife when she was present); (b) where and when the head of household and his wife learned their second language; (c) which language(s) is (are) spoken at home and the reasons for this choice; (d) the household radio and TV preferences (French or English or both); (e) the language use of the place where the head of the household is working.

Finally I asked a series of questions, addressed to the head of household, which all the participants were invited to answer if they felt like doing so. These questions were meant to elicit attitudinal information about the following topics: (a) the language and ethnic affiliation of the interviewee and his wife, their neighbors and members of neighboring communities; (b) how the interviewees perceive Malbay's varieties of French and English; (c) their awareness of neighboring dialects of French or English; (d) their perception of the teaching of French at the local school; (e) how they explain the low proportion of bilinguals among the anglophones and the high proportion of bilingual francophones in Malbay; (f) their perception of the numerical strength of the local English-speaking majority and French-speaking minority; (g) the difficulties they may experience by not knowing French or English at the local and regional level; (h) their perception of relations between the Anglicans and the Catholics and of

relations between the English-speaking people and French-speaking people.

Some of the topics included in the attitudinal part of the interview were looked upon as controversial by the local people. These topics, (b) (c) (e) in particular, caused embarrassment when they were raised during the first interviews, and a substantial proportion of interviewees tried to avoid answering questions dealing with such topics, probably because they objected to being forced to answer such controversial questions. I also felt that under such circumstances the answers I would obtain stood a greater chance of being biassed because the participants tried to meet the observer's expectations. I came to the conclusion that straight questions were not the best way to obtain information about controversial topics. Instead I adopted a semidirected approach and decided to let the participants speak for themselves on those topics. This I achieved with varying degrees of success by introducing the topics in an indirect way hoping the interviewees would respond to them and elaborate on them, rather than forcing the interviewees to answer direct questions. The participants could, if they felt like it, abstain from commenting upon the topics and some of them did. However a varying proportion of participants (depending on the topic) commented on them, on their own initiative. In this case it can be assumed that the views they expressed then,were more likely to be their own. Consequently the information gathered in this way was more reliable. The indirect approach is to my mind the best way to get at people's perception of controversial questions.

The fact that a proportion of interviewees failed to comment upon some of the controversial topics rendered absolute quantification impossible. However, as will be seen later, I tried systematically to give indications

about the proportion of informants who did express specific attitudes alongside the proportion of those who did not.

2.3.4 The interviewees

We have seen in Chapter I that at the time of the study 1970-1971 there were 66 households in Malbay. Fifty-five of the heads of household were English speaking and eleven were French speaking. Eighteen per cent of the anglophone heads of household were bilingual whereas eighty per cent of the francophone heads of household were. For reasons stated in the preface I did not interview all the heads of household of Malbay. Nonetheless I managed to interview thirty-seven of the fifty-five English-speaking heads of household and eight of the eleven French-speaking heads of household. Altogether seventy per cent of the heads of household were interviewed. All the questions were addressed to the head of household although adult members of the household who were present were invited to voice their opinions. However only the answers and comments of the heads of household have been quantified. A good proportion of the heads of household which were not interviewed were unemployed at the time of the study. Twenty-nine of the forty-five who were interviewed had some kind of occupation. Seven of the heads of household who were interviewed were aged between 20 to 40, 22 were aged between 40 to 60, thirteen between 60 to 80 and two were more than 80.

2.4 How the Malbay community perceive their language environment: the data

2.4.1 Attitudes toward the language itself

In the following subsections we shall successively devote some

attention to (a) the way the people from Malbay perceive the local varieties of French and English, (b) how the English-speaking groups perceive their own vernacular, how the French-speaking group perceive their own vernacular, (c) how the two groups perceive each other's vernacular.

2.4.1.1 Perception of the local variety of French by Malbay anglophones

All the English speakers who commented on the local variety of French (70% of our informants) downgraded it. During the course of my research (interviews, conversations, etc.) I have not heard one single comment in one way favorable to the local variety of French. Nearly all comments (90%) about "Malbay" French center on two themes: (a) the alleged mixed nature of the local French illustrated by the local stereotype: "It's not a language it's a mixture"; (b) the incorrectness or "patois" status of Malbay French illustrated by the stereotypes "They don't speak the proper French down here.", "They the French around here speak a jargon down here.". We shall give here a few of these attitudinal comments pointing out the two themes mentioned.

(a) "The French they speak down here is not like the real French. It's a mixture of French and English. It's bad French really."; "Around here people don't talk French. It's a gibberish, 1 word of French 6 of English."; "We don't know too much French ourselves but I know that the French spoken down here is a mixture really. Fifty per cent French, fifty per cent English, not like the proper French.". (b) "I can speak French but I mean it's poor French. It's very difficult to speak the proper language down here because everybody else they murder the grammar."; "Down here they speak a lingo. The worst kind of French you can imagine you'll

hear it around here."; "The French down here they don't speak the proper French. They use words they shouldn't use.".

Interestingly, in the six bilingual households where the wife was of French mother tongue and the husband of English mother tongue, the English-speaking head of household abstained from commenting about the local variety of French.

One interesting function of type (b) statements is their occasional use by the anglophones from Malbay as a semi-ritualistic (cf. Chapter II, p.87) explanation for their not speaking French. "You learn a few things at school but they're no good to you. It's altogether different what they speak around here. Not like if you'd go to France or Paris. There they would understand you. You go to places like Barachois.[8] There you don't understand what they're talking about. It makes it hard in the store. What we learned at school is pure French. It's different from what they talk. When you go out it's habitant. They don't understand you."; "The French they speak around here is bad French. Quite different from the French they learn at school. I can't understand them they use different words. In English it's not like that, a stove is a stove. It makes it bad for the English to learn French."; "At school they teach Parisian French, the real French, but the French around here they don't understand it. Our son he didn't want to learn French[9] for he thought it would be of no use for they don't understand it.".

We shall see later that most of the explanations given by the English-speaking group from Malbay for their not being "bilingual" are situated at two different levels: the local level which we have just seen (a) "Down here it's not the proper French." and a more general level (b) "The French

language is harder to pick up than English.". The latter type of explanation is the one most favored by Malbay anglophones.

Remarks about the difference between local French and standard French were sometimes backed up by reports of cases where local or neighboring French-speaking people and French people from France (tourists or recent immigrants) could not understand one another. Thirty-five per cent of the informants who commented on the local French made such backup remarks: "What we learn at school is pure French. It's different from what they talk. When you go out it's habitant. They don't understand you. A traveler came to our store the other day, he was right from France. A fellow came up to him and asked him about something. He couldn't understand him."; "You know the X from Corner of the Beach.[10] Well there came some French tourists from France one day, they tried to talk French together. They couldn't understand each other.".

The latter "story" was told me seven times by different informants. It is probably in the process of becoming an institutionalized comment. The institutionalized statements about the patois status of the local French were also backed up by a member of equally institutionalized and stereotyped "concrete" examples. The two most frequent examples were the reported local use of "châssis" instead of standard "fenêtre", and the use of "piastre" for "dollar".

The reported use of "canne" instead of "boîte" by the local francophones, is also a "popular" example among the English-speaking group. "Bad pronunciation" is often reported by the local anglophones to be a feature of the local French. "The way they pronounce French, down here, is pretty bad.". However only one informant gave me a specific instance of

bad pronunciation.

The "failure" by the anglophones to give specific examples of bad pronunciation is perhaps a consequence of the fact that most local anglophones know little French. In turn this lack of familiarity may partly account for the general emphasis with which the local French dialect is downgraded by the anglophones. The anglophones may have also lately become aware of the Office de la Langue Française's campaign for a purification of French in Quebec.

Interestingly most of the above mentioned attitudinal statements or explanations are not inaccurate descriptions of the local situation even if some of them caricature it. Thus the local variety of French contains indeed a substantial number of borrowings from English. The institutionalized concrete examples correspond to actual usage. The reported communication difficulties experienced by speakers of Standard French and local speakers of French talking to each other correspond to reality. I for myself found it somewhat difficult to communicate with the local francophones at the very beginning of my stay although I had already spent one year in Canada. What is interesting is the institutionalized nature of most of these statements. As such they seem to derive from a coherent and systematic perception network.

2.4.1.2 Perception of their own dialect by Malbay anglophones

If the anglophones from Malbay all agree on downgrading the local variety of French they do not hold their own vernacular in too much esteem, although it is downgraded by fewer people than the French dialect. There were only ten statements downgrading the local variety of English but

thirty-two statements downgrading the local French. Qualitatively they are as unfavorable and critical as those directed toward local French. This difference in frequency can possibly be explained by the fact that one is generally more inclined to hold negative views about one's neighbor than about oneself. Downgrading of the local English by the English-speaking group often occurred in conjunction with critical comments about the local French. "Down here the French speak a mixture. You see for example they use the word canne for boîte. But mind you the kind of language we speak ourselves is pretty bad too."; "What they talk around here is bad French it's completely different from what we were learned at school. They use different words. In English it's different a stove is a stove. But the English we speak down here is not good either. This year at school they started to correct the kids for their English. Well I think that's good. One time I remember an inspector came down to the school he told us that the English spoken around here is the worst type of English spoken in Canada.".

Statements critical of the local English were often accompanied by specific examples at the level of word usage and grammar but also at the level of pronunciation (more than half of those statements were backed up by such examples). (a) "...The English around here is not too good either. Nobody talks the proper language around here. That's the trouble. A lot of people don't speak proper English - dis - dat - den. You'd swear they're French but they're not. They speak English only but bad English."; "The English spoken down here is bad really: dis and dat, I tink and I tought. Well that's wrong.". (b) "The English spoken around here is a patois really. I remember once I was teaching English to a French fellow. Well

I had to watch my tongue and speak English the way it should be spoken. Then the fellow would understand me. But if I happened to slip back in the patois then the poor French chap was lost,you see,when they say, should have went, must have went and all that it makes it hard for the other fellow to understand.".

The English-speaking population of Malbay is particularly sensitive to a few phonological features of their dialect and in particular the vernacular[11] realization of the "th" sequence as [tʰ] and [ð] (cf. Chapter III, p.159). This feature of the vernacular is as we have just seen in the last attitudinal statements, often explicitly commented upon, unlike other features of the dialect which also set it apart from other varieties (cf. Chapter III, p.174). This might be due to the fact that the anglophones from Malbay are frequently exposed to the speech of French Canadians who speak English with an "accent", and who pronounce -th- in a way similar to the vernacular realization, hence the existence of statements of type (a). Although [tʰ] and [ð] are perceived as vernacular markers, they are also to some extent suspected of being the product of language "mixture" (cf. (a) statement). In an area like Malbay which is both linguistically and ethnically mixed this perception is not surprising. Other features of the vernacular as will be seen in Chapter III are viewed as products of interference, a consequence of the mixed nature of the community. The -th- marker will be studied more at length in Chapter III.

At the level of word usage, the anglophones often mention the substitution of simple tense forms for past participial forms after should, must, have, etc. (cf. example (b) and Chapter III, p.187). This substitution is also perceived and commented upon as a typical dialect feature and thus

labeled bad or incorrect. The local expression 'to be heartsick' in the sense of sick to one's stomach is also commented upon as a dialect feature.

There are of course lots of other features which characterize Malbay dialect (see Chapter III). However they are not explicitly commented upon in an institutionalized fashion. This is certainly not tantamount to saying that Malbay anglophones are not sensitive to these features of their dialect. What are given here are institutionalized perceptual comments. Malbay speakers were not tested for their perception of their dialect.

A great proportion of the informants who made comments about the local English linked its incorrectness with lack of education. In other words the fact that people "speak a lingo down here" is perceived as a consequence of the low level of education of the local population. "Around here we speak a lingo. But things are changing. My daughter she speaks better than me. I know that. And her children they're going to speak better still. They got more education."; "I'm not too good at French. I understand a few words. I find it too difficult you see I have enough trouble with my own language which I haven't learned."; "It's very difficult to speak the proper language down here because everybody else they murder the grammar. No education you see.".

2.4.1.3 French is more difficult to learn than English

Ninety per cent of the English-speaking informants who cared to comment about the high proportion of bilinguals among the francophones and low proportion of bilinguals among the anglophones in Malbay explained it by saying: "French is more difficult to learn than English.". It seems

doubtful that this explanation is entirely locally derived for similar ideas about the French language are to be found in places other than Malbay. It is common belief on the Canadian scene amongst both the English-speaking and French-speaking groups. By way of illustration we wish to quote here a passage from the foreword of a brochure issued by the Quebec Government entitled "Travel Fun en français": a 32 page phrase book devised to help the English-speaking tourists with their French while traveling in Quebec:

> "French Canadians are known for their hospitalité, and they are eager to confirm this reputation. This becomes especially apparent if one attempts to address them in their own tongue: the response will be most enthusiastic. They will not object to poorly spoken French but will rather be flattered by any attempt.[12]
>
> In Québec you have the unequalled opportunity of practicing an admittedly difficult language with which you may have become slightly acquainted in school. You will not have this chance anywhere else so close to home.
>
> This brochure is aimed at giving you a hand with le français...
>
> Should you encounter trouble with any of the sounds the best thing to do is to show this brochure to the first Québécois you meet. Ask him to slowly read the non phonetic phrase and you will thus obtain a guide for other similar words. And you will have made a friend. So give it a try and any Québécois will be glad to help you."

One cannot but notice the almost apologetic and somewhat paternalistic tone of the passage, i.e. we know the French language is difficult to learn so even a token attempt at speaking it will give any Quebecker great satisfaction. This passage is symptomatic of the way a certain portion of the French Canadians view themselves, their language and their English-speaking counterparts. We will not enter here into the whys and wherefores

of this interesting question but we should realize that explanations of the kind: "French is a difficult language to learn" or its counterpart: "English is easy to pick up" have little value from a linguistic viewpoint unless one specifies for which language group French or English are difficult to learn, i.e. French is very easy for the Italians but hard for the Japanese.

The supposed difficulty of French and simplicity of English is also used in Canada to explain why so few English Canadians become bilingual and so many French Canadians do. Let us give another example, drawn this time from an advertisement about (Français), a method of teaching French. The advertisement begins with the following "cautionary" remark: "Learning French is not easy ". Then the content and advantages of Français are elaborated upon. Similar examples are to be found easily.

2.4.1.4 Incorporation of the myth into the Malbay perception system

As we have seen in the preceding paragraph, statements about the French language which may partly have their origin in the national or provincial belief systems are used in Malbay as almost the only explanation for the dominance of English there. We may have here an interesting example of where elements of the national belief system have been incorporated in the local perception system for adaptive purposes (cf. Chapter II, p.90).

The way the belief emerges at the local level is represented in the following remarks: "The French they put the cart before the horse when they speak. You see French is a lot harder to learn than English. To say something in French it takes a sentence that long (hands wide apart!) to say the same thing in English it takes a sentence that long (hands drawn

nearer!)."; "French is a lot harder to pick up than English. One thing about French the words are longer."; "For to speak French you have to speak English backwards."; "In French everything is the reverse eh, that makes it hard.".

Sixty-five per cent of my anglophone informants made such statements. They follow two main lines: the observed fact or belief that French words or phrases are comparatively longer than their English counterparts. This perception probably has its origin in the fact the anglophones from Malbay like the anglophones from Quebec have had ample opportunities to compare English and French versions of the same text as for example on "bilingual" food packages.

The other theme is the alleged opposite word orders of French and English. Some of my informants gave concrete specific examples illustrating this. They all dealt with the order of compounds in both languages, e.g. strawberry jam vs. confiture de fraises, etc. This reverse word order is viewed as a serious hindrance for learning French.

The fact that in French "Everything is a he or a she.", was also mentioned to me as a serious source of difficulty in learning French, but it's relatively low frequency of occurrence suggests that it must be only a secondary local theme.

2.4.1.5 The French-speaking minority's perception of their dialect

Owing to the small size of the local French-speaking group, percentages of frequency have not been calculated for the francophones' perceptual statements, for they would have had little meaning. Still for comparative purposes, I will include a brief description of the French-

speaking group's attitudes.

Malbay francophones, like the anglophones, think little of their own parlé. "Ce n'est pas une langue c'est un jargon." The local parlé is perceived as an improper variety of French different from the "correct or proper" French taught at school or spoken on T.V. Local French was never referred to as a "mixture", cf. statements by Malbay anglophones. However three informants remarked upon the relatively high proportion of terms borrowed from English in various fields like automobile or plumbing used in Malbay French.

At the level of phonology I observed an interesting similarity between the two language groups. In the local French vernacular, phoneme [ɾ] clearly retroflex in all positions including initial position is suspected of being the product of language contact, (cf. perception of -th- by the local anglophones).

"Mes parents on dirait qui parlent français avec l'accent anglais surtout la façon qui prononcent les "r". C't'anglais çà."; "Pas mal de français à Belle-Anse y cassent leur français. Prenez les X, les Y, on dirait qu'ils parlent avec un accent anglais. La façon qu'ils prononcent le mot rapport[13] par exemple.". Only a comparatively small proportion of the French-speaking group commented unfavorably on the local English although nobody spoke about it in favorable terms. This should be contrasted with the massive downgrading of the local French by the English-speaking group.

"Confronted" with the low proportion of bilingual anglophones in Malbay, the local French Canadians do not think that the local French is that much different from the French taught at school. They contend that

this and the alleged fact that words are longer are but poor excuses for the English not wanting to learn French.

"Je pense pas que le français est plus dur à apprendre que l'anglais. Parce que en français ça prend un mot long puis en anglais un mot court, mais d'autres fois c'est l'inverse."; "Y a pas de grosses différences entre le français d'icitte et le français de l'école. C'est plutôt que les anglais y sont têtus, y veulent pas apprendre le français.".

The fact that French is a difficult language to learn was often considered to be a plausible explanation for the English not being bilingual. It seems that the Malbay francophones mainly attribute this difficulty to the verbal system (too many verbs, and too complicated) and the pronunciation of French.

"Yes French is too hard. Well of course I didn't find it too hard myself because I was French, but it seems to me that my children they pick up English quicker than French. But I haven't learned them much French." (bilingual French mother tongue housewife); "Le français est plus dur à apprendre que l'anglais. C'est surtout la prononciation qu'est dure en français."; "Les anglais y doivent trouver le français difficile, la prononciation et les verbes. La langue française est beaucoup plus compliquée que l'anglais. Y a beaucoup plus de verbes.".

Bad French is viewed by the francophones as a result of poor education. It was hoped that the use of borrowings will decrease as the children of the French-speaking parents from Malbay become familiar with the correct French terms and later hand them down to children. Similar remarks were made about bad pronunciation which, it was thought, would improve in the future with the increase in education.

2.4.1.6 Summary

We have seen that in Malbay most of the English-speaking population take a poor view of the local variety of French. "Secondary" explanations centered on the local French and the French language are used to explain why so few Malbay anglophones were bilingual. However the French-speaking minority attribute this to stubbornness on the part of the anglophones, though explanations pertaining to the difficulty of the French language are not rejected. In the ethnically and linguistically-mixed community of Malbay a certain number of dialectal features of both local varieties are to some extent perceived and commented upon as vernacular features or products of interference and attributed a negative value. Throughout this section devoted to the perception of language, we have seen that the attitudinal products constitute a coherent and homogeneous perception system. There is only little variation across language groups and the perceptual products themselves show a high degree of institutionalization and stereotypy.

2.4.1.7 Additional remarks

At the level of language perception a few less central facts should be mentioned. The Irish-based English dialect spoken in the neighboring village of Douglas is known as an "altogether different lingo". The "funny" pronunciation of door and floor as [dur] and [flur] respectively are noted by Malbay anglophones. The following "shibboleth" is often given as an illustration of Douglas dialect: "Rupert Rooney ruled the flure" for "Rupert Rooney rolled the floor." Bilingual settlers from Jersey or Guernsey were and are known as speaking their own kind of French or English

with lots of Jersey in it, which would or does set them apart from the local population.

2.4.2 Speaker-centered attitudes

2.4.2.1 Malbay and vicinity complex of language, ethnic and religious affiliation: "Englishness" vs. "Frenchness"

In this section, we shall attempt to isolate some of the components which enter into combined language, ethnic and religious affiliation in Malbay and neighboring villages. We shall see in particular how components like, mother tongue and home language on the one hand and family name and religious affiliation on the other are the most important components of the local classificatory system.

2.4.2.1.1 General description

Before starting to describe the local affiliation system it is necessary to give a short general description of the local ethnic and linguistic situation and people's perception of it. After having worked in great detail on several informants' genealogies and having asked all my informants questions concerning their kith and kin, their own language and ethnic affiliation and that of their "folks", I came to several conclusions. The great majority of Malbay adults have an extensive and accurate knowledge of their ancestry and relatives; this knowledge includes relatives both inside and outside the community and extends to distant kin like second cousins; Malbay adults also know about the ethnic origin of their ancestors and the ancestors of members of neighboring communities. This is partly facilitated by the low number of different family names in Malbay:

25 for 62 households and the fact that five family names out of these 25 account for well over half of the local population. They also know the religious affiliation of each family and individual members of the same family in cases of mixed marriages. Their knowledge of the language abilities of the other community members who belong to an age group not too distant from theirs is also good although not quite as accurate as their knowledge of religion.

We have seen that in Malbay there are 50 English-speaking households against 12 that are French speaking. However if we take a look at the ethnic composition of the local population we obtain a different picture. Out of the 25 family names 15 are French sounding. The use of French sounding is deliberate here, for seven of these names are the names of some of the original settlers who came out from the Channel Islands. The French-sounding names of today's Channel Islanders cause them to be associated with the French ethnic or even French-speaking group by most people who do not belong to the community or neighboring communities. However we have seen in Chapter I that they are now all English speaking. This problem will be dealt with more at length later on.

Also, on account of their Channel Island ancestry everybody in Malbay bearing the names, Le Marquand, Girard, Vibert, Vardon, Touzel, Syvret, Hotton, may rightly claim affiliation to the British ethnic group. Nine of the ten remaining names point to British origin on the part of their bearers. There is one name left which I have not been able to trace back and which sounds equally "French" or "English". The name is Element.

2.4.2.1.2 Perception of affiliation

Basing ourselves on material drawn from interviews and personal observations made during conversations and genealogy work with local people we will try to analyze how "Frenchness" and "Englishness" are viewed locally. We shall do so in a way which is similar to componential analysis i.e. we shall gain an understanding of some of the meanings of the words "French" and/or "English" when referring to people (group or individual) or institutions primarily viewed as a group of people, such as "The English church, the English school".

In other words our aim is to isolate some of what are thought to be the most important "cultural features" of "Frenchness" or "Englishness" in Malbay and neighboring villages. On the basis of interview and conversation material I am led to hypothesize that in Malbay one of the most important of those features is one's ethnic origin, i.e. the ethnic origin of one's male ancestors, usually indicated by family name. We shall now give a selection of the most characteristic and frequent local perceptual statements which illustrate that particular point and other points which will be discussed later.

(a) Mr. E. X (French[14] name) Catholic, bilingual, mother tongue French, now speaks English most of the time. "Now, well I think I'd consider myself English, but I mean the ancestors, the name X. That's French eh? You see around here in Barachois the Lemieux and all that they have French names and yet there's no one of them that can talk a word of French. Then you have English people like the Bacons who can't talk a word of English."

(b) Mr. E. Y. (British name), Catholic, bilingual, mother tongue French "Down here most people have Jersey[15] names eh? So people think they can talk French. Moi je suis irlandais mais ma langue maternelle c'est le

français. You see, around here, you have some people like the Ys and the Zs. Well they're from France. Yet there's none of them can talk a word of French."

(c) Mr. H. Z. (French name), Protestant, little knowledge of French, mother tongue English "Down here the census people when they count the English and the French, they go by names. If things were done the way they should be, in the Province of Quebec, there would be 50% French 50% English perhaps a little more English. You see down here it's all English. Lots of French people but they all talk English."

(d) Mr. M. Z., son of H. Z., Protestant, little knowledge of French, mother tongue English "Me one day I got into a fight with some French Canadians. I told them I had more French in me than them; you see Z that's French. My grand parents came direct from Saint-Malo, France. They landed at Point-Peter's."

(e) Mr. A. W. (Ch.I.[16] name), Protestant, little knowledge of French, mother tongue English "Down here you have lots of people with French names but they all talk English."

(f) Mrs. B. W. (Ch.I. name), Protestant, little knowledge of French, mother tongue English "One thing I know for sure is that on account of our French name people in Gaspé, in the hospital and all that, they talk to us in French. They think we're French."

(g) Mr. A. F. (British name), Protestant, little knowledge of French, mother tongue English "In Prével there are French[17] people but they are French and English[18] really."

(h) Mr. A. G. (Ch.I. name), Protestant, monolingual, mother tongue English. Topic: The Channel Island local population. "Around here the

French don't talk French."

(i) Mr. R. I. (Ch.I. name), Protestant, little knowledge of French, mother tongue English "Down here the census people go by names when they count the French and the English. Well that makes it bad for down here there are a lot of French people but they can't speak one word of French."

(j) Mr. W. L. (British name), Protestant, little knowledge of French, mother tongue English "In Cap des Rosiers there are lots of people that are English, the Packwoods, the O'Connors, etc. But I mean, they're all French now."

2.4.2.1.3 Analysis of the data: Sorting out the components

These examples show us several interesting facts. First we see that in Malbay one's family name is perceived as one important component of "Frenchness" or "Englishness", i.e. as a pointer to one's ethnic background. It seems that in an area like Malbay where people are aware of their family history and ethnic origin, the Frenchness or Englishness conferred to one by one's original ancestors is like an almost hereditary quality, handed down from generation to generation and witnessed by the family name.

One other component is illustrated by the underlined sections of examples (a) (b) (c) (e) (h) (i). All these statements point to a complementary component of Frenchness or Englishness, i.e. one's language abilities and usage. Statement (f) shows the importance of family names as perceptual cues in a bilingual encounter situation (cf. also p.139). During interviews or informal conversations a number of anglophones from Malbay reported to me that on account of their French-sounding names they were often addressed in French by the "French" in Gaspé.

Statements (a) (b) (c) (e) (h) (i) point to the fact that both the descendants of Channel Islanders and the anglicized French Canadians are more or less conscious of a "lack", i.e. the fact that one is a monolingual speaker of English is not perceived as a sufficient condition for being "pure" English, the French-sounding name "betrays" one. The above mentioned practice of the "French" in Gaspé may to some extent reinforce these people's awareness of that lack. It seems plausible here to link these preceding facts with the frequent and strong assertion of their Englishness by the same people, i.e. we may have French names but we don't speak one word of French, make no mistake. This assertion is illustrated by examples (c) (e) (h) (i). It was reported to me by members of Malbay's English-speaking group, that most outsiders think the Gaspé is all French and those that stop in Malbay are often "amazed to find a little English pocket". This consciousness on the part of the anglophones of being ignored because of their minority status in the Gaspé may also play a role in the assertion of their Englishness. The amount of distortion and exaggeration inherent in statements (c) and (i) is a telling illustration of the preceding point. However these local "stories" about census taking are not entirely unmotivated. This adds a further complication to the already intricate local situation. Before we give here census information concerning the ethnic and religious affiliation of the local population we should recall that 98% of the descendants of Channel Islands settlers belong to the Anglican church. The following information is drawn from the 1921, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961 censuses for St.Georges de Malbaie municipality. The latter includes Malbay, the French-speaking village of St.Georges and the English-speaking village of Bougainville.

Table (23) Compared ethnic and religious composition of the St.Georges de Malbaie municipality (1921-1961)

1921	Population of British origin	332	Anglican population	411
	Population of French origin	938	Catholic population	858
1931	Population of British origin	251	Anglican population	436
	Population of French origin	1010	Catholic population	860
	Population of Scandinavian origin	38		
1941	Population of British origin	556	Anglican population	441
	Population of French origin	747	Catholic population	874
	Population of Other origin	15		
1951	Population of British origin	147	Anglican population	365
	Population of French origin	1037	Catholic population	859
	Population of Scandinavian origin	40		
1961	Population of British origin	522	Anglican population	284
	Population of French origin	638	Catholic population	874
	Population of Scandinavian origin	4		

The information for 1921 (332 British, 411 Anglican) indicates that a sizable proportion of the people with Channel Island ancestry (with French-sounding names) have been so to speak assimilated to the French ethnic group by the census takers. We can tell this from several facts. The figure for the British ethnic group in Malbay includes a substantial proportion of

Catholics of British origin. We also know that the proportion of Protestants of French origin is only minimal. Thus the number of people of British ethnic origin should be greater than the number of Protestants. This is not the case for the years 1921, 1931 and 1951. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the great majority of the local descendants of Channel Islands settlers have been counted as French. Figures for 1941 and 1961 seem to be nearer the mark. We should also note, as a point of interest, the successive appearance and disappearance of a Scandinavian group. These people are the descendants of Swedish settlers who came out to the Gaspé around 1850. Located in Bougainville they represented a population of over 100 people in 1970. The inconsistencies between 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961 figures for the Scandinavian population are too obvious to be emphasized. The underestimation of the British group and overestimation of the French group became known locally and created a lot of hard feeling and resentment. The incorporation of the Channel Island population in the French ethnic group was understood to mean the assimilation of the Channel Islanders to the French-speaking group. Such a reaction was to be expected in an area where the words English and French are used to mean of English or French origin but also English speaking or French speaking (cf. statements (f) and (g)).

I have not discovered the reasons for this underestimation. But it was viewed by the local anglophones as a discriminatory measure.

It is reasonable to assume that this has to some extent increased the local anglophones' feelings of being ignored and isolated. More specifically it may have induced the Channel Islanders to emphasize their Englishness (cf. the comments quoted above). Finally, the impact of the wrong estimation

for 1951 may have been greater on account of the fact that the Census did not collect information about mother tongue and official language affiliation, thus adding to the already existing local resentment.

Like the Channel Islanders, Malbay Catholic anglophones have a tendency to assert their Englishness or, to be more precise, their belonging to the English-speaking community. This I think is caused by problems of affiliation.

(a) Mr. T. X. (French name), Catholic, bilingual, mother tongue English. "I figure the French are going to win out in the end it's going to be a hard struggle, but they're going to keep at it. I think the day for the English in Quebec is over. We'll be lucky if we can get out of here."

(b) Mr. M.A. S. (English name), Catholic, bilingual, mother tongue English. "Not so long ago I wrote a letter to our local 'député'. I wrote in English but I was replied in French. So I didn't like that so I wrote back in English saying I didn't understand his first letter. I mean, if they want to have it bilingual, they got to have it both ways eh."

(c) Mrs. J. B. (French name), Catholic, bilingual, mother tongue English. "My husband he was an English separatist - you know. When the nuns started learning our children in French, he threw the French books in the fire."

The English-speaking Catholics from St.Georges[19] are described in the following way by the local Catholic priest.

(d) "Ces catholiques anglais et surtout les gens d'origine française qui ont été anglicisés sont les plus fanatiques. On sent qu'ils attachent de la valeur à l'anglais."

With this assertion of Englishness or emphasized association with

the English-speaking community at large, can be contrasted the fact that the Protestant anglophones and Catholic anglophones perceive or rather fail to perceive the English-speaking Catholics as fully fledged members of the "English" group.

This attitudinal oversight is illustrated by the frequent use of "English" or "anglais", by Protestant anglophones and Catholic francophones to mean English-speaking Protestant, e.g. "The English school, the English church"; "The minister complained the English don't go to church any more."; "Les anglais ils apprennent pas le français parce qu'ils sont protestants."; "Y a pas longtemps les français n'osaient pas entrer dans l'église anglaise.".

This usage may be partly due to the special status of the Catholic anglophones in Malbay. There are twenty English-speaking Catholic families in Malbay, nine of them are of French origin, as indicated by French names, seven have names pointing to British origin and four have names which sound equally French or English. As we have seen in Chapter I the number of bilinguals in the English-speaking Catholic population is higher than that of the Protestant anglophones and so is the proportion of marriages across language groups. As a result the overall affiliation of the English-speaking Catholic group is more "uncertain" than that of the Protestant Channel Islanders. The English-speaking Catholic group may be said to represent a bridge between the French-speaking Catholic group and the English-speaking Protestant one. Aileen Ross (1954) makes similar remarks about the way the English-speaking Catholics are perceived by the Protestants in the Eastern Townships. In her study of the decline of the English in the Eastern Townships she says(p):

> "The stages by which the French gradually take over political control of the Townships can perhaps be most clearly seen in the turn over of the municipal council from English to French... The first step of the transfer is the election of a councillor to represent the French population. He will be either an English Catholic [20] or a bilingual French Canadian."

Whether they like it or not the Catholic anglophones from Malbay are closely associated with the French Catholics in the eyes of the English-speaking Protestants. The English-speaking Catholic group from Malbay and neighboring places are in a relatively "insecure" position. Unlike the Protestants they share a number of vital institutions with the French-speaking Catholics, mainly school and church. As a result they interact more with the francophones than the Protestants do. However in places where they are a minority their institutions are more likely to be taken over by the French. Indeed this has happened in several places located nearby Malbay. It is reasonable to assume that the way the English-speaking Catholics perceive themselves in terms of affiliation is influenced by all the factors described above including the way the "Protestants" and French-speaking Catholics perceive them.

The case of the English-speaking Catholic group of Malbay we think is a good illustration of the complex question of combined ethnic and religious affiliation.

2.4.2.1.4 Summary

We have seen in the preceding paragraphs that in a multiethnic bilingual setting one group's affiliation and selfperception is a function of a variety of factors, such as language abilities and usage, family name,

religion, size of the group. These various factors will in turn be perceived by members of the other groups. The perception by the other group(s) may also influence the given group's selfperception. The overall selfperception thus obtained may or may not result in an assertion of affiliation.

2.4.2.2. Perception of bilingualism

We shall try to analyse one important aspect of the language-perception system of the Malbay community which we have so far only briefly touched upon i.e. the perception of bilingualism.

2.4.2.2.1 Local explanations for the different proportions of bilinguals in both language groups

Partly on account of the recent concern and publicity given to the idea and principle of bilingualism both at the Federal and Provincial levels, bilingualism as a general notion or viewed as a set of particular behavioral and attitudinal patterns constitutes an area of the local language environment which receives an increasing amount of attention in Malbay. We have seen (p.103and p.105), that the anglophones chiefly attribute their being less bilingual than the francophones to the fact that French is more difficult to learn than English. However a small proportion of informants (20% of those who commented on the different proportions of bilinguals in each language groups) proposed another explanation. The high level of bilingualism of the local francophones was accounted for by the fact that the francophones are a minority and/or had until recently to use English at work in local and neighboring enterprises. "Well there aren't many French

around here. There never was anyway and the language of business is English. So they have to speak English. But the English don't have to speak French."; "English was the working language down here so the French had to learn it."; "It's all English down here so the French have to learn it.".

Another kind of related explanation was also proposed by two of our informants only, namely that one must have "an interest" to learn a second language and if one is "not interested" he will never learn. The lack of interest on the part of the anglophones was linked with the fact that the anglophones are a majority locally.

It is also interesting to note that a substantial proportion of our informants (35%) failed to account in any meaningful way for the difference of bilingualism across language groups. Their comments were of the type: "I don't know" or "I couldn't tell you" or also more significantly "It's always been like that". This category of people appeared to be less "sensitive" to the phenomenon of bilingualism at the local level. These same people it should be noted were also found to be relatively insensitive to language-related issues in general. Most of these unresponsive informants were over 65 years of age and had had little formal education. They spent most of their active life during the period between the wars when the local and regional economy was almost totally controlled by anglophones and when the resulting bilingualism of the "French" people was taken more as a matter of fact, ("It's always been like that") maybe on account of the little publicity given to language problems at that time. Most of these people retired from active life when English was still "the language of business most everywhere" and are less aware of the changes that have

recently taken place in the field of language use locally, regionally and provincially. They represent the most conservative elements of the community as regard both language attitudes and language behavior and are not surprisingly viewed as such by the French-speaking minority (cf. p.126).

By far the most common explanations proposed by the francophones for the low number of bilingual anglophones are related to attitudes and motivations. They are illustrated by the stereotypes: "Les anglais y sont pas intéressés", "Les anglais, y veulent pas apprendre le français". With this reluctance and lack of interest the francophones contrast their attitudes "Nous autres on est intéressés, on veut apprendre".

Unlike the anglophones the francophones "favor" attitudinal explanations; six out of eight of the French-speaking heads of households who commented on the subject stressed the lack of interest or reluctance of the anglophones.

"Si seulement les anglais y voulaient essayer d'être bilingues. Ca arrangerait les affaires."; "Les anglais ici, y veulent pas apprendre le français."; "Les anglais c'est simple, y sont pas intéressés.".

Here one should recall that the local anglophones on the contrary "favored" language-centered explanations and only two informants gave attitudinal explanations.

2.4.2.2.2 Second language acquisition

Equally common in both groups is the "opinion" that one needs to be young and well educated "to pick up" a second language especially "a difficult" one like French. Children in both speech communities are known to have a "better chance" to pick up French or English because they have

the right education and they are young. Old age is viewed as a handicap by both groups.

A belief which is also common to both groups although somewhat more frequently expressed among the English-speaking one is that "the English" in Malbay speak little French because they are afraid of being laughed at by the French. Thirty-five per cent of our anglophone informants expressed the belief that "The reason the English around here won't speak French is because they don't want to be laughed at by the French". Some of the anglophones illustrated this assertion with concrete examples: "My brother he used to talk good French before he went to Toronto. He went to work in Fox-River. It's all French there and he didn't know French at that time, so he decided to learn some French and started to talk with the French, but at first they were making fun of him. Boy! Me, I wouldn't have stayed long in a place like that. I wouldn't have liked that."

The French-speaking minority have a more ambivalent attitude toward this belief. Some deny its authenticity. "Les anglais ils disent qu'ils ont peur qu'on risent d'eux. C'est pas vrai c'est seulement une mauvaise excuse qu'ils donnent parce qu'ils veulent pas apprendre le français." Others opposed to that belief the fact that the "French" are faced with the same problem when they start learning English but they don't mind being laughed at for "nous autres on est pas fiers". "Les anglais quand vous leur parlez en français, y répondent en anglais. Ils disent que c'est parce qu'on rit d'eux mais eux autres aussi y risent de nous quand on parle anglais mais nous autres on est pas fiers. On est pas gênés nous autres." In spite of the idea that it is easier to learn French or English when one is young the local francophones have noticed that most of the

time "les anglais" will not let their children play or mix with theirs. This is sometimes commented upon in resentful terms by the French-speaking parents who contrast this with their own attitudes. They always insist that their children should mix with the English to pick up the language. "J'ai toujours trouvé drôle que mes voisins anglais n'ont jamais envoyé leurs petits jouer avec les nôtres."; "Mes enfants j'ai toujours fait attention à ce qu'ils ramassent l'anglais en jouant avec les petits anglais.".

On the other side of the "barrier", the English-speaking parents claim that they would not mind having their children play with "the French kids" but it is often impossible because there are so few French people in the place.

One English-speaking informant told me he had his children play with the children of his French-speaking neighbors. But according to him most of the time the French children would not speak in French to his, so his children "haven't learned too, too much that way". This reported fact should be linked with the attitude of the French-speaking parents who often "make it a point" that their children learn English "par tous les moyens". "Quand un anglais rentre chez nous, je dis à mes enfants de lui parler en anglais."; "Mes enfants je les ai toujours forcés à apprendre l'anglais.".

Judging from the high level of bilingualism of the French-speaking population from Malbay it seems likely that the above mentioned attitudes of the local French-speaking parents have a "positive" influence on the second language skills of their children. One may assume that such attitudes stem to some extent from the situation of dominance enjoyed by English locally and possibly at the provincial and national level.

Finally we must mention a belief which has been found only among

the francophones, i.e. that most of the time the English that make a serious effort at learning French, speak "beautiful French".

"Quand les anglais ils essaient d'apprendre le français généralement ils parlent un beau français mais la plupart du temps ils sont pas intéressés."; "C'est dommage que les anglais y soient si têtus parce que quand ils veulent ils peuvent parler un français splendide.".

It is hard to find reasons for the existence of such a belief, for the few local anglophones that can speak French in Malbay are by no means "balanced" bilinguals and have for the most part only a working knowledge of French.

It is possible that we are dealing here with a belief which is widespread among the French Canadians. This belief might be a consequence of the fact that instances where the English Canadians are fluently bilingual are comparatively more uncommon than instances of fluent bilinguals among the French Canadians. As a result the French Canadians may have a tendency to overrate the rarer cases when the English Canadians are fluently bilingual.

2.4.2.2.3 Bilingualism viewed in terms of language use and proficiency

The French-speaking minority from Malbay think that the local anglophones as a whole understand French but will very rarely speak it. This reluctance of the anglophones is often commented upon with a certain amount of resentment. "Les anglais ici y comprennent tous le français mais ils veulent pas parler français. Si vous leur parlez en français ils vous répondent en anglais."; "Les anglais ici et surtout les vieux, ceux-là ils sont terribles quand vous leur parlez en français ils vous disent

pourquoi tu ne parles pas en anglais.". All this as we shall soon see is an accurate description of how things usually operate in Malbay when the francophones and the anglophones have to communicate with one another. The French minority as a whole is viewed by the local anglophones as a bilingual group. The French from Malbay are described by the anglophones in the following way. "The French around here they all talk perfect English."; "The French down here they speak English as well as they speak French."; "The French around here they all talk to us in English."; "When I held the post office[21] I never had no trouble, because the French that would come, they all could talk English.".

The last two statements point to the communication patterns already mentioned. The fact that the French people from Malbay are perceived by the local anglophones as "all bilingual" may explain why some of the anglophone informants (25%) denied the existence of "French" people in Malbay. In actual fact we have seen in Chapter I that 80% of French-speaking male heads of households are bilingual. This may partly explain the somewhat distorted perception of the anglophones.

The anglophones from Malbay tend also to generalize in a similar fashion about "the French" from the neighboring village of St.Georges where the proportion of bilinguals has always been high. In 1931 according to the Canadian Census 59% of the French-speaking females and 71% of the males from St.Georges were bilingual. For 1941 the percentages were the following: 55% and 68%. For 1961: 51% and 62%. These percentages which are relatively high are explained by the fact that during the two wars a great number of francophones from St.Georges worked in the local and regional plants which were controlled by the anglophones. In those plants the

francophones had to speak English. However the Census figures clearly indicate a decline in the proportion of French-speaking male and female bilinguals in St.Georges. Despite this, Malbay anglophones still describe St.Georges as an all bilingual area. "There are French people in St.Georges but they are all French and English.[22]"

This perception is to be linked with the frequent description of the municipality and neighboring villages by the anglophones from Malbay as an all English-speaking area.[23] "Down here it's all English you take Barachois, Belle-Anse, Malbay, Bougainville, that's English. Then you have St.Georges. Well the French they all speak English there. Then you take Douglastown that's all English".

The relatively high level of bilingualism of the French from Malbay and St.Georges may well reinforce among the anglophones the perception of their community and neighboring villages as an almost all English-speaking district.

It seems likely that the somewhat distorted perceptions analyzed previously are more or less reactions to the increasingly difficult situation of the anglophones outside the English-speaking pocket of Malbay and neighboring villages (cf. Chapter II, p,138).

Some Malbay anglophones enter into daily contact with local French speakers from places other than Malbay in the context of their occupations (shopkeepers mainly). These people I noticed were aware of changes in the bilingualism and language use patterns of the same francophones. Here is how one of the English-speaking store owners answered the question:

"Do you find that most French people that come to your store will talk English?"

"Not as much as they used to. Since they started that language complaint around Montreal, there's a big difference. Some of them they used to come in and tried to speak English. Now some of them that come in and could speak English, they don't try. Lots of them used to come in and talk English. Now they don't say a word. These are people from Bridgeville[24] and Percé.[24] The people from St.Georges they talk English a lot more than these people. I worked at my father's store since I was fourteen. Lots of them used to come in there before. They'd talk English. Now they come up there and they won't say a word. But now some of them don't bother at all. People from Cape-Cove[24] and Percé they won't try at all. They could before. They forgot what they learned. They didn't keep on with it. But in St.Georges they are the best ones. They generally try. Even if they can't, they try to explain."

A number of the younger francophones from Malbay reported to me that they find it hard to understand why "the English" from Malbay will not speak French to them. They claimed that they sometimes address some of the local anglophones in French "on purpose" and in particular the English-speaking manager and clerk of Malbay grocery store "parce que ces deux-là ils comprennent le français mais ils veulent pas parler".

In a study of the English-speaking minority from Cape-Cove (not included in this thesis) I found a similar trend amongst the anglophones. Here is how a local informant summarized his feelings toward a similar situation. "I don't believe in Quebec all French. It shouldn't be that way. Although I speak most of the time to the French in French around here and I pick up an awful lot of French this way. I also sometimes talk to them in English when I am stuck for word. I feel like doing it because, they should

learn some English themselves. But most everybody around here, they talk to me in French. They don't make any effort."

It seems interesting to note here that two similar "majority-minority" situations have produced similar attitudes and behavior patterns among the members of the minority groups and this across language groups.

Sixty-five per cent of my "monolingual" English-speaking informants from Malbay told me in a half-sorry and half-joking way that the only French they know is "swear words". "Me I don't know too much French the only French I know is swear words"; "X did not know too much French he would know the odd words but not enough for to hold a conversation. Much like everybody around the place, he could swear in French though. Everybody can around here (laugh).". In a similar respect the local anglophones believe that "swearing in French comes easy" for the swear words are the first things one will pick up.[25] We shall see in Chapter III that the anglophones from Malbay occasionally use French swear words.

2.4.2.2.4 "It's good to know both"

Bilingualism or rather "knowing both languages" is locally labeled as "handy" or "commode", see in this respect Miner (1963). The stereotype statements "it is good to know both" or "knowing both languages is handy" often occur as a leitmotiv during language-centered conversations, especially when topics centered on bilingualism are raised. Although this stereotyped assertion is to be found in both language groups, it has a different meaning and function in each group. Thus sixty per cent of our English-speaking informants made this type of statement when I asked them to account for their being less bilingual than the local francophones. Very few local

anglophones are bilingual but the majority express (at least on the surface) favorable views about bilingualism or toward the idea of bilingualism.

These favorable statements should be contrasted with a series of statements unfavorable to the reality of bilingualism. Thus the same proportion of informants declared "The French in Quebec are pushing French too much."; "In the Province of Quebec, like it or not, you have to talk French."; "In the Province of Quebec I think they are pushing French way too much. I mean you can't take a horse to water if he doesn't want to drink.".

Bilingualism was linked by almost all our English-speaking informants with the recent attention given to language problems in Quebec and Canada. Thus when the anglophones broach the topic of bilingualism, it is almost always within the broader context of the provincial or federal language policy and its repercussions on the local scene. More specifically when the issue of language problems or bilingualism is raised the local anglophones will state most emphatically that "Down here there never was any problems[26] between the French and the English" or alternatively, "Down here the French and the English they get along fine".

In this connection it is not surprising to note that the absence of conflict in Malbay is often contrasted with the less tranquil language scene of "the cities" from which all the troubles come. "Down here we never had any trouble but if you take the cities that's different."; "The only thing that causes the language problems in Quebec is T.V. and politicians. Around here we used not to have any problem. We always get along fine with the French.".

Following a similar line of thought, the majority of Malbay anglophones

(70% of our informants) look upon the period which preceded government concern with language issues, with a certain amount of "nostalgia". The local anglophones declare that with language, in the Province of Quebec, "They should have left it the way it was". Concern about language problems and particularly bilingualism is most of the time viewed locally as a source of conflict and discord. Local anglophones and especially the older generations often lump together government intervention in the field of languages, René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois' separatist policy and the F.L.Q. organization, as parts of the same "conspiracy". Concern about language questions is viewed as a threat to the local harmony between the two groups.

Local statements like "They should have left it the way it was" or "We never had any problem around here" can be perhaps better understood if one recalls that not so long ago the English language enjoyed a high status owing to the fact that the local and regional economy was controlled by anglophones. However the dominance of English is being increasingly challenged. These nostalgic statements indicate that the anglophones are aware of these changes and fear that government intervention and in general outside intervention in the field of language will create an avalanche.

Viewed in this light the often uttered statement "It's handy to know both" takes another meaning. It is a good example of what is described in Chapter II, p. 88 as the incorporation of provincially or nationally-derived notions in the local system of perception. In this case the notion has not been put into practice, but the stereotyped statements which illustrate it come in "handy" when the topic of bilingualism is raised.

The attitude of the French-speaking minority toward "bilingualism" is

rather different from that of the anglophones. The francophones like the anglophones view bilingualism favorably ("C'est bien commode de connaître les deux langues.") but unlike them they do not contradict this favorable assertion with other statements unfavorable to various aspects of bilingualism. On the contrary as we have already seen the francophones from Malbay not only declare that "C'est bien commode de connaître les deux langues" but they see to it that their children learn English "par tous les moyens".

Like the anglophones the French-speaking minority from Malbay declare "Ici, y a jamais eu de trouble entre les français et les anglais". However significantly they seem to remain neutral on the issue of government intervention in the field of language. Only one of the francophone informants commented on the subject in an unfavorable way.

2.4.2.2.5 Bilingualism and the work market

Since Gaspé town has gradually come to be the main source of employment for the region, bilingualism and in this case, a knowledge of French for the anglophones (consequence of the fact that the francophones are a majority there) is viewed by both the anglophones and francophones as a valuable asset for an English-speaking person wanting to find a job there.

The majority of my English-speaking informants (60%) admitted, sometimes reluctantly, that a knowledge of French is an advantage for an anglophone who wants to find work in Gaspé. Yet the remaining 40% of informants who commented on the subject did not think it was useful to know French to find work in Gaspé. Most of these added "There aren't any problems between the French and the English in Gaspé". One may assume that when the

anglophones deny that knowing French is useful to get jobs in Gaspé and add as an aside "There aren't any problems between the French and the English in Gaspé", they express their fear and disapproval of outside intervention in the field of language use. In other words their denial of the usefulness of French in Gaspé may be an expression of how they would like things to be.

The same sixty per cent that recognized the usefulness of French in Gaspé town also commonly believe that in getting jobs, "The French have a better chance than the English" and therefore "It's no use for the English to try to find work in Gaspé for the French get it first". The anglophones generally account for this state of affairs by pointing out that the French are a majority in Gaspé.

In actual fact, although the anglophones from Malbay admit that it is useful to know French to find work, they do little to learn French. This prevents them from securing the jobs that require a knowledge of French. It It also contributes to the feeling of demoralization and apathy which pervades in a substantial section of the English-speaking group. The most tragic consequence of all this is year-round unemployment for many local anglophones (see Chapter I, p.66).

2.4.2.2.6 Summary

Local perception of bilingualism has been shown to vary substantially across language groups and also to some extent across generations within the English-speaking group. Thus the francophones stress the fact that the local anglophones are"têtus"and do not want to learn French, whereas the anglophones emphasize the fact that French is a "difficult language". The older generation of anglophones generally take the bilingualism of "the

French" for granted and are hard put to explain it, whereas the younger generation are more sensitive to this issue and propose a series of different explanations. In this last section we raised a hypothesis about the series of language attitudes which have been shown to characterize the English-speaking majority in this last section. These attitudes were, emphasis on the Englishness of the place and neighboring places, overlooking of the French-speaking minority, fear of outside intervention in the field of local and regional language use. We hypothesized that these can be fruitfully viewed as survival reactions brought about by the fact that the anglophones are increasingly aware that they are now rapidly losing their former position of dominance. In this respect a more general hypothesis comes to mind. Such survival attitudes may be characteristic of linguistic minorities that were once in a position of socioeconomic dominance and whose language enjoyed a high status but that have lost this position and are as a result confronted with incipient bilingualism.

2.4.3 Language use across language groups

As a supplement to the last section devoted to the local perception of language use across linguistic group, one will find here a brief description of actual language use across such lines. I shall successively describe language use in situations where the local francophones and anglophones communicate with one another, in situations where the local francophones speak to one another and finally situations where the local anglophones have to communicate with francophone outsiders.

2.4.3.1 Communication across language lines involving community members

There are several settings in Malbay where the local anglophones and francophones enter into contact with one another. These are Belle-Anse beach and freezing plant, Malbay harbor and fish plant, and the three stores. After observing a great deal of communication between community members of both language groups in these settings, I came to the conclusion that communication across language groups is nearly always carried out in English. In other words the local francophones will speak to the anglophones in English and the anglophones will address the francophones in English. For example in Malbay fish plant the plant manager who is a fluently bilingual francophone communicates with his anglophone employees or customers in English, and the francophone workers speak to the anglophone workers in English. To give another example, at Belle-Anse beach, the local English-speaking fishermen and local anglophones who happen to be around communicate with the French-speaking fishermen in English. To this, one can relate the fact that most of Malbay francophones have a good knowledge of English (some of them being very fluent bilinguals) whereas the majority of the anglophones have little knowledge of French and the few that have some knowledge of French are much less bilingual than their French-speaking counterparts.

We have seen that in Malbay there are only a few francophones that are not bilingual. These reported to me that they find it difficult to communicate with most local anglophones. Here is how one of them described his "predicament" to me: "Par ici c'est pas mal anglais. Je vais au magasin, y a que deux magasins où c'est bilingue: X et en face de l'Eglise à Barachois. Quand je vais dans les magasins où c'est seulement anglais c'est un martyr terrible, pour quoi que ce soit que je leur demande. Je

parle pas anglais et d'un autre côté les autres ils parlent pas français pantoute. Quand je suis à Gaspé y a pas de problèmes, pas besoin de parler anglais là-bas."

2.4.3.2 Intragroup communication

In situations where anglophones and francophones are present, the French-speaking participants will usually speak to one another in French. I have noticed that in such situations the francophones sometimes take advantage of the low level of bilingualism of the anglophones and talk of personal matters in French. In situations which involve francophones only, the participants speak to one another in French.

2.4.3.3 Communication with outsiders across language lines

Communication across language groups which involve community members and outsiders shows a different pattern. Most outsiders are French-speaking people from the Gaspé or other parts of Quebec except for a substantial number of English-speaking tourists passing through the place during the summer months. The French-speaking outsiders with whom the anglophones have to deal at the local level all year round are regional or provincial government employees (coastguardsmen, fishing inspectors, "planning" agents) and employees of the various regional services located in Gaspé (such as insurance brokers, telephone employees). These people are not all bilingual and even when they know some English usually address the anglophones from Malbay in French. When they have to deal with these monolingual French-speaking employees, the Malbay anglophones usually describe the situation as one where they "have to muddle through" or "speak with their hands".

"Well what I find bad is that the government puts a law, eh? It must be bilingual everywhere. Well the inspectors that come to my store they don't talk a word of English. Why is that? Yet there is a law. And then they send us government papers it's all in French. Well you know all that makes it hard in the store."

Many of our English-speaking informants reported having had difficulties in communicating with monolingual "outside" officials or employees. They generally resented the fact that this category of people was not bilingual, i.e. could not speak English. I personally witnessed cases where the local anglophones had difficulties in establishing satisfactory communication with monolingual French-speaking service employees and I was asked to act as an interpreter.

In Gaspé town the anglophones from Malbay also experience difficulties in communicating with some of the people who work in the various services there. Generally speaking communication tends to become increasingly problematic for the anglophones from Malbay, too few of them are bilingual, whereas in Gaspé there are less and less francophones who are bilingual. This decrease is partly due to the influx of new francophones in Gaspé, who are not bilingual and whose chances of becoming bilingual diminish as Gaspé becomes more and more French, (cf. Chapter I, p.27). A certain number of services are known or feared to be "so French" as to make communication between Malbay anglophones and their employers almost impossible. I have been personally asked to deal in French on the telephone with employees of these services for the benefit of some of the local anglophones. According to members of the older generation, about 30 years ago in Malbay, communication in general and in particular communication across language-

lines were characterized by a high degree of personalization (Gaspé town people and Malbay people knew each other and each other's language skills). Census information indicates that in 1931 a substantial proportion of the francophones from Gaspé were bilingual and the anglophones were only a little less numerous than the francophones (cf. Chapter I, p.24). Around that time the anglophones from Malbay had few communication problems with the francophones in Gaspé. Now the situation has changed; the francophones from Gaspé are less and less bilingual and communication is becoming increasingly depersonalized. The change has been chiefly brought about by the influx of newcomers in Gaspé. The English-speaking population from Gaspé town whose numbers have remained stationary over the past 40 years, have adapted to the situation by becoming bilingual but the anglophones from Malbay who have to go to Gaspé town a lot more frequently than in the past, have failed to adapt to it yet.

One of the consequences of the depersonalization of communication is people's reliance on family names as the only indication of language affiliation when the participants do not know each other. This is often the case in offices or services. One informant told me: "When I go to the hospital in Gaspé the nurses they talk to me in French on account of my French name, they don't know that I am English".

2.4.3.4 Summary

We have seen that language use in Malbay is relatively simple and stationary. The francophones speak to the anglophones in English. In Gaspé communication patterns are changing on account of population migration. The francophones who are a majority address less and less the anglophones in

English. The anglophones from Malbay who have relatively recently started to interact substantially with the francophones in Gaspé are now confronted with a situation which tends to become the reverse of what they know in Malbay. This may explain why they are being relatively slow in adapting to the Gaspé situation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1 The notion of language environment will appear more clearly in 2.2.2 as we classify language attitudes.

2 All the statements that appear between inverted commas are drawn from interviews conducted in Malbay.

3 Village next to Malbay (cf. map C).

4 Village located at the most eastern tip of the peninsula (cf. map C).

5 The local francophones.

6 Value is used here in a broad sense and refers to the structural nature of the local perception system. It may not necessarily involve the passing of value judgement.

7 A complete list of the questions asked during the interviews is given in the appendix, p.190.

8 English-speaking village next to Malbay.

9 Understand the proper French taught at school.

10 Neighboring village.

11 By vernacular we mean the language variety used by the community members when they speak to one another under informal circumstances (see Labov (1970) for a discussion of the notion of vernacular, see also Labov (1963) and Wolfram (1969) for considerations about the salience of vernacular markers).

12 The underlining is mine.

13 Read [ɾapɔɾ] [ɾ] retroflex phoneme.

14 French from France (not from the Channel Islands).

15 Jersey: Channel Islands.

16 Ch.I.: Channel Islands French Sounding.

17 Understand of French ethnic origin.

18 Understand bilingual.

19 Village next to Malbay.

20 The underlining is mine.

21 Malbay post office.

22 Local expression for bilingual.

23 The area is often described as a "little English pocket".

24 These are local villages (cf. map C).

25 In his study of language assimilation among Puerto Ricans in East Harlem, Wolfram (1972), found that Puerto Ricans with extensive Black contacts speak a variety of English which contains many linguistic features of Black English. The Blacks, however, were found to acquire very little Spanish. The latter consisted mainly of swear words and insults.

26 Problems, refers mainly to language-related problems.

CHAPTER III

THE ENGLISH DIALECT

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Related Studies

In this chapter I will give a description of Malbay English primarily based on an analysis of linguistic information gathered during the tape-recorded interviews that I conducted in Malbay to collect data about Malbay folks' language use and attitudes. I also conducted a series of interviews to gather data for a study of the variability of the [θ] and [ð] phones (referred to as -th- in this chapter). I also gathered complementary and back-up linguistic information through informal but systematic observation of Malbay anglophones' speech in the course of their daily interaction in the community.

Various aspects of Malbay English's sound system, intonation, lexicon and syntax, will be described in this chapter. Malbay English will be compared to other dialects of Canadian English and more incidentally to varieties of American English. So as to locate our study and to lend perspective to the interpretation of the data, we shall review here some of the most recent descriptions of varieties of Canadian and American English.

There are a number of recent studies of Canadian English. One can mention here the studies of Allen (1959), Avis (1954, 1955, 1956), Gregg (1957), Hamilton (1958), Kirwin et al. (1968) and finally Orkin's "Speaking Canadian English" (1970).

Allen's study focuses on the differences between the varieties of Canadian English and American English spoken along the middle border, more

specifically the varieties of English spoken in Central Canada (Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan) and in Minnesota and North Dakota. The study is based on a comparison of selected lexical and phonetic elements. The American and Canadian varieties are found to differ only marginally.

Following a similar orientation Avis (1954, 1955, 1956) compares at the three levels of lexicon, syntax and pronunciation, varieties of Canadian English and American English spoken along the Ontario-United States border. He arrives at conclusions similar to those of Allen: "The fact remains that the total number of differences between the speech of the borderers is relatively small in comparison with the linguistic features held in common." (Avis 1954, p.13). Most differences between American and Canadian English are situated at the level of pronunciation. The pronunciation of educated Ontario speakers is shown to be somewhat influenced by British English whereas the pronunciation of uneducated speakers resembles closely that of the speech spoken on the other side of the border.

Gregg's study is a description of the sounds of Vancouver English. Vancouver pronunciation is shown to have the centralized diphthongs [ʌɪ] in words like bite, life, and [ʌʊ] in words like lout, house. It also features a lack of distinction between words of the type caught, cot, caller, collar. This lack of distinction and the centralized diphthongs are typical features of Canadian English.

In his study of Montréal English, Hamilton describes some aspects of its phonology and lexicon. Montréal usage is shown to parallel Northern American usage. British variants for the pronunciation of a number of test words e.g. [ʃɛdjul] vs. [sKɛdjul] which are found in Ontario English (cf. above), are less frequent in Montréal English, which has a tendency to

favor American variants. However the differences between Ontario English and Montréal English are on the whole relatively marginal.

Kirwin's study consists of short descriptions of four dialects spoken in the Avalon Peninsula (Eastern Newfoundland). One of the dialects is spoken in St.John's. All these dialects share a common phonological feature: they all have dental or alveolar stops [ð] and [t] instead of the standard fricative variants [ð] and [θ]. Two of these dialects exhibit phonological features which point clearly to their relationship with dialects spoken in South Eastern England. Among these features one should mention the typical absence of [ɾ] between vowels, the "dropping of h's where they are normally pronounced and its converse, i.e. the occurrence of the phoneme [h] before the initial vowel of words which are usually pronounced without an h, e.g. about eight [əbʌʊtheɪt]. The other dialects have features which point to their relationship with dialects of English spoken in Ireland; among these, the occurrence of clear [l] in all positions including those where other dialects of English have a dark [ɫ], also the occurrence of a strong retroflex [ɾ] after vowels and in final position.

Orkin's book about Canadian English is not the product of a dialect description but is an informal account of the history, pronunciation, vocabulary and names of Canadian English. It is based on a substantial number of dialectal studies, review and newspaper articles which deal directly with Canadian English.

Labov (1966), Labov et al. (1968) and Wolfram's (1969) studies of American Urban English will be also referred to at various points in the description of Malbay English when dealing with some problems of phonology and syntax. Labov and Wolfram's studies have an orientation which is

different from that of the traditional dialectal studies which we have just been reviewing. Wolfram's study focuses on the variation of Detroit Black English and Labov's studies on the variation of English in New York City. Both authors study the variation of a number of selected speech elements (variables). For example in New York and Detroit the -th- variable can be realized as [θ ð] or [tʰ d] or [f v] depending on the speaker, the speech event and the linguistic environment. In Labov and Wolfram's works the variation of those speech elements is studied along several lines: the nature of the speech event (formal vs. informal, conversational vs. reading), the characteristics of the speaker (his age, sex, and socioeconomic background) and last but not least, the purely linguistic factors (linguistic environment) which influence variation. The frequencies of occurrence of the different realizations (variants) of the speech variables are systematically correlated with the speaker's characteristics, the nature of the speech event and the linguistic environment. Thus, speech variation in a given community is described with a high degree of thoroughness and accuracy. The traditional dialectologists are little concerned with such variation. Their aim is to describe the local "langue" shared by the speakers of a given dialect area. The subsystems of a dialect such as phonology and lexicon are thought to be composed mainly of a number of unvarying elements which characterize the speech of the speakers of a dialect area. These problems will be examined more at length in the section devoted to the study of -th.

3.1.2 Scope of Chapter III

Chapter III starts with a description of the vowels of Malbay English.

The vowels are described with articulatory features and their distribution and variation are analyzed. In the description one sees that a number of vowels characteristic of Malbay English have already been found in other dialects of Canadian English. In this respect two typical features of Canadian English (see preceding review), the centralized diphthongs [əɪ], [əʊ] in words like life, and out and the lack of distinction between words like collar and caller, caught and cot, can be found in Malbay English. The description of the vowel system is followed by a detailed study of the variation of -th- in Malbay English. The variable has already been studied in several descriptions of varieties of Canadian and American English (see above). In Malbay English -th- is either realized as [θ], [ɣ] (fricative variants) or as [tʰ], [ð] (stop variants). The study examines in detail the morphophonological constraints which influence the distribution of the fricative and stop variants. The study of -th- is followed by some remarks about the intonation of declarative sentences in Malbay English. The intonation of Malbay English's declarative sentences is found to resemble closely that of declarative sentences of French Canadian. The existence of French intonation features in Malbay English is attributed to the "imperfect" learning of English by the assimilated francophones who form the bulk of Malbay English-speaking group. The remarks on intonation are followed by a section devoted to the lexicon of Malbay English and one devoted to some aspects of its syntax. The lexical study is divided in two parts. The first one is concerned with lexical elements which are thought to present some interest from the angle of dialect description. The lexical elements are listed and their meanings explicated. The second part focuses on a number of elements of Malbay lexicon whose presence in Malbay English is most

likely the result of borrowing from French. The section devoted to the syntax of Malbay English concentrates on several syntactic features which have already been found to characterize the syntax of non-standard varieties of North American English.

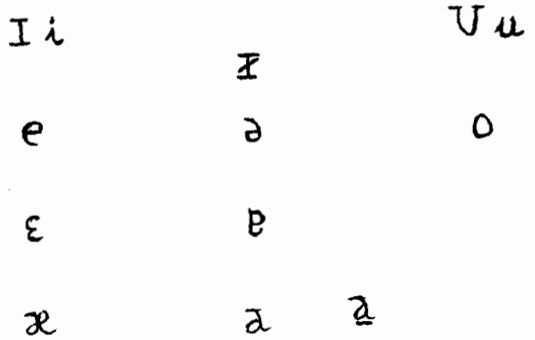
3.2 Malbay sound system

What will be described in the following paragraphs are a number of surface phonetic elements of Malbay English's sound system. Their phonological status will not be considered for it is not our intent here to enter the now controversial field of dialectal phonological theory (Keyser 1963). The sounds will be described with traditional articulatory features. All the symbols, except one [a̲], used in our description are taken from the I.P.A.

3.2.1 The vowels

In the chart given below one will find the vocalic elements of Malbay English. The vowel symbols of the chart represent the majority of the vocalic elements yielded by our sample of speech. Only one vocalic element, the diphthong [ʌI] characteristic of the older generation's speech is not included. However it will be mentioned in the description of the distribution and variation of Malbay English vowels, which is to follow.

The Vowels of Malbay English



Diphthongs: aɪ ɐɪ əɪ aʊ ɐʊ əʊ

[a] is a front low unrounded vowel it has the same quality as standard French [a] in patte. It is found in words like:

[az] as	[kʰam] calm	[fáɣər] father
[lak] lack	[baθ] bath	[ɾáz bɾɪ] raspberry
[ɣat] that	[laf] laugh	

[faɣər] is found in the speech of the older generation (60-80 age group). The younger generation speakers have shifted to a more backed variety [a̱] [fa̱ɣər] (see further down). In his study of speech differences across the Ontario-United States border, Avis (1956) noted that only uneducated speakers pronounced calm with a front vowel [æ] or [a]. In Malbay English, however, calm is always pronounced [kʰam] with a front [a].

[æ] is a front unrounded slightly raised vowel. It occurs in front of nasal phoneme [n] where it is slightly nasalized: [æ̃]

e.g.	[bəlæ̃́nʂ]	Belle-Anse	[ænt]	aunt
	[fræns]	France	[ʃǽntiz]	shanties
	[ǽnsəl]	Ansil	[lænd]	land

[æ] also occurs instead of [a] under emphatic stress.

e.g.	[lǽst]	last
	[bæθ]	bath
	[Kʰǽbɪn]	cabin
	[flǽʃ]	flash

[a̲] is a slightly backed, low, slightly rounded vowel, which occurs in a variety of words like:

[Kʰá̲lər]	collar	[Kʰa̲t]	cot	[l a̲ntʃ]	launch
[Kʰá̲lər]	caller	[Kʰa̲t]	caught	[a̲n]	on
[ha̲l]	haul	[ta̲K]	talk	[Kʰa̲r]	car
[a̲l]	all	[wa̲K]	walk	[fa̲rm]	farm
[mə́ntria̲l]	Montreal	[la̲g]	log	[sá̲dər]	solder
[má̲lbeɪ]	Malbay	[ha̲rs]	horse	[bá̲ðər]	bother
[bra̲t]	brought	[h a̲rs]	hoarse	[fá̲ðər]	father
[θa̲t]	thought	[ná̲rmən]	Norman	[lá̲jər]	lawyer
[dá̲tər]	daughter	[dʒa̲rdʒ]	George	[sa̲]	saw

The absence of distinction between words like caller and collar, cot and caught, should be noted here. We have already seen that it is a typical feature of Canadian English. Thus both Gregg (1957) and Lehn (1959) mention the occurrence of a backed, low, slightly rounded phoneme in words similar

or identical to those just listed.

[a̲] also occurs in words like:

[prá̲gras]	progress
[prá̲sas]	process
[prá̲blam]	problem

The Ontario variant [oᵘ] e.g. [proᵘgras] progress is not found for those words in Malbay English.

[I] is a lax nonrounded high front vowel. It is found in words like:

[pʰIn]	pin
[fIʃ]	fish
[klIf]	cliff
[kʰIŋ]	king
[má̲rnIŋ]	morning

It also occurs in final unstressed position in words ending in y or ey.

[óᵘnlI]	only
[ízI]	easy
[kréᴵzI]	crazy
[tʃímlI]	chimney
[smókI]	smokey
[foᵘ́nI]	phoney
[wísKI]	whiskey
[mánI]	money

The word buoy is pronounced [bᵘI]. The Ontario pronunciation [bɔI] (Avis

1956) is unknown in Malbay. Malbay pronunciation resembles pronunciations found in the Atlantic States [búɪ] or [bʊɪ] . However in Malbay English the glide following [b] is very short.

The word kettle is pronounced by the older generation speakers (60-80 age group) as [kʰɪ́ɾəl]. This pronunciation is noted by Widdowson (1964). The same group of speakers also pronounce the words Canada and America [kʰǽnəɾdɪ] [əmə́ɾɪkɪ]

[i] is a tense non rounded high vowel. It is found in words like:

[ɾid]	read
[sim]	seem
[jist]	yeast
[pípəl]	people
[min]	mean

In Malbay English the word appendicitis is pronounced [əpɛ́ndəsítəs]. Allen 1959 identified this pronunciation as a Canadian variant.

[ɛ] is a lax non-rounded middle vowel. It occurs in words like:

[pʰɛn]	pen
[bɾɛd]	bread
[ɛg]	egg
[nɛɾ]	net

[ʊ] is a lax rounded high back vowel. It occurs in words like:

[pʰʊt] put
[bʊʃ] bush
[hʊf] hoof
[bʊl] bull

[ʉ] is a tense rounded high back vowel. It is found in words like:

[mʉn] moon
[lʉn] loon
[drʉl] drool

and also in words such as:

[nʉz] news
[tʰʉb] tube
[dʉ́tɪ] duty
[sʉt] suit
[stʉ́dənt] student
[pjʉ́pəl] pupil
[pjʉ] pew

In the first five words the Canadian variant [jʉ] as in [njʉz] for news is not found in Malbay English.

The word supple is pronounced [sʉpəl] locally. This pronunciation is mentioned in Orkin (1970). The word Quebec is pronounced [kjʉbék] in Malbay.

The central vowel [ə] is found in unstressed position in words like:

[əgóʊ] ago
[lásədʒúlə] last of July

[stúdənt] student
[ádəm] Adam

It is also found in stressed position in words like:

[dágləs] Douglas
[pʰársɪ] Percé
[bəm] bum
[sámθɪŋ] something
[bəg] bug
[pəlp] pulp
[bádʒɪ] budgie

The word soot is pronounced [sət] locally. This pronunciation is mentioned as a Canadian variant by Avis (1956) and Allen (1959).

[e] or [eᴵ] is a front middle tense vowel. It usually glides toward [ɪ]. It occurs in words like:

[tʰəméɪto] tomato
[pléɪto] Plateau
[pʰeɪl] pail
[rer] rare
[men] main

[o] or [oʊ] is a back low rounded tense vowel. It usually glides toward [ʊ]. It occurs in words like:

[boθ] both
[roʷm] roam
[soʷl] sole
[most] most
[rod] road

3.2.2 The diphthongs

[aʊ] occurs before voiced consonants in words like:

[daʊn] down
[raʊnd] round
[laʊd] loud
[faʊl] foul

The centralized variants [ɐʊ] or [əʊ] occur before voiceless consonants in words like:

[haʊs] house
[ɐʊt] out
[əʊtʃ] ouch

[aɪ] occurs before voiced consonants in words like:

[faɪn] fine
[aɪlənd] island
[maɪl] mile
[raɪd] ride

The centralized variants [ɐɪ] or [əɪ] occur before voiceless consonants in

words like:

[ləɪt] light
[ləɪk] like
[ɾeɪp] ripe
[ləɪf] life

The centralization of diphthongs [aɪ] and [aʊ] seems to be a typical feature of Canadian English. It was observed by Avis (1956), Gregg (1957), Lehn (1959) and Allen (1959).

The three words genuine, either, neither are pronounced [ʤénuaɪn] [aíðəɹ][náɪðəɹ]in Malbay English. The Ontario variants (Avis 1956) [ʤénuɪn] [íðəɹ][níðəɹ] are not found in Malbay.

[əɪ] or [ʌɪ] (the latter variant is used by older generation speakers) occur in words like:

[ɹəɪ] Roy
[pʰəɪnt] point
[əɪl] oil
[lárlɪst] Loyalist
[nəɪz] noise
[sáɹlaɪn] sirloin

3.2.3 The -th- consonants

In comparison with the vowels, Malbay consonants are found to have fewer noteworthy peculiarities and are in general similar to those of standard Canadian English or general American. Only the dental fricatives

[θ] and [ð] and their variants [tʰ] and [d] , alveolar stops, will be studied here. We have already seen that -th- has been studied with a varying degree of thoroughness in the dialectal descriptions of Kirwin et al. (1968) and Widdowson (1964) and in the sociolinguistic studies of Labov et al.(1968) and Wolfram (1969). In Kirwin and Widdowson's studies, dental or alveolar stops are described as occurring in positions where speakers of standard English would use [θ] and[ð] e.g. oath [oʊt] , mother [mɑdɑr], thin [tʰɪn] . However it is nowhere stated in these studies whether or not the standard variants are sometimes used by the speakers of Newfoundland English, and if they are, under what circumstances and in what linguistic environment. It is assumed that the fricative variants do not occur in the speech of the informants selected for the surveys. I am tempted to question this assumption on the basis of Labov and Wolfram's studies and my own which prove that no matter how high the index of stop variants become in the speech of the informants, there is always a significant proportion of fricative variants even in highly informal and spontaneous discourse. This state of affairs is due to the fact that in English the occurrence of the fricative or occlusive variants is amongst other things subject to a number of linguistic constraints. Labov and Wolfram's studies showed also that the variation of socially-marked elements like -th-, is conditioned by a number of situational and sociological factors: the degree of formality of the discourse and the socioeconomic characteristics of the speakers (education income, age and sex). The present study is a thorough investigation of the linguistic constraints which condition the variation of -th-, but not of its variation along socioeconomic and stylistic lines. However I am convinced that a thorough study of the linguistically-conditioned variation of a

given speech element is a prerequisite for an accurate evaluation of the influence of socioeconomic and stylistic factors on its variation. This point has been clearly demonstrated in Wolfram (1969) and Labov et al. (1968). As such, this study could be the basis for a more general study of the variation of -th- in the Malbay speech community. Before starting the study I will in the following sections make a few remarks about the status of -th- in Malbay English and about the sample of speech which constituted the basis of my analysis.

3.2.3.1 The status of -th- in Malbay English

In Malbay English -th- functions as a sociolinguistic marker or more specifically a variety marker. This means that the realization of standard fricatives [θ] and [ð] as stops [tʰ] and [d] is a characteristic feature of Malbay English and perceived as such by Malbay anglophones. It is also openly referred to by Malbay anglophones as one of the most prominent features of their dialect and often given by them alongside lexical "oddities" as a proof or example of the bad quality of Malbay English. For this reason -th- in Malbay English constitutes what Labov (1963) calls a salient variable.

It should also be noted at this point that this negative attitude toward the [tʰ][d] pronunciation as a characteristic of the local speech is further increased by the fact that a substantial proportion of Malbay speakers view the presence of the occlusive variants in their speech as a product of dialect mixture, i.e. more specifically interference from French[1] (see Chapter II, p.102).

People who say "tink and tought, dis and dat" are described locally as "talking English like the French" although their native language is English.

This is often given by Malbay anglophones as a strong proof of the bad quality of Malbay English.

3.2.3.2 Remarks about the study's sample of speech

The study is based on an analysis of linguistic information drawn from six tape-recorded interviews of about one hour and a half each. So as to be in a better position to focus on the linguistically-conditioned variation of -th-, I needed a sample of speech which would present as little stylistic variation as possible. This prerequisite was particularly imperative in view of the salience of -th-. To achieve this end my interviews were as little directed as possible. They all spoke about things gone by or the older days which greatly interest Malbay folks, and about which they love to talk. The discussion yielded a type of speech which was relatively homogeneous stylistically and which can be described as informal. This may partially account, as we shall soon see, for the relatively high proportion of occurrences of alveolar stops in my sample.

The second prerequisite was to eliminate social variation from the sample of speech. Such variation was minimized but not completely eliminated. All of the eight informants who took part in the interviews were or had been engaged in similar occupations (farmer-lumberjack or fisherman-farmer), however they belonged to different age groups. Two men belonged to the 20-40 age group, four to the 40-60 age group and two to the 60-80 age group.

3.2.3.3 Interpretation of the data

Our six interviews have yielded over 1100 occurrences of -th-. We have 159 occurrences of the voiceless stop or fricative and 952 of the

voiced stop or fricative. The relatively low frequency of the former is due to the low frequency of the linguistic items (lexical and grammatical ones) that include the voiceless phone in our sample. The high frequency of the latter is accounted for by the fact that it is mostly included in a series of function words whose frequency of occurrence is usually very high (e.g. this, that, the, there, then, etc.). We will therefore start with the analysis of the voiced phone by far the most frequent of the two and see if the conclusions we can draw for the voiced phoneme also apply for the voiceless phone whose analysis will follow.

3.2.3.3.1 The voiced phone : [ð] or [d] [2]

We have 952 occurrences of the voiced phone in our sample. The voiceless phone occurs 896 times in function words and 56 times in lexical items.

Fifty-one of these occurrences are ϕ occurrences or in other words, cases where the voiced phone is deleted (e.g. and that [ændðæt]→[ænæt]). Thus we have 901 cases of "actual" occurrences. The ϕ occurrences represent 5% of our sample.

The overall proportion of occurrences for each variant (occlusive vs. fricative) is the following:

d	ð
84%	16%

3.2.3.3.1.1 Voiced -th- between vowels (VðV or VðV)

V is either a simple vowel or a vowel followed by a glide. Between

vowels, the overall proportion of occurrences for the two variants is the following:

ð	ɾ
2%	98%

When the occlusive appears in between vowels it is phonetically realized as a voiced alveolar flapped stop transcribed here [ð̞] . e.g.

[máð̞ər] mother
[áð̞ər] other
[fáð̞ər] father
[áyð̞ər] either

Voiced intervocalic -th- is found both in grammatical and lexical elements. In lexical elements intervocalic -th- is always located within word boundaries.

e.g. { [fáðər], [klóʊðɪŋ] (father, clothing)
_ VthV _

In grammatical elements intervocalic -th- is found both within word boundaries in a number of words like rather, neither, other. Intervocalic -th- is also found at word boundaries in a few high frequency items like the, this, that, then, there.

e.g. { [ʃíð̞ɛn], [súð̞ɛm] (she then, sue them)
#_V# thV_ #

At word boundaries the occlusive variant occurs much more frequently than the fricative variant.

# — V# th V — #	
ð	ð
86%	14%

Within word boundaries the occlusive variant somewhat less frequently than the fricative one.

# — V th V — #	
ð	ð
42%	58%

This latter case accounts for only a small proportion of our corpus (124 items in all). These consist of lexical elements and a number of low frequency grammatical items.

3.2.3.3.1.2 Voiced -th- after consonants

We shall now examine the occurrence of the voiced phoneme preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel. In this environment -th- always occurs at word-boundaries in my sample.

e.g. { ɪnðɛm , aɪðaɪ (in them, at that)
{ # — C#th V — #

The overall proportion of occurrences for each variant is the following:

# – C # thV – #	
ð	ð
86%	14%

Table (a) Variation in the frequency of occurrence of the fricative and occlusive variant of -th- preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel.

#–C # thV– #	
C ⟶ [t,n]	
ð	ð
99%	1%

# – C # thV – #	
C ⟶ [z,s]	
ð	ð
69%	31%

# – C # thV – #	
C ⟶ [p b m K g ŋ]	
ð	ð
91%	9%

Unvoiced alveolar stop and alveolar nasal [t] and [n] are extremely favorable to the occurrence of the stop variant. Voiced stop [d] has not been included in the count because it is almost identical to [ð] (Wolfram 1969, p.83). Voiced and unvoiced alveolar fricatives [z] and [s] are somewhat less favorable to the occurrence of the occlusive variant. Finally, the table shows that stops which are neither fricative nor alveolar are also quite favorable to the occurrence of the occlusive variant.

3.2.3.3.1.3 Voiced -th- in absolute initial position (# thV–)

In absolute initial position (beginning of utterances) the occlusive variant occurs definitely more frequently than the fricative variant. Thus we have the following proportions:

#thV—	
ð	ɣ
85%	15%

3.2.3.3.1.4 Zero occurrences of voiced -th-

Deletion of voiced -th- is mainly brought about by alveolar consonants and glide ɾ.

z s n t d ɣ V ⟶ z s n t d ø V

V ɾ ɣ V ⟶ V ɾ ø V

e.g.	[ɪtsə]	it's the	[kʊɪkəɾan]	quicker than
	[ɪnə]	in the	[maɾan]	more than
	[anat]	and that	[aftəɾə]	after the
	[nāta]	not the	[fāɾɛm]	for them

Deletion brought about by the above mentioned phonemes occurs at word boundaries and concerns grammatical items only.

Deletion within word boundary and between vowels is rare and occurs only twice in our sample (two lexical items).

Deletion never occurs in absolute initial position:

thV— ⟶* # ø V —

3.2.3.3.1.5 Lot of Them, Lot of The

A phenomenon of reduction occurs with the modifiers lot and most followed by preposition of and demonstrative the, them, that, this:

				(a)		(b)
most	of	the	⟶	mo^{u}stəð V	⟶	mo^{u}stəV
lot		this	⟶	lạtəð V	⟶	lạtəV
		that				
		them				

Vernacular rendering of most lot - of - demonstrative involves a reduction of the preposition which is sometimes deleted and the occurrence of the occlusive variant (already accounted for in 1.2.3.2.1.2).

This phenomenon affects 92% of the most lot - of - demonstrative constructions contained in our sample.

3.2.3.3.1.6 Discussion of the results

Table (b) Variation in the frequency of occurrences of [ð] and [θ]

Environments	#VthV#		[z/s] th V		# th V-		#-V#thV-#		[pbmkgŋ]thV		[t/n] th V	
Variants	ð	θ	ð	θ	ð	θ	ð	θ	ð	θ	ð	θ
Proportions	42%	58%	69%	31%	85%	15%	86%	14%	91%	9%	99%	1%

The table above shows the postconsonantal position to be more favorable to the occurrence of the occlusive variant than the intervocalic one. This can be partly explained by the fact that most consonants exert assimilatory forces favorable to the occurrence of the occlusive, the vowels however, do not exert such forces. Also if one bears in mind that

the occlusive variant is socially marked (see p.158) it can be assumed that speakers will use it less in an environment where it is phonetically prominent (between vowels) than in an environment where it is less obstrusive (for example behind stops). The importance of assimilatory factors appears clearly if one takes a look at the consonantal environments. The consonants which are most favorable to the occurrence of the occlusive variants (99%) share a number of features with that variant (e.g. alveolar voiced or voiceless stops [n] and [t]). The consonants which share features with the fricative variants (voiced and voiceless dental fricatives [z] and [s]) reduce the number of occurrences of the stop variant. However even in this unfavorable environment the stop variant has a high percentage of occurrence (69%). This suggests that assimilation plays only a partial role in the occurrence of either of the two variants.

The relatively low frequency of occurrence of the occlusive variant in the within word intervocalic position (42%) may be the result of the fact that -th- was not frequent in this environment (cf. par.3.2.3.3.1.1). A larger sample might have yielded different results.

In the absolute initial position like in the intervocalic one, the occurrence of the two variants is not affected by assimilation. In the absolute position the occlusive variant is phonetically prominent. However the still high frequency of occurrence of the occlusive (85%) shows that phonetic prominence plays only a minor role in reducing the number of occurrences of the socially marked variant.

The overall high frequency of occurrences of the stop variant in all consonantal environments (86%) and its equally high frequency of occurrence in most vocalic environments may suggest that /ð/ is the underlying form of

-th- which is realized as [ð] or [θ] in the surface.

3.2.3.3.2 The voiceless phone

We have only 160 occurrences of the voiceless phone in our sample. This is due to the fact that voiceless -th- occurs mostly in lexical items whose frequency of occurrence is much lower than grammatical items. Thus the voiceless phone occurs 102 times in lexical items and 57 times in grammatical items.

The figure 160 includes 17 cases of deletion representing somewhat over 10% of our sample.

The aspirated voiceless alveolar stop [tʰ] occurs 72 times in our corpus and the voiceless dental fricative [θ] 71. This makes the overall proportions of occurrences equal for each variant:

tʰ	θ
50%	50%

3.2.3.3.2.1 Voiceless -th- between vowels (VtʰV or VθV).

The two variants (occlusive and fricative) have the following proportions of occurrences:

Variants	tʰ	θ
Number of occurrences	21	18
Percentages of occurrences	52%	48%

The two variants fall mostly into two categories of items. The

lexical items - think and thought - (preceded by a personal pronoun) and grammatical items - anything, nothing, everything. The fricative variant [θ] occurs more frequently in lexical items than grammatical ones.

I / you think / thought	
tʰ	θ
32%	68%

anything, nothing, everything	
tʰ	θ
60%	40%

3.2.3.3.2.2 Voiceless -th- preceded by a consonant (CtʰV or CθV)

The occlusive variant occurs slightly more frequently after consonant than the fricative variant:

Variants	tʰ	θ
Number of occurrences	31	25
Proportions of occurrences	55%	45%

However we shall see later on that certain consonants are more likely than others to bring about the occurrence of the stop variant. Owing to the somewhat limited size of our sample of voiceless phones in a postconsonantal environment, percentages have only been calculated for the specific consonants which are followed by a satisfactory number of voiceless variants occurrences.

Nasal consonants [m] vs. [n]

The bilabial nasal stop [m] is somewhat more favorable to the occurrence of the fricative [θ]:

[m]	
t^h	θ
45%	55%

However the alveolar nasal stop [n] is definitely more favorable to the occurrence of the alveolar stop [t^h]:

[n]	
t^h	θ
67%	33%

The alveolar voiced stop [d] also favors quite definitely the occurrence of the occlusive variant. There is only one occurrence of the fricative variant after [d] for seven occurrences of the occlusive variant in our corpus. The high frequency of [t^h] after [d] and [n] can be partly explained by assimilation factors.

In the case of voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives [z] and [s] "contrary" assimilatory forces reverse the trend noted for [d/n]. Thus both fricative phonemes are more favorable to the occurrence of the fricative variant.

In the cases of [d, z, s] the limited size of our sample did not permit calculation of meaningful percentages. But in the light of the results found for the voiced marker in a similar environment, it is reasonable to assume that the above mentioned trend would be confirmed with a larger sample.

3.2.3.3.2.3 Voiceless -th- followed by [ɹ] .

This environment was selected on account of the fact that a relatively large number of linguistic elements included it (e.g. three, through, etc.).

(a) When -th- occurs in absolute initial position, (#tʰɹV vs. #θɹV), there is a marked trend toward the occurrence of the occlusive variant rather than the fricative. This indicates that [ɹ] following the voiceless phone is to some extent favorable to the occurrence of the stop variant.

(b) If [ɹ] plays a role in bringing about the occurrence of the occlusive in absolute initial position, it would seem to be less important than the role of preceding consonants at word boundary position (-C#tʰɹV) e.g. right through, and three.

In this respect fricatives [z / s] preceding -th - prove to have a stronger influence than [ɹ] and definitely bring about the occurrence of the fricative variant:

[z / s]	
tʰ	θ
5%	95%

Likewise alveolar consonants [n t d] are definitely more favorable to the occurrence of the occlusive variant:

[n t d]	
tʰ	θ
92%	8%

3.2.3.3.2.4 Voiceless -th- in absolute final position ($-\overset{V}{/}_{C}\ \theta\#$ or $-\overset{V}{/}_{C}\ t^h\#$)

Linguistic elements which include the marker in this position are not very frequent in our sample. But there seems to be a tendency for the voiceless marker to be realized as an occlusive variant in this position and environment.

In fact the fricative variant never occurs in absolute final position, but only 12 linguistic items are involved; among these:

[__ wɪtʰ#]	with
[__ boʊtʰ#]	both
[__ klaṯʰ#]	cloth
[__ mənʰ#]	month

3.2.3.3.2.5 Zero occurrences of voiceless -th-.

Cases of -th- deletion amount to a little under 12% of the total occurrences of the voiceless variants. Deletion of the voiceless phone occurs both between vowels and after consonants: V th V $\longrightarrow$ V ∅ V

C th V $\longrightarrow$ C ∅ V

Deletion of the voiceless phone never occurs in absolute final position nor does it occur in absolute initial position.

$$C/V\ t^h\ \#\rightarrow^{*} C/V\ \emptyset\ \#$$

$$\#\ t^h\ V/\mathbf{r}\rightarrow^{*} \emptyset\ V/\mathbf{r}$$

The voiceless phone is never deleted when followed by [ɹ]. A number of consonants whose point of articulation is close to that of the voiceless phone are quite unfavorable to deletion. These are [tdnl] respectively.

Other non-alveolar or non-dental consonants are more favorable to -th-

deletion. Cases of deletion are frequent with the following words or phrases.

[aɹθɪŋK ⟶ aɹɪnK]	I think	(not found with other pronouns)
[nəθɪŋ ⟶ nəɪŋ]	nothing	
[sʌmθɪŋ ⟶ sʌmɪn]	something	
[ɛnɪθɪŋ ⟶ ɛnɪ:n]	anything	
[ɛvɹɪθɪŋ ⟶ ɛvɹɪ:n]	everything	

3.2.3.3.2.6 Summary and discussion of the results

In comparison to the definitely high overall proportion of occurrence of the occlusive voiced variant (84%) the overall frequency of the voiceless stop (50%) sounds relatively low. One finds similar results in Labov (1966). Several factors may account for the lower frequency of the occlusive voiceless variant. It occurs more frequently between vowels than the voiced phone . We have seen that this environment is more favorable to the occurrence of the fricative variant than most other environments. It is also reasonable to posit that the voiceless stop variant is more salient than the voiced variant and that this higher degree of saliency has consequences at the level of usage and brings about a reduction of the number of occlusive realizations. However we have not tried to analyze why the voiceless stop should be more salient than its voiced counterpart.

Our study of the voiceless phoneme between vowels and after consonants confirms most of the results found for the voiced phone . Thus the occlusive variant generally occurs less frequently between vowels than after consonants.

Among consonants those whose point of articulation is similar to that

of the variant of the voiceless marker but whose mode of articulation is similar or different, mainly stop vs. fricative variant respectively. Thus alveolar stop [d] is very favorable to the occurrence of [tʰ] whereas alveolar fricatives z/s are favorable to the occurrence of [θ].

3.2.4 Some morphophonological characteristics of Malbay English

"Intrusive" [t] occurs after fricatives [f] and [s] in the following words:

trough [traf]	trought [traft]	e.g. "Down there where the trought is"[3]
across (adverb and preposition) [əkrás]	acrosst [əkrast]	e.g. "He drove acrosst the road"
closer [klo^{u}sər]	closter [klo^{u}stər]	e.g. "We couldn't get any closter"
cliff [klɪf]	clifft [klɪft]	e.g. "His car went down the clifft"
safer [se^{ɪ}fər], safest [se^{ɪ}fəst]	safeter [se^{ɪ}ftər], safetest [se^{ɪ}ftəst]	e.g. "I thought that place was safeter" "That was the safetest way to travel"

A similar phenomenon was noted by Widdowson (1964) in his description of a central Newfoundland dialect. He found an "intrusive" [t], occurring finally in the word cliff.

In Malbay English, standard [n] is realized as [l] in the two words chimney and Peninsula

e.g. "Don't worry this a good chimley."

"He lived way over in Pelinsula."

Standard	nowhere	are realized	nowheres	[nouweɪɹz]
	elsewhere		elsewheres	[ɛlsweɪɹz]
	anywhere		anywheres	[ɛnɪweɪɹz]

3.2.5 Remarks about the intonation of Malbay English

We have seen that the local realization of standard [θ] and [ð] as [tʰ] and [d] respectively is viewed by Malbay people as an indication of "interference"[4] from French into English. Other features of Malbay English could be given a similar interpretation but they are not viewed as such by local people and, unlike the -th- marker, were not commented on by the locals. Among those is the intonation pattern of declarative sentences in Malbay English. Interestingly, Chiasson - Lavoie, and Laberge (1971) in their study of native speakers' sensitivity to linguistic variables, found that French Canadian speakers were more sensitive to the phonological variables than to the syntactic variables which characterize Montreal French dialect. Our study indicates that the native speakers of Malbay dialect are sensitive to phonological variables (cf. preceding section) and lexical and syntactic variables as we shall see in the following sections, but are not sensitive to suprasegmental variables. The latter were not included in Chiasson-Lavoie, and Laberge's study.

In my study of the intonation of spoken Canadian French (Mougeon 1970), I found that the intonation pattern of declarative sentences of Canadian French presents a feature which is not found in Standard French, (Delattre 1966), namely a sharp rise at the end of most declarative sentences.

e.g. oui j'aime bien ça la confiture à l'orange.

Declarative sentences of Malbay English exhibit the same feature, i.e. their intonation pattern presents a rise at the end. A final glide up is also to be found in the declarative sentences of Malbay French.

We give here as an illustration two short extracts from two tape recorded interviews of Malbay anglophones who both know little French.

Interviewer: Did you work down here?

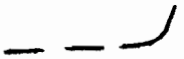
Interviewee: I come down, back down, here I worked right down, on a little place down, in Malbay, for John Smith,[5] there, he used to keep cattle that time, few cattle there. I worked for him for three years. Then I start driving trucks after that.

Interviewer: Fishing hasn't been too good this year eh?

Interviewee: Outside this spring when we start' t'was the same thing, you set up a hundred lines a hundred and twenty five lines probably. You gonna haul it, eh, one end's got fish, you

come to the other end, there's nothing at all.

Sometimes the middle got some, and the two ends got none.



Seems like they're all in spots, you know.

If Malbay English intonation of declarative sentences is not perceived as "French like" by Malbay anglophones, it was perceived as such by native speakers of English from Montreal and Newfoundland. No formal perception tests were conducted but I noted that anglophones from Montreal and St.John's (mainly university teachers and students) upon hearing samples of Malbay English, spontaneously remarked that its intonation sounded "French". In this respect some of the above mentioned people went so far as to question the mother tongue affiliation of the speakers.

W. Kirwin and I. Hewson (personal communication) from St.John's Memorial University, Newfoundland, found that the intonation of Malbay English was similar to the intonation of the "French" people from the Port au Port peninsula (southwestern end of Newfoundland) who have been assimilated to the English-speaking group over the last hundred years or so. These people, who are now of English mother tongue and who know little or no French, have retained features of French intonation in their native speech.

At this point one should recall the assimilation processes that have taken place in Malbay over the past hundred years or so (see Chapter I). Those were mainly characterized by the related phenomena of bilingual marriages and assimilation of francophones to the English-speaking group. As a result a substantial proportion of the present day English-speaking

population is a product of the assimilation of francophones. In this respect, over 65% of today's local anglophone population has French-sounding names.

Assimilation processes that have taken place in Malbay are not unlike those that happened in the Port au Port area. It is interesting to note that both English-speaking communities have retained French intonation features in their dialect of English. The presence of French intonation features in Malbay English is probably the result of a substratum situation in which English was imperfectly learned by the assimilated francophones (the bulk of Malbay English-speaking group).

3.3 The lexicon

This study is devoted to some aspects of the vocabulary of Malbay English. It is divided in two parts. The first part will deal with lexical units which were thought to present an interest from the point of view of dialect descriptions. The second part will deal with lexical items which I have analyzed as likely products of borrowing from French. The study, it should be noted here, will not be as detailed as that of -th-. In particular considerations about variation in usage will be only briefly touched upon.

3.3.1 Verbal forms

To batch: This verb is also used by other anglophone groups in the Gaspé and possibly by other anglophones in the Maritimes. In Malbay the verb is used when several members of the male sex like brothers for example, live under the same roof, cooking and generally speaking doing all household work in the rudimentary and makeshift way which is supposed to characterize

bachelor life. To live in such a way is known as to batch it.

To chew the rag: This expression is commonly used in Malbay and is used in the sense of to argue and complain.

To have a big or (swollen) head: This means to suffer from a hangover after heavy drinking or more loosely to have a strong headache.

To learn: This is used for standard to learn and to teach. Standard "to teach" has just begun to creep into the local dialect. As a result many local speakers are not quite familiar with its meaning and only a few people will use or understand standard to teach.

To torment: This verb is commonly used in the sense of to tease lightly.

3.3.2 Adjectives and adverbs

Cute: This adjective is widely used in its primary sense of intelligent or clever and can refer to people and people's actions.

Afire: Note the local use of afire where one would expect fire as in "the chimney caught afire".

From away: This adjective refers to people that do not belong to the Gaspé. These people are said "to be from away".

Bilingual: The adjective is in the process of being incorporated in the local language. Only a few people are not familiar with its meaning but also only a few local people use it. Cases where the word is mispronounced are not infrequent. To bilingual is preferred the expression "French and English". Thus, somebody who is French and English, can talk both languages (see Chapter II, p.130). Other periphrastic expressions are used to denote bilingualism like to talk both or to know both. Local people are even less

familiar with bilingual used as a substantive.

Pure: This is an adverb which means very or extremely. It is mainly found in the local expression "to be pure French or English" meaning to speak almost no French or no English. This use of pure was noted by Widdowson (1964).

Green: This adjective means fresh, non-salted when referring to cod. Cod fish is sold either green or dried.

3.3.3 Substantives[6]

Trawl: This refers to fishing lines equipped with several hundred hooks. The lines are coiled on big reels and used for fishing cod.

Snood: The short piece of line (a foot long) attached to the fishing line proper, used to attach the hook.

Draft: A load of two quintals of fish. Note the local expression: to sell fish by the draft.

Fish: This word is commonly used in the sense of cod. Salt fish means dried cod fish.

Gaspé turkey: Facetious substitute for cod fish.

To jig, jigger: The word jigger denotes a fish hook equipped with a big spoon used to catch cod fish. To jig: to fish with a jigger.

Flakes: Racks made of wire nettings supported by wooden pickets used to dry cod fish in the open air.

Flat: Fifteen foot flat-bottomed boat used for inshore fishing. A flat is inferior in length to the dory.

Longliner: Forty foot keel boat with a large amount of storage room used for offshore fishing, see also Gaspésienne (cf. following section).

Stage: Removable wooden pier located near a fish plant, where the fishing boats are unloaded.

Beach master: Originally the person who supervised the beach workers who worked at the fish on the beach, now a fish-plant manager.

(Salmon) stand: Fixed location where salmon nets are set, situated about a hundred yards from the shore.

Jib (of land): It is most probably an extension of the nautical meaning of jib, i.e. an elongated and triangular sail. A jib of land is a plot of land of similar shape and usually located at the outer limit of a range when this limit does not fit exactly the limit of the next range.

Glib of ice: A sheet of smooth shiny ice such as can be seen sometimes on roads in the winter. The adjective glibbery is given as a dialectal variant in Webster (1969).

Among some of the words usually investigated in dialectal studies one should note local coal oil for kerosene, pig pen: place where pigs are kept, chicken coop: place where fowls are kept, see saw: plank on a trestle, pail: for the almost cylindrical container equipped with a handle and made of metal, plastic, wood, etc., grist: grain that is to be ground, gristmill: small local mill where grain is ground and var(s): the local word for firtree(s).

3.3.4 Intensifiers

Mister: The intensifier mister is used in Malbay English to add strong emotional emphasis to statements. Mister occurs during casual conversations and particularly when male community members indulge in "lie telling". A lie is an exaggerated story. The intensifier often "punctuates" the

statements uttered in such situations.

"Mister! You should have saw how he was driving that car. Real crazy!"

"By Jesus, mister! We sure had a bad storm last night".

Mister is mostly characteristic of men's speech in Malbay, for it is men that usually tell lies rather than women. Used as intensifier mister loses its normal referential meaning (the addressee) and is only used for emphasis.

My man: This expression is also used as an intensifier but is of lesser strength than mister. Unlike mister, its referential meaning is not completely lost. Thus my man usually refers to the person addressed by the speaker and at the same time adds a varying amount of emphasis to the speaker's statement:

"My man! There sure was lots of boats in that cove. Them days."

There exists two variants of my man: my poor man and/or my dear man.

3.3.5 Form of address

When addressing each other adult community members will occasionally use the expression my boy or my girl. This usage usually denotes a relationship of intimacy between the speaker and the hearer.

"You're taking to Gaspé my boy?"

My boy or my girl belong to the familiar register and are not used by community members when they address strangers.

3.4 Borrowings

Despite the present day low level of bilingualism of the English-speaking population in Malbay (cf. Chapter I), Malbay English contains a significant proportion of linguistic items which were most likely borrowed

from French. It contains more borrowings from French than Montreal English does. The presence of borrowings in Malbay English is understandable if one views the local dialect as a partial result of a substratum situation, i.e. the assimilation processes described in the previous section (cf. intonation features p.177). The speech of neighboring bilingual or non-bilingual francophones it should be noted contains a high proportion of borrowings from English which in comparison makes the number of borrowings contained in the local dialects of English sound almost "insignificant". We have seen in Chapter II that Malbay anglophones take a poor view of linguistic borrowing which is usually expressed by their critical appraisal of the local dialect of the French (see Chapter II, p.97).

Borrowings are concentrated in two domains, forestry and fishing, which have been for long two most important Gaspesian activities.

[səpɛ́] Young fir trees (saplings)[7] are sometimes referred to as [səpɛ̃́z] cf. French sapin

[ʃǽntɪz] The (lumber camps) are sometimes known as the shanties. cf. French les chantiers (lumber camps).

Note that English shanty and French chantier have phonetic similarities. This may have favored the shift of meaning.

[ɛ́tɔkaz] This is how cranberries are often called in Malbay. The local French word for cranberry is atoca [atɔká], see Rioux (1961).

[pɛ́pɪnaz] [pɛ́mɪnaz] These are two variants for blueberries. The local French word for this variety of berry is pépinon. Orkin (1970) gives an Indian origin to pépinon; the word is found in Algonkian (pembina, peminam).

[grávjez] This is how beach workers, (people who used to work at the

fish on the beach) are called. The local French word for beach workers is gravier, i.e. somebody who works on la grève (sur le gravier).

[bʊ́kə] This word denotes a variety of wooden barrel that was once used to store salt fish. The word comes from Jersey French ([bukó^{v}] boucaut). It must have been borrowed from Gaspé Jersey French which was relatively widely spoken in Malbay and other places in the not too distant past (cf. Chapter I). Boucaut is related to English bushel and French boisseau.

[pak] This word refers to the stomach of a cod. Cf. Jersey French pouque and French poche: pocket. [pak] must have been borrowed from Jersey French.

[gaspíʒən] This is a common substitute for the word longliner, cf. French Gaspésienne.

[bágas] About 20 years ago heavy denim working pants were commonly referred to as [bágas] pants. In Malbay French denim pants are known as des bagosses, see also Rioux (1961). The origin of this word is unknown.

The part of a plow known in English as plowshare is known locally as a [plávsək], cf. French soc de charrue. The English word agronomist is hardly ever used instead Malbay anglophones use the word [ágranov^{v}m], cf. French agronome.

Cowholes: These are holes in the road which make vehicles jerk and jolt, cf. French cahots. This is an interesting case of folk etymology.

To go [véɣɪŋ]: This expression means to go spend the night playing cards, talking, etc. at someone's, cf. French aller veiller.

The French metaphor avoir mal au coeur: to be sick to one's stomach may have brought about the coining of two related expressions in Malbay English the first one being a calque:

(1) Thus to be heartsick is used by Malbay anglophones in the sense of to be sick to the stomach.

(2) To turn one's heart is used in the sense of to make one feel heart sick as chocolate "turns my heart".

The French metaphor être dans la rue, local être sur le chemin: to be destitute, down and out, may explain the presence of the local equivalent expression "out on the road".

"If he keeps on spending his money like that, he's gonna put himself out on the road."

Make a turn over to: This local expression meaning to go somewhere or to someone's may be explained by the expression faire un tour with the same meaning in French.

With the exception of plow soc, agronome, make a turn, heartsick and related expressions and possibly bagosse all the above mentioned items are perceived by the anglophones as borrowings. Some of them like shanties, sapins are given as examples of local bad "English".

Finally a number of common Canadian French swear words are also used by the anglophones for stylistic effects (cf. Chapter II) for an account of how this usage is perceived by Malbay anglophones. The most recurrent borrowed swear words are calice, tabernacle, and christ pronounced respectively: [kális] [tábarnak] [krIS]

3.5 Syntax

Malbay English possesses a number of "syntactic" features which have been found to be characteristic of so-called "non standard" varieties of English such as:

(a) Extensive use of double negative constructions.

(b) Substitution of she, her for standard it when referring to the atmospheric elements, two wheeled or four wheeled vehicles (cars, trucks, bikes, snowmobiles, skidoos, etc.), pieces of machinery, tools and utensils. Generally speaking the substitution of she for it almost always occurs when a "personalized" relationship obtains between the speaker and the referent such as: conflict, like dislike, amazement, etc. This substitution makes the inanimate referent of it sound like a quasi-animate entity.

(c) In Malbay English third person singular marker /z/ is found at the end of verbal forms for persons other than the third person singular, e.g. "They means it", "I goes there". Percentages of /z/ occurrences were calculated on the basis of the speech sample used for -th-. The percentage of /z/ occurrences at the end of third person singular finite verb form is 98%. Coming next is the percentage of /z/ occurrences at the end of third person plural verb forms (25%) e.g. "They brings it ashore". Finally /z/ is also occasionally found to occur at the end of non-third person verb forms. However here the percentage is low (12%) for all non-third persons. These findings correspond to Wolfram's (1969) findings. The order of frequency in the occurrence of /z/ is the same: (1) Third person singular, (2) Third person plural, (3) Other persons. However unlike Wolfram's study, /z/ was never found to occur at the end of non-finite verb forms, e.g. "He know how to spells" (Wolfram's example).

(d) In the speech of the older generation, what is often substituted for

standard relative pronouns which, who(m) and that.

"It's hard to find a fellow what can do a thing like that".

"Them things what you put on the list".

(e) Demonstrative them is often substituted for standard those.

"There's still snow on them hills over there".

(f) Malbay dialect like a number of North American dialects has the "purposive" for to - Vb infinitive construction where other varieties including standard have the to - Vb infinitive construction.

"They used snowmobiles for to drive the children to school".

(g) The following preterit forms were observed: hurted for hurt, throwed for threw, growed for grew, wed for weeded, goed for went. The past participles froze and drove are often used for frozen and driven.

(h) Standard preposition behind is locally realized as (in) back of.

(i) The past form did not use to V is realized as usen't to V in Malbay English.

"He usen't to smoke so much in them days".

Usen't to is described as a Canadian colloquial variant by Allen (1959). The American dialects described by Allen have only the did not use to variant.

(j) The negative form of dare is daresn't.

"He says I daresn't do it".

(k) Simple past forms are substituted for past participles in pluperfect constructions after auxiliary had.

"We figured we had went long enough with it".

"By that time we had drank all the booze there was in the place".

This substitution is characteristic of the older generation's speech.

(l) A similar substitution is to be found in the speech of all generations.

Simple past forms are substituted for standard past participial forms after all past modals followed by have.

might have e.g. "In 1925 he might have did something"

should have e.g. "I should have went to Percé this morning"

could have e.g. "We could have took you to Gaspé"

must have e.g. "You must have saw it over there"

would have e.g. "I would have showed you"

This phenomenon has also been observed by Labov et al. (1968) and by Widdowson (1964) in his description of a central Newfoundland dialect. The substitution is not found in passive constructions.

*"It could have been did by him"

*"It had been saw by them"

(m) Standard modal may in both its senses of allow and it is possible that, does not exist in Malbay English. It is rendered by modal can in the sense of allow and by modal might in the sense of it is possible that.

Standard { may / might } Malbay might

Standard { may / can } Malbay can

The negative form of might is mightn't.

(n) Objective forms of personal pronouns appear frequently before the subject pronoun of declarative sentences.

"Eh, you know, me, I was a little sick this morning"

"And them, they were trying to run on the ice"

"Us, we caught the cat with a snare"

The objective forms can also be extraposed at the end of the sentence. This is a somewhat less frequent construction.

"I didn't like that, me, so I told him what I thought"

These constructions are quite frequent in French. Here again Malbay English may have been influenced by French.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 We have seen in Chapter II that Malbay francophones perceive in a similar way the retroflex phoneme [ɾ] which is typical of their dialect.

2 The nonstandard fricative labiodental variant [v] which was found to be an alternate substitute for standard [ð] in Labov et al. (1968) and Wolfram (1969) is not found in Malbay English. The same applies for the affricated variant tθ mentioned in Labov et al. (1968).

3 All the examples given here are actual sentences either hand or tape-recorded during our field observation.

4 One recalls here that Kirwin (1968), Labov et al. (1968) and Wolfram (1969) mentioned the presence of [tʰ] and [ɹ] in varieties of English which are not in contact with French. One can assume that interference is not the only reason which accounts for the presence of the occlusive variants in Malbay English. The occlusive variants may have characterized the speech of the first anglophones who settled the place. The assimilation of francophones by the anglophones may have helped both to retain and reinforce this feature of Malbay English.

5 Fictitious name.

6 Most of the substantives which will be given here belong to the field of fishing. Fishing is the most important feature of Malbay economy.

7 Known and used substitutes are given in parentheses.

APPENDIX

Questions and topics included in the household interview.[1]

1. "Factual" questions (to the head of household and his wife if she was present)

   Where were you born?

   Where were your parents born?

   When were you born?

   How long have you been living in Malbay?

   Do you know where your ancestors came from originally (father's side)?

   How many children do you have?

   How many living at home?

   When did you leave school?

   What religion do you belong to?

   What is your present job?

   Have you done other jobs before? What jobs?

   In what language were you brought up?

   Can you understand French? (to anglophones)

   Can you speak French? (to anglophones)

   Can you understand English (to francophones)

   Can you speak English? (to francophones)

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1. In order to make the interview as relaxed as possible, and to avoid possible areas of embarrassment, I tried to gather background information about the respondents (kinship links, employment, marital status) before going to an interview.

Does/did your father speak French/English?

Does/did your mother speak French/English?

Do/did your grandparents speak French/English? (father's side)

When did you learn French/English?

Where did you learn French/English?

Which language(s) is (are) spoken at home? Why?

In what language do you speak to your wife?

In what language do you speak to your children?

Do you go to the French mass or the English mass? (to Catholics)

Do you listen to French or English radio programs or both?

Do you watch French or English T.V. programs or both?

Which language is spoken by the workers, the foreman, where you are presently working?

2. Attitudinal questions or topics raised to elicit comments from the heads of households

Would you consider yourself English or French? Why?

Would you say the "Joneses" are French or English? Why?

What language do they speak in Barachois, St.Georges, Douglas Town, Gaspé Town?

Would you say Gaspé Town is becoming more French?

Would you say Malbay is becoming more French?

The local varieties of French and English, standard French, standard English.

Is the French/English spoken by the Malbay people different from the French/English spoken in... (the names of neighboring communities

are mentioned)?

French teaching at the local school: methods, teachers, variety of French taught.

Why are there so few that can "speak both" among the English, and so many among the French down here?

Is it difficult to get by without French around here? In Gaspé Town?

How do the French and the English get along together down here?

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