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The Changing Influence of French on Montreal English:

A Case Study of Prestige Differential

Brigitte Harris

A Thesis

in

the TESL Centre

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada**

January 1986

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ABSTRACT

The Changing Influence of French on Montreal English:
A Case Study of Prestige Differential

Brigitte Harris

This thesis studies diachronically the penetration of French into the English of Montreal by gathering data from documents of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM), analyzing them and placing the results of this analysis into the context of the decline in status of the Anglophone group in Montreal in the 1970's. The hypotheses tested are that as English declines in status, the influence of Quebec French increases and the kind of influence changes. While the literature on Montreal English suggests the existence of French influence from at least the late nineteenth century, until recently there has been little scholarly interest in this phenomenon. The social context of the changing status relationship between Francophone and Anglophone groups gives insight into the reasons for this lack of attention. A consideration of the relationship of status and language influence, the terminology of influence, how to isolate influenced elements and the importance of synchronic study design provides the rationale for the design of this study. Influenced elements in PSBGM documents were identified, quantified and categorized according to kind of influence to test the hypotheses. As well, two questions arose during study: what proportion of influenced elements are educational jargon and how influenced elements are set

apart from regular English text. The results affirm both hypotheses; the use of influenced elements increased in the period studied and their use changed. French influence on the English of Montreal invites further study because its changes are easily observable and so little study has been done to date.

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INTRODUCTION

Languages in contact influence each other to differing degrees and in different ways. The flow of borrowings from one language to another is seldom unidirectional. However, it tends to be heavier in one direction than in the other. While bilingualism creates a social situation in which two languages influence each other, what is postulated to facilitate the greater spread of linguistic innovations from one language to another is a "prestige differential" (Haugen, 1953: 382). The prestige or status of a language group in relation to another is said to affect the flow of borrowings from one language into another. One way of testing the hypothesis of prestige differential would be to study what happens when the prestige of a language shifts. If this hypothesis is correct, the amount and pattern of borrowing should also change.

An examination of a shift in the relative status of languages in contact and its affect on the direction, amount and type of influence should be longitudinal in nature. In studying influence over time, one concentrates on the types of process of change that the language or dialect is undergoing. Although this approach is not often used in the study of dialect, which tends to treat both language and dialect as static synchronic entities, diachronic study design best captures the dynamic aspects of the influence of one language on another in a situation of relative status change (Haugen, 1959; Mackey, 1970).

A good test case of the role of status in the flow of influence has two key features. First, influence from languages other than the two languages in contact must be negligible so that the source of a

borrowing is clear. Second, there must be a clear change in the relative prestige of a language group so that the status of the languages in relationship to each other is clear. A situation which fits the above criteria, and which thus makes a good test case, is the contact between English and French in the province of Quebec during recent years.

In the time since the Quiet Revolution (early 1960's), Quebec society as a whole has experienced major changes in its structure. In particular the Montreal Anglophone elite no longer dominates Quebec's economy. The advent of the Charter of the French Language in Quebec (August 26, 1977, Bill 101) has marked the penetration of the French language into nearly all sectors of Quebec society, even those which were formerly traditionally dominated by Anglophones such as the economy (McLeod, Arnopoulos and Clift, 1980: 62). The traditionally monolingual Quebec Anglophone population has been under increasing pressure to become bilingual; bilingualism rose from 17% in 1974 to 53% in 1984 (Martin, 1984). It is clear that English has lost prestige while French has gained. According to the prestige differential hypothesis, these changes should be reflected in the increasing influence of Quebec French on the language of the English community.

The aim of this thesis is to test whether the changes in the relative status of Montreal French and English have brought about corresponding changes in the influence of French on English. Following Haugen's notion of "prestige differential", it is logical to say that as English has declined in status and French has gained,

there has been a greater tendency for linguistic innovations of French origin to spread into this particular regional dialect of English. Indeed, Scheer speculates that Bill 101 may reverse the "centuries-old trend" of the flow of influence so that "the English language as spoken by those who stay in the province of Quebec, will show an increasing number of French interferences" (1982: 215). More accurately, it is not just the legislative policies of the Parti Quebecois which will cause this, but the resulting change in status of the English community from the socially and economically elite group to a less influential group.

The interest in the influence of the French language on the English of Montreal runs against past and current concerns in the literature. While a great deal of attention, both scholarly and lay, has been paid to language borrowing in the province, virtually all of this concerns anglicisms in Quebec French. Indeed, the influence of English on French in the past has been much heavier than that of French on English. This uneven flow has been often noted and is frequently described in an emotional tone:

We have seen how contact between two languages fatally brings one of them to borrow heavily from the other whether it is full fledged borrowing or the assimilated process. [de Chantal, 1969: 43]

The Anglicization of Canadian French is a serious matter of long standing. By contrast the French influence on Canadian English was in every way less significant. [Orkin, 1971: 52]

In contrast to the negligible influence of French on the English language, there has been a steady irresistible flow of anglicisms into the French language of Quebec. [Scheer, 1981: 212]

This uneven influence has been attributed to the elite position of the English community in Québec:

Over two hundred years of contact with English have left many traces in the Québec French lexicon--the subordinate economic and political status of Québec, and concomitant feelings of inferiority ensuring that most influence was from English to French--either in the form of outright borrowings or in the form of semantic loans from English.

[Aleong and Winer, 1982: 118]

Though the influence has been greater from English to French, French has had an impact on the English of Montreal. Indeed, many an Anglophone Montrealer is able to give a few examples of gallicisms when asked. These are of the type 'five on ten' rather than 'five out of ten' and 'open and close the lights' instead of 'turn the lights on and off'. French is generally recognized to have had some influence on oral, colloquial Montreal English.

Unfortunately, no study exists that documents gallicisms in the speech of Anglophone Montrealers. Thus, as interesting as a study of these oral gallicisms would be, written documents provide a more suitable data base for a study which aims to reveal borrowing trends over time. There are ample written sources that make it possible to monitor the changes in use of particular items over time. In addition, written language is generally more strictly standard than spoken language. The language used in writing is more subject to the levelling influence of the schools and is usually more closely edited by the writer than is speech by the speaker. If a gallicism is

written it is more likely to be accepted in more formal contexts and its use is more likely to be intended than accidental. For these reasons written documents provide the data on which this thesis is based.

One criterion in choosing texts from which to gather data on the English language in Quebec is that the source documents should come from a sector of public life that is typical of the Anglophone population. On this basis the English-language school boards of Quebec are particularly suitable as a source of documents. They are not only affected by socio-economic change but are directly influenced by government francization policies as well. The largest English-language school board in Quebec is the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (hereafter referred to as PSBGM). In its size and in its political activism against language and education legislation (see Bissonnette, 1982 and the PSBGM document The Effect of Bill 101 on English Education and the Inherent Inequalities in the Language Provisions of the Law, 1980 for examples of this), it is clearly representative of the Anglophone population.

A second criterion in choosing documents for study is that the results of the analysis should in some way apply to the larger community. While the register of the PSBGM'S documents is specific to educational administration and thus is not necessarily used within the wider community, our studying PSBGM documents gives some insight into how and what types of gallicisms are tolerated by educators and thus by the schools generally. According to Weinreich, in all societies the school helps to maintain a standardized language and "in the

bilingual situation it supports, in addition, the norms of the language against unchecked foreign borrowings" (1966: 88). Given the standardizing influence and conservatism of educational institutions, a study of the language of internal PSBGM documents to see whether they reveal tolerance toward French and to what extent there has been penetration of French into Montreal English provides a conservative test of the prestige differential hypothesis. If the register of educational administration shows such effects, then other varieties of Montreal English will certainly be similarly or even more affected.

A third criterion is the availability of appropriate data for a diachronic study. PSBGM documents are kept on file and are accessible to the public. They are, therefore, a potentially rich source of data.

The examination of PSBGM documents produces a corpus of influenced items that includes various types of language contact phenomena, namely code-switching, borrowing, interference and integration. While code-switching -- defined for the purposes of this study as items of French origin that show no adaptation to English in form or meaning -- is easily distinguished from the other kinds of phenomena, it is not within the scope of this thesis to determine to what degree an influenced item is integrated into the language. Hence, borrowing and interference are not distinguished. The rationale for this omission is that this thesis must be considered a preliminary study; it aims to document the penetration of French into the English of Montreal rather than to delve into the intricacies of

contact phenomena.

The diachronic design of this study involves a comparison of documentary data from two points in time. The Seventies were a decade of rapid change in Quebec society. Bill 101 (1977) which both symbolizes and is itself a strong force of change, falls roughly in the middle of this period. The document dates were chosen to be approximately five years before and five years after Bill 101. Thus the earlier documents (Time 1) are from 1970 and 1971 and the later documents (Time 2) date from 1981 and 1982. Patterns of influence in Time 1 and Time 2 are examined to determine how changes in influence have effected changes in usage.

The corpus is analyzed in terms of the proportion of influenced elements in each document and the numbers and distribution of different types (recurring instances of a particular item and variants of it). In addition, all items are categorized according to the way in which an item is influenced, e.g., spelling influence, extension in meaning, reproduction of a compound or phrase in equivalent native words, code-switching and assimilated loanwords. This analysis should better reveal trends in changes of usage than one based on a straight count of occurrences.

This thesis endeavors to study diachronically the penetration of French into the English of Montreal by gathering data from PSBGM documents, analyzing them and placing the results of the analysis of these data into the context of the decline of the status of the English community in Montreal in the 1970's. The hypothesis being tested is that the loss of status of English in Quebec has led to an

increasing penetration of Quebec French into Montreal English. Thus the research questions are as follows: Has there been a change in the use of Quebec gallicisms in the English-language documents of the PSBGM in the period between 1971 and 1981 and, if so, what types of changes have occurred?

Definitions

gallicism: While this term generally applies to any word or idiom borrowed from French, 'gallicism' is used here to refer specifically to any influenced element from Quebec French.

language contact phenomena: This term applies to code-switching, borrowing, interference and integration. See pages 14-21 for individual definitions and discussion of this terminology.

prestige differential: This is Haugen's term for the difference in prestige between two language groups in contact.

educational jargon: This refers to specialized terms pertaining to education and used primarily by educational professionals.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Three areas of literature are pertinent to this study. First, both popular and scholarly literature on the English dialect of Montreal are reviewed. Second, the theoretical issues considered in the design of this study are explored. Third, because understanding the social context is essential to understanding changes in language influence, the status relationship between English and French and the PSBGM's place and role among Montreal Anglophones are examined. The literature on Quebec Anglophones provides a general background to the change in status of English in Montreal.

I. Montreal English

While popular articles on Montreal English have noted French influence as a distinguishing factor in this dialect of English, until recently scholars have largely ignored this influence. Yet the popular literature provides ample evidence that French influence has been present in Montreal English from at least the end of the nineteenth century (Lighthall, 1889). Why, then, does the scholarly literature not treat this question in more than passing?

The answer lies not in the topic itself but rather in the historical, political and socioeconomic factors affecting the relationship between English and French in the province of Quebec. Not surprisingly, the literature on language influence in the province reflects this relationship. By contrast to the scant literature on French influence in Montreal English, the voluminous lay and scholarly

literature on English influence on Quebec French exhibits a degree of anxiety which goes beyond simple description to prescription and proscription of various English-influenced terms (see Aleong and Winer, 1982 for a discussion of this literature). It is obvious that English has never faced the threat of assimilation and thus there was no impetus to direct scholars to the topic of French influence on the English of Montreal. However, the relationship of English and French has changed quite drastically since the Quiet Revolution. The Anglophones of Montreal are becoming bilingual in greater numbers than ever before (Wilson-Smith, 1985). One result of this change is the increasing frequency of French terms in the speech of Anglophones and the increasingly noticed penetration of these forms in the speech of professionals. Rather than the colloquial examples given in earlier popular articles such as 'five on ten' and 'in back of' (Lardner, 1959), examples of French-influenced terms used by educated speakers such as 'polyvalent' and 'animator' are given (Sutherland, 1983). The increased influence on the speech of the educated is most likely at the root of the recent show of interest in French influence on Montreal English.

The focus of attention in the early academic literature on Montreal English is whether Montreal English is closer to British or American English. Helen C. Munroe's letter in American Speech (1930) introduces this concern. Based on twenty-six lexical pairs and two pronunciation pairs, she asserts that Montreal English is closer to British English. W.S.W. McLay argues in the next issue of American Speech (1930) that Munroe's observations are the result of class-based

rather than geographically-based differences. The fact that Munroe's observations are restricted to the language of the upper classes with the absence of any mention of French influence is evidence that French influence may not have penetrated that level of society.

The question of British or American influence continues in Hamilton's study (1958) of whether Montreal English is more British or American on the levels of vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar and syntax. He concludes that while there is divided usage on all levels, American influence is predominant. The author does note the possibility of French influence; however, he does not see it as an important factor in Montreal English. For example, Hamilton states that 'in back of' and 'sick in the stomach' may be direct translations from French, but he attributes, for example, 'double window' as a term for 'storm window' and 'camp' in the sense of 'summer cottage' to American influence. While he points out that both terms exist with the same meanings in American English and Quebec French, Hamilton gives precedence to American influence with no clear justification. However, the fact that Hamilton mentions the possibility of French influence at all, shows that there is an awareness of its existence.

Not until recently has a scholar considered French influence a distinguishing characteristic of the English dialects of Quebec. McArthur (1982), who came to Quebec from Britain, notes many instances of the penetration of French into English-language newspapers, television, radio and in personal conversations. From these observations and the results of a survey he did in which twenty-five "gallicisms" are rated in terms of acceptability, McArthur concludes

that Quebec English is greatly influenced by French. Though the research design of McArthur's paper is acknowledged by the author himself to be weak on several points, the paper is important as a preliminary study. It supports casual observation and is the first call for research into this potentially rich area of study.

In contrast to the dearth of scholarly interest in French influence on Montreal English, observations of this phenomenon have been periodically reported in popular publications. In 1889, W.D. Lighthall's early examination of dialects of Canadian English lists thirty-seven examples of French or French-influenced terms in Montreal English. These are from such areas of public life as the legal system, government, holidays and the marketplace. While Lighthall points out that the English of Lower Canada has other influences (such as Scottish and American) on it, he devotes much more space to French influence. Thus, the author provides evidence not only that French influence is not an entirely recent presence in Montreal English but also that it is a striking characteristic of the Montreal English of the late nineteenth century. Sixty years later Lardner notes in a column in the New Yorker (1959) on Canadian dialects that French influences English in Montreal, and he gives 'five on ten' and 'in back of' as examples of transfers. He goes on to observe that French and English-language television tend to strongly influence each other. While Lardner mentions Hamilton's conclusion that Montreal English is closer to American English, he devotes more space to the discussion of French influence. Clearly Lardner sees French influence as a characteristic which sets Montreal English apart from other Canadian

dialects of English.

The political and social changes Quebec has undergone in the last decade have been accompanied by an increased consciousness of French influence on Montreal English. Consciousness has been heightened by recent language legislation which some have seen as a threat to the survival of English in the province (Sutherland, 1983; Martin, 1984). However, the issue of survival, while raised, is not a serious concern. Sutherland, in his Montreal Gazette column, points out that English has a long history of adopting foreign words and this process is continuing in Quebec. In fact, it is this process that has given currency to words like 'syndicate', 'polyvalent' and 'modalities' in Montreal English with their French meanings (Sutherland, 1983). Wilson-Smith writes in Maclean's (1985) about the increasing use of "English interspersed with frequent French words and French grammatical expression" (42) which he notes is the result of increasing bilingualism among Quebec Anglophones (Wilson-Smith, 1985). Both writers indicate that the Anglophones most prone to use French-influenced speech are professional people such as educators, reporters (Sutherland, 1983) and MNA's (Wilson-Smith, 1985).

While there has been an awareness of French influence in the speech of Montreal Anglophones from the last century on in the popular literature, this topic has not been treated until relatively recently in scholarly literature. In reviewing the literature on Montreal English it becomes apparent that the same forces at work on the relationship of French and English are at work in the study of their influence on each other. Until recently, French-influenced forms such

as 'in back of' and 'open and close the lights' were restricted to colloquial, uneducated speech and as such received cursory treatment. However, French-influenced terms are now components of the speech of professional and educated Anglophones. Thus an apparent increase in French influence in the speech of Anglophones alone does not account for the increased awareness of this phenomenon. In addition to an increase, there is a shift up the social scale that accounts for the new awareness of French influence in the English of Montreal.

II. Theoretical Considerations

1. Terminology

There is inconsistency in the terminology used to label elements which occur in one language due to the influence of another. This inconsistency makes the comparison and thus the evaluation of the theoretical import of much of the scholarly work in this area difficult. While this study does not focus on the distinctions between various types of contact phenomena, it is essential to review these processes because they comprise the data. In this section we distinguish four types of contact phenomena: interference, code-switching, borrowing and integration.

Weinreich (1966) and Haugen (1959, 1966) each wrote seminal works creating and compiling the terminology of language contact and delineating the directions in which future research would go. Weinreich's approach to the study of linguistic factors in language influence is structuralist. He stresses the importance of a multi-

disciplinary approach and explores psychological and sociological as well as linguistic factors which govern the effects of language contact. Insightful though his work is, it will be argued that Weinreich's terminology is confusing and fails to clearly differentiate the phenomena under discussion. Haugen's terminology is clearer and more precisely defined. Further, his analysis is not burdened with the hard-sell of a particular theoretical approach. Haugen analyzes the methods of previous research and describes some of the processes involved in borrowing with reference to American Norwegian and other languages. Weinreich (1966) and Haugen (1959, 1966) have provided a solid foundation for the study of language contact; however, their terminology, while a good starting point, is too broad to distinguish particular types of phenomena. Thus scholars have refined definitions to suit their specific interests. While Weinreich and Haugen have contributed significantly to the study of language contact, they have not initiated a standardized terminology.

The term 'interference' has been defined in various ways from general to very specific. Very broad is Weinreich's definition which includes any difference between the speech of monolinguals and bilinguals (1966). He notes two types: interference in speech and interference in language. Haugen (1964: 40) is more specific in his application of the term: "interference is the overlapping of two languages". Clyne (1967: 19) rejects interference as a pejorative term and replaces it with "transference" which he defines as "the adoption of any elements from another language". Very similar is Mackey's notion of interference which refers to "the use of elements

from one language while speaking or writing another" (1965: 239). Like Weinreich, Mackey includes two types of interference in his definition: interference in the code or language and interference in the message.

Implicitly none of the above definitions distinguish between the conscious use of elements from another language and the accidental occurrence of such elements (Grosjean, 1982). Some scholars (Poplack, 1978; Beardsmore, 1981; Grosjean, 1982) point out that controlled use is a highly developed skill requiring competence in two languages. Thus it is necessary to distinguish these very different processes in the interest of precision. Grosjean (1982) differentiates controlled use and unconscious occurrence in his definition of interference as "the involuntary influence of one language on the other" (299). He relegates voluntary use of influenced items to borrowing and code-switching.

Two main concepts characterize definitions of code-switching. First, it is generally thought to be a bilingual skill analogous to a monolingual's ability to change speech style (Poplack, 1979; Grosjean, 1982). Thus code-switching is the controlled, intentional use of elements from another language. Second, what distinguishes code-switching from borrowing is that both languages are kept separate or, in other words, are not adapted to each other. This notion is implicit in Haugen's (1964: 40) characterization of code-switching as "the alternative use of two languages". Poplack's definition of code-switching is explicitly based on the degree of adaptation of an item to the other language. Thus items with no adaptation are instances of

code-switching, while adapted items are borrowings (1978). Grosjean (1982: 291) also incorporates the concept of non-adaptation in his definition of code-switching as a complete switch from one language to another "for a word, phrase or sentence". Gumperz (1976: 1) is more precise in his characterization of "conversational code-switching" as "the juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems, within the same exchange". Code-switching is defined with more consistency than interference or borrowing.

Scholars define borrowing with less clarity. Weinreich (1966) does not distinguish it from code-switching in his basic definition. What others term borrowing, he terms "lexical interference". He divides lexical interference into two types: first, transferral of morphemes from one language to another and second, replacement of foreign morphemes by native ones based on a foreign model. More satisfactory is Haugen's characterization of borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (1959: 212). Unlike Weinreich, he clearly separates borrowing from interference. Further, in using "attempted reproduction", Haugen points to the key feature distinguishing borrowing from code-switching. That is that borrowings are adapted to the borrowing language phonologically, morphologically or both, while in code-switching this is not the case. As Weinreich does, he distinguishes two processes in borrowing: importation which is a reproduction of the model, and substitution which is the replacement of the model pattern with one from the recipient language. Based on

the degree of morphemic substitution, there are three categories of loans: 1) loan-words in which there is morphemic importation but no substitution; 2) loanblends which have both importation and substitution; and 3) loan-shifts in which there is morphemic substitution but no importation. Haugen's system of classification is so clear and consistent that it is still the definitive work in this area. More explicit than Haugen's basic definition of borrowing, however, is Grosjean's concept of borrowing (1982). It includes both the adaptation of an item to the base language and a distinction between speech and language borrowing. Speech borrowing is at the level of the individual and language borrowing is at the level of the community or nation. Language borrowing is another term for what is more commonly called integration.

Integration is more uniformly defined. Weinreich (1966) calls it "interference in the language" and characterizes it as the use of habitualized or established transferred items. Haugen (1959) defines integration as the use of words or phrases from one language which have become part of another. Mackey's concept of integration is virtually identical; the incorporation of elements from one language into another (1970). To Clyne (1967: 20), it is "the adaptation of a morphological (or morphosemantic) transfer to the phonological and/or grammatical system of the recipient language". As this definition could apply to borrowing as well as integration, it is too broad. Grosjean (1982) distinguishes speech borrowing and language borrowing, another term for integration. Most scholars concur on what integration is.

The variation in the terminology and definitions discussed above and the use, in some cases, of terms which resemble each other (e.g., Weinreich's interference in speech and interference in language) has a muddying effect on this area of study. Moreover, this lack of consistent terminology causes difficulty in determining just what is being discussed and how it fits into the already existing body of literature. Careful study of the literature reveals four distinct phenomena. They are referred to here by the terms most commonly used: interference, code-switching, borrowing and integration.

Based on the work of the scholars reviewed in this section, these terms are defined below. The definitions must be detailed and specific enough to distinguish the phenomena. To differentiate interference from other phenomena, a distinction between voluntary and unconscious use must be made. Thus interference is here defined as the accidental or uncontrolled occurrence of elements from one language in the oral or written use of another language. To differentiate between code-switching and borrowing, degree of adaptation to the recipient language must be considered. Accordingly, code-switching is the controlled incorporation of words, phrases or sentences from a language unadapted to the language of the utterance. Borrowing is the controlled inclusion of a word or phrase which has been adapted to the language of the utterance. Finally, integration is defined as the acceptance of a word or phrase originating in another language by a language community or nation as a part of its language.

Figure 1 illustrates how the various terms used by scholars fit

together and overlap, how the terms are defined by various writers and where there are gaps in some scholars' conception of various phenomena.

2. Study Design

That language contact phenomena are socially conditioned is generally accepted and underlies the work of many scholars. For instance, Mackey (1979: 454), in discussing what he terms "the ecology of language contact", asserts that ecological comparison is only possible if sociolinguistic factors are quantified. He defines the ecology of language contact as the "study of the social roles of different languages and dialects as they relate to each other and to policies and practices of social groups in different environments". Rather than using the social situation to explain what is happening in the language, Higa (1979) suggests the obverse is possible in his study of word borrowing in Japanese. To him, word borrowing is evidence of directionality, content and amount of culture learning between two cultures. Haugen (1969) states the matter simply. He points out that because language influence is a social phenomenon, it is essential to study the cultural relations between the groups involved.

Haugen (1969) shows the importance of the status relationship between the two groups in contact in his concept of how the direction of the influence is governed. That is that bilingualism creates an environment in which borrowing is possible but it is the difference in prestige between the two groups or "prestige differential" which

determines the major direction of influence. Items flow from a higher prestige language group to bilinguals who, in turn, spread the innovations to the lower prestige monolingual members of their language community (Haugen, 1969). This concept is generally accepted and many writers on language contact (for example, Canale, 1974; Scheer, 1981; Aleong and Winer, 1982; Grosjean, 1982) have explanations of influence direction based on the concept of prestige differential.

In studying the language behaviour of a speech community in a language contact situation, the first problem a researcher faces is how to identify the influenced elements. Haugen (1969) asserts there is only one way to do this. That is to compare the point of language under study to an earlier point in the language, preferably a point before contact. Haugen further posits three criteria an element must fulfill to be an influenced item: 1) the element must first have existed in the borrowing language; 2) it must appear in the recipient language only after contact; and 3) it could not have arisen independently in the recipient language. These criteria are sound; however, they are applicable only to languages with written records such as Norwegian and American Norwegian, his major research interest. In other words, only languages with pre-contact written records can be treated this way.

However, comparing an influenced language with its pre-contact texts is not the only method of establishing influenced elements. Le Page (1968: 201) suggests that while eastern Canadian English is

relatively homogeneous, in Montreal it might be difficult to describe the model language because of the influence of what he terms a bilingual continuum. In such a case he suggests (and wrongly attributes to Mackey 1965, 1966) that a nearly monolingual community provide "the norm which is interfered with". While he argues that this procedure fails to identify the contact-influenced norm of the bilingual, Le Page sees it as adequate to identify the pre-contact monolingual system. Thus while comparing the language under study to that of a nearly monolingual group has limitations, it can aid in the identification and isolation of innovations of Quebec French origin.

McArthur (1982), in his study of the influence of French on the English of Quebec, takes a lexicographic approach to the matter. He uses World Standard English as reflected in several dictionaries of both American and British English. This has the advantage of being an easily accessible set of norms which has some influence in any society with universal access to education.

Two of the methods discussed above are used to identify influenced elements in the documents of the PSBGM. Because English and French have been in contact in Quebec since at least 1760 (the Conquest), it would be difficult to apply Haugen's concept of comparing the language at two points in time. However, since this researcher is a speaker of Ontario English, a variety not heavily influenced by Quebec French, her own perceptions will aid in isolating influenced items. This is in keeping with Le Page's notion of using the standard of a nearby monolingual community for comparison. In

addition, since personal impressions are not in themselves a reliable standard, French and English dictionaries are used to verify personal impressions. Thus McArthur's use of World Standard English is applied in this study. Influenced elements are identified by: 1) comparing the language to that of a nearby monolingual community; and 2) verifying impressions with French and English dictionaries.

Influenced elements cannot be reliably identified using a synchronic study design. Haugen (1969) stresses this in his discussion on identifying loans. Mackey (1970, 1976) further discusses the inadequacy of a synchronic description in distinguishing integration from other contact phenomena. Any system of analysis which is based on a static model of language cannot succeed because language, and particularly language in a contact situation, is in a constant state of flux. Mackey dubs this error in logic "the synchronic fallacy". He states that almost all modern linguistic theories are based on dichotomies between synchronic and diachronic linguistics and this has led to a model of language which has severe limitations. Le Page (1968) also sees the linguists' perception of language at the root of the problem of attributing an element to one language variety or another. He cites the separation of Saussure's 'langue' and the transformational grammarians' 'competence' from the continuum of actual linguistic behaviour as examples. Thus the present study is diachronic in design comparing the language at two points in time. This design should reveal the processes a language undergoes in a context of changing status as well as aiding in the identification of contact phenomena.

To avoid the pitfalls inherent in a synchronic study and to facilitate the comparison of Montreal English at two points in time, textual sources are the basis of this study. As the study is limited to showing the change in influence over a ten-year period and there have been no previous studies of French influence in spoken Montreal English, textual sources provide a pragmatic solution to an otherwise sticky problem. However, text-based data alone will not provide an exhaustive range of usage. For instance, Quirk and Svartvik (1978) argue that text-based data alone is inadequate to describe the entire range of usage because it is drawn from a relatively small proportion of language behaviour. Though they argue convincingly for the necessity of using both speech- and text-based sources to describe an entire repertoire of speech behaviour, this does not negate the usefulness of text-based studies in research of a more limited scope. This study tests the changing impact of French on the English language in Montreal in a context of changing status. It does not claim to be exhaustive or to represent more than a small proportion of the adult repertoire but rather uses a conservative data base to test the hypothesis.

To answer the research question of whether there has been a change in the amount and pattern of use of Quebec gallicisms in the PSBGM documents under study, the data must be quantified. Mackey (1965), in his discussion of the measurement of bilingual interference, advises that one specify for each text the main language, secondary language, style, context, number of tokens, types and alternations. A token is an occurrence of an influenced item in the text,

while a type is each different influenced element. An alternation is a switch from one language to another. Based on these fundamental units, more detailed measurements of type and token in terms of rank, sequence and class are possible. This type of quantification is relatively straightforward; however, there are some weaknesses in it as Mackey himself points out in a later article discussing the determination of integration (Mackey, 1970). He points out that raw measures of frequency of occurrence are largely unreliable from text to text as the items occurring are dependent on what is being discussed. For example, words like "restructuration" and "Regime pedagogique" occur frequently in the PSBGM documents in which they are under discussion. Counts of types and alternations are thus more reliable than counts of tokens. While the weaknesses of this type of quantification are acknowledged, they are adequate for a study of this scope and the testing of the hypothesis under examination.

III. The Context: Quebec Anglophones and Changes in Quebec Society

Because language influence is a socially-governed phenomenon, it is essential to examine the social context in which influence takes place. This is particularly necessary in the case of this study. It tests the hypothesis that the loss of prestige of English in Quebec and the concomitant rise in status of French leads to an increasing penetration of Quebec French into the English of Montreal. This section presents evidence for the change in prestige of English by discussing briefly the historical, social and political factors

influencing the status of the Anglophone population in Quebec and how these factors affected one of its leading institutions, the PSBGM.

The history of the contact between French and English culture is one of segregation and separate domains. The Francophones of Quebec have felt culturally threatened since Quebec became part of British North America in 1759 (Scheer, 1981). From then to the Second World War, the main strategy for cultural preservation was one of isolation characterized by the slogan "la foi, la race, la langue". After the Second World War, rapid urbanization and secularization ended the period of Francophone cultural isolation and language became the major symbol of cultural preservation for Francophones. By the 1960's French-language universities were pouring Francophone graduates onto the job market. These graduates were initially drawn to the expanding provincial civil service but when that was full, it was natural that young graduates turn to business for jobs. It was also natural that the expanding Francophone middle-class resent the Anglophone control of the economic sector. This situation acted as the catalyst to existing nationalist sentiment. Eventually nationalist politicians developed laws which undermined the dominance of Anglophones. (For an elaboration on the history of the language conflict, see McLeod Arnopoulos and Clift, 1980).

Anglophone dominance was both numerical and economic in nature. The numerical dominance is on the North American continent rather than within the province of Québec. Indeed, a common metaphor describing the Francophone situation is that Quebec is an island of French

culture in a sea of English. By contrast, in the province of Quebec the situation is reversed. Using a similar image for the native English speakers of Quebec, the majority of the province's Anglophone population is concentrated on the island of Montreal with small islets of Anglophones elsewhere in the province. However, though numerically inferior, until relatively recently, Anglophones were the dominant group in Quebec society and thus had a disproportionate influence on Quebec society. Because the economic sector was controlled by an English elite, the Anglophone minority had majority status (Caldwell and Waddell, 1982). As Jackson (1982) notes, power relationships are revealed by the institutionalization of who speaks which language to whom, when and where. The subordinate group adapts itself to the dominant by tending to become bilingual. Lieberman's (1981b) study using 1961 Canadian census figures for Montreal supports this. He demonstrates that those claiming English mother-tongue are less likely to become bilingual than those claiming French mother-tongue, 36.1% to 57.8% respectively, a difference of 21.7%.

Another manifestation of English-language dominance and a more threatening one to Francophones was the attraction of English to immigrants. Scheer (1981) claims that Montreal was rapidly becoming an English-language city despite its French majority because of the immigrant affinity to English. Lieberman's (1981b) 1961 figures of immigrant choice of official language in Montreal support this; 44.3% used English only, while only 10.8% used French only. Thus the dominance of English had wide-ranging repercussions for Francophones in Montreal.

In the sixties and seventies the economic situation was changing. The English elite who had once controlled the national economy lost much of their power and importance as the economic centre of Canada shifted to Toronto. Concurrently, the expanding Francophone middle-class was moving in to take control of the once exclusively English-controlled economic sector (McLeod Arnopoulos and Clift, 1980). The Anglophones perceived this as a threat and fought to maintain the status quo.

In the face of Anglophone resistance to change and the threat of eventual assimilation, political solutions were drafted to obviate Anglophone dominance (McLeod Arnopoulos and Clift, 1980). Laws 22 and 101 restricted the use of English in the public domain. They not only declared French the only official language of Quebec but attempted to compensate for the attraction of English to the immigrant group (Bissonnette, 1982). Law 22 (1974) limited access to English-language education to those students able to demonstrate English competence in tests. Law 101 (1977) is more limiting, allowing only those students whose parents were educated in Quebec in English access to English education. The English community opposed what they saw as unduly hard and threatening laws.

Much of the Anglophone opposition was focused on the education restrictions of Law 101. After all, the schools are the means of transmitting a community's values and culture to its children. Moreover, the Anglophone community in Quebec has maintained a heavy involvement in its schools (McLeod Arnopoulos and Clift, 1980). Thus the educational system of English Quebec became pivotal in the fight

against the laws which threatened the influence of Anglophone Quebec. Indeed, the PSBGM, the largest and most powerful of the English-language school boards, has played a leading role in this opposition (Caldwell and Waddell, 1982). Not surprisingly, the PSBGM has consistently protested any move to reduce its independence and limit access to English-language education. It has presented briefs to the government (for example, The Effect of Bill 101 on English Education and the Inherent Inequities in the Language Provisions of the Law, 1980), taken legal action and attempted to defy the government (for example, admitting students unqualified under the provisions of the Law to its English sector).

Anglophone resistance to the social and political changes of the last twenty years has failed to maintain the status quo. Until recently, Quebec Anglophones did not accept their minority status (Bissonnette, 1982). Anglophones who found the political and economic climate in the province intolerable left in large numbers. The 1971 Canadian census indicates that native English speakers comprised 14.7% of the Quebec population while the 1981 Census indicates that they comprised only 12.7% (Martin, 1984). Those who stayed appear to be adjusting to their new status. The rate of bilingualism among Anglophones between 1971 and 1981 increased 36%, from 17% to 53%, while in the same period among Francophones, the rate of bilingualism increased only 3%, from 25% to 28% (Martin, 1984). This increased rate of bilingualism among Anglophones not only illustrates the change in dominance patterns between the two groups but makes Quebec English more subject to influence from French as well.

Social, political, economic and historical perspectives on the contact and relationship between Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec provide insight into how a study of this limited scope can be most economically structured. The changes in Quebec society, particularly those in the past decade, have created a setting which favours increased influence of French on English. Indeed, there is an increased awareness of such influence and evidence that influence has penetrated the speech of educated, influential speakers (for example, educators, MNA's). Sutherland (1983) gives the following as an example of what has happened to English: "The director-general of the polyvalent called all the animators to a reunion to discuss the problem of student militants consecrating more time to manifestations than to their notes." He points out that this sentence is not comprehensible to any educator from outside Quebec (Sutherland, 1983). This observation indicates that the language of educators, a group monitoring and regulating the language behaviour of its charges, is influenced by Quebec French. Thus while the language of PSBGM documents is not representative of all of the language of the community, it is the language of a strong regulating and conservative force on the language of the community.

A situation in which there is a change in status of a once dominant language group provides an ideal test of the hypothesis that influence direction is governed by status. If this hypothesis is correct, the loss of prestige of English in the province of Quebec must lead to an increase in the influence of French on English. This brief description of the social context of contact establishes that

the requisite changes of relative status in Quebec society provide a context in which the relationship of status and influence can be studied.

METHOD

The data analysis will answer whether there has been a change in use of gallicisms (Quebec French-influenced elements) in the English-language documents of the PSBGM in the period between 1971 and 1981 and, if so, what types of changes have occurred. Since change in use is of central concern in this study, the quantification of the data is of key import. First, however, the documents from which to draw the data must be selected, the influenced items must be isolated and verified, and the verified, influenced elements must be grouped or classified according to similarities in their form and origin. Only in the context of careful selection of documents, isolation of influenced elements and quantification of the data can the results of this relatively small-scale study adequately test the research hypotheses.

The choice of which PSBGM documents to analyze is based on four criteria. First, because a diversity of sources represents a wider range of language behaviour, two types of documents were chosen to represent more than one style of writing. The Annual Reports and Minutes of the Proceedings of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal differ in style and purpose. Since the object of the Reports is to inform those with an interest in the PSBGM -- such as teachers, other employees of the board and parents -- of the year's developments and to serve a public relations function, they are written in a cordial, informative style. The Minutes, by contrast, report on the events of board meetings and thus have the terse, formal style demanded by a concern for legal proprieties.

Second, the type of documents selected must be representative of PSBGM documents to facilitate generalization. Both types of documents are typical of the PSBGM. Third, the documents must be available for the period under study. Both the Annual Reports and the Meeting Minutes have been regularly produced over the years and therefore fulfill this criterion. Finally, as this study is concerned with the influence of French on English, the documents must be written in English. Both types of documents are written primarily in English for readers of English (later Reports have some bilingual sections, for example, the title page and financial report and a short French-only section dealing with the activities of the PSBGM French sector).

In a study of diachronic design, the dates of the selected documents must be carefully considered in the context of the political and social events occurring when they were written. The 1976 election of the Parti Quebecois and the advent of Law 101 in 1977 mark a palpable turning point in the prestige of English in Quebec. The dates of the documents used in this study are approximately five years before and five years after this point. Thus the earlier documents are from 1970 and 1971 (Time 1) and the later documents are from 1981 and 1982 (Time 2).

The following documents were selected:

| | | |
|---------|---------------|-----------------|
| Time 1: | 1970-1971 | Annual Report |
| | 1971-1972 | Annual Report |
| | Oct. 2, 1970 | Meeting Minutes |
| | Nov. 24, 1970 | Meeting Minutes |
| | Nov. 23, 1971 | Meeting Minutes |

| | | |
|---------|---------------|-----------------|
| Time 2: | 1981-1982 | Annual Report |
| | 1982-1983 | Annual Report |
| | Dec. 16, 1981 | Meeting Minutes |
| | Dec. 15, 1982 | Meeting Minutes |

Minutes are selected from the same time of year, the last Minutes of the calendar year. Before and after matched pairs are more suitable in this study than random selection because of the small sample size. As well, the Minutes from this date cover meetings from approximately the middle of the school year dealt with in the Reports. Two sets of Minutes were selected for the year 1970 in an effort to provide textual raw data of about the same length as the other years under study because the Minutes in 1970 were unusually short.

When selection of documents is complete, the next task at hand is to isolate and verify the elements which have been influenced by Quebec French. First, based on knowledge of her own dialect (one not prone to the direct influence of Quebec French) and French, the researcher examined in detail these documents and noted any word or phrase which appeared to be present due to Quebec French influence. Second, because intuitive impressions are not in themselves reliable, all words and phrases other than code switches were verified by checking them in The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (1971), the Dictionary of Canadian English: The Senior Dictionary (1973), the Dictionnaire Canadien - The Canadian Dictionary (1962) and the Larousse Dictionnaire Moderne Francais-Anglais (1981). Any item which appears in either English-language dictionary in the same sense as it appears in the documents was deleted from the corpus. The

French-English dictionaries were used in an attempt to trace the origins of the influenced elements. Place names and names of French origin are included in the corpus only if the spelling has not been totally anglicized. For instance, the hyphenation in "Coteau-Saint-Pierre" and the accent in "Forte" qualify these elements as influenced by French because ordinarily hyphenation and accents are dropped in English orthography. In addition, if there is an English alternate to a place name such as "Nun's Island" for "Ile des Soeurs", any occurrence of the French alternate is included in the corpus. At the end of the identification process there is a corpus of verified, influenced elements.

To determine what types of changes have occurred, influenced items must be categorized according to their form and what process they are part of. A system of categories was drafted based on the classifications of borrowings of Weinreich (1966) and Haugen (1969) as well as the researcher's preliminary attempts to classify the data. A list of the classifications follows:

Gallicisms / Influenced Forms Categories

Single words:

1. **Assimilated Loanword:** A word adopts English spelling but retains its French meaning, e.g. 'scolarity'.
2. **Spelling Influence:**
 - (a) **On English:** English spelling is influenced by a French model, e.g., 'francophones parents'.
 - (b) **On a Cognate:** The spelling of a term is changed on the model of a French cognate but the English meaning is not altered, e.g., 'post-normalisation'.

3. Extension of the meaning of a cognate: A cognate retains English spelling, but its meaning is extended on a French model, e.g., 'animator' in the sense of 'group activities organizer'.
4. Homologous cognate: A cognate influences both the meaning and spelling of a cognate, e.g., 'correspondance' with the French meaning a 'public transit transfer' rather than the English meaning of 'correspondence' in the senses of 'similarity' or 'exchange of letters'.

Single words, compounds and phrases:

5. Code Switch: Switches from English to French in an English text.
 - (a) Modifier: These switches act as modifiers to an English head, e.g., "Ici on parle Francais method".
 - (b) Head: These switches act as the head of a phrase and may include a modifier as well, e.g., 'cinema Odeon'.

Compounds or phrases:

6. Reproduction of a compound or phrase with equivalent native words:
 - (a) Exact (calque): The model is reproduced exactly element by element, e.g., 'recht haben' becomes 'avoir droit' in Huguenot French.*
 - (b) Approximate: The model inspires the term but the reproduction is not exact, e.g., German 'Wolkenkratzer'.*
7. Hybrid compound: Some elements are borrowed, others are native, e.g., Penn. German 'esix-jug'.*

(All examples are from observed Quebec English and PSBGM documents except those marked '*'.)

Neither Haugen's nor Weinreich's classification systems are adequate for the analysis of the texts under study. First, they account for types of borrowing only. Thus the additional category of code-switching is required. Code-switching is further broken down into those which act as modifiers only and those which act as the head

of a phrase or are both head and modifier to show more precisely how they function. Second, Haugen's and Weinreich's systems are not designed for written language. Thus to account for the influence on orthography inherent in written texts, the two additional categories -- spelling influence on English and spelling influence on cognates -- are added to the classification. A third reason for altering Haugen's and Weinreich's classifications is that most of them are based on observations of the speech of such low status, minority speakers as immigrants. The group under study, while a minority within the province, is a prestige group in terms of the continent, is educated, influential and conscious of language. Because of this awareness and the generally negative perception of mixing languages, one can expect such a category as "hybrid" which mixes elements from both languages to remain empty. For these reasons the traditional system of categories of borrowings was adapted and expanded to suit these particular data.

To make the categorization less prone to subjectivity, the corpus was categorized independently by the researcher and a second judge who was given a list of categories and a briefing on how to apply them. A third judge classified all items on which the researcher and second judge disagreed to settle any disagreements between the initial classifications. The first two judges disagreed on one element, the term "francophone". In this instance, the third judge felt "francophone" could be classified by either of the categories it was given; it might be spelling influence on English orthography (English dictionaries spell the term with a capital 'F') or an instance of

code-switching. The researcher chose to keep the original category of spelling influence on English orthography; however, the ambiguity in this case underlines the need for a second and third judgement in classifications of this kind. A three-step classification avoids the possible errors in relying on one person's judgement. The corpus at this point consists of a verified list of all influenced elements, date, location information for easy reference to the context, type-face information and reconciled category.

The analysis of the data in the corpus aims to answer two basic questions. First, to answer whether there has been a change in frequency of use, the proportion of influenced elements per text was calculated. The calculation entailed a computer count of the number of influenced words in the corpus. These figures were compared with the estimated number of words in each document. This estimate was arrived at by taking the average number of words per line on a page and multiplying this number by the number of lines to derive the number of words per page. The figures for each page were then added together to calculate the total number of words per document. The calculations of the influenced word counts and the total words per document were converted to percentages. Second, because word counts may be distorted by the more frequent repetition of some words, each term and its variations were counted as a single "type". For example, "Regimes Pedagogiques", "Regime Pedagogique" and "Regime" are all one type. These were then quantified in terms of the number of different types per document and their distribution in the documents in terms of those which occur in one document only, those which occur in more than

one document of the same time and those which occur in documents of both times. The second basic question is whether there will be a change in the use of gallicisms in Montreal English over the period studied. The percentage of categories of kinds of influence in Time 1 and Time 2 addresses this. In addition, the categories were ranked in terms of their frequency in Time 1 and Time 2.

Two secondary questions came up in the course of the study. First, what proportion of influenced elements can be classified as educational jargon? To answer this question, each influenced item was classified as jargon or non-jargon. These classifications were then quantified and the results are presented in a table. Second, what proportion of the corpus was set off from the regular text to indicate an element's special status in the language? In the corpus any device for differentiating an influenced element (for example, quotation marks, italics, etc.) was noted for each item. The results of this quantification are presented in a table.

The generalizability of this small-scale study rests on the careful selection of the documents from which to draw the data, the isolation and verification of influenced elements and the grouping or classification of the verified, influenced elements. Because changes in use are the focus of this study, the quantification of the data is a central concern. It is through quantification of the data that this study endeavours to answer reliably the question of whether there has been a change in the use of influenced elements in the English-language documents of the PSBGM in the period between 1971 and 1981 and, if so, what changes have occurred.

RESULTS

Introduction

The central hypotheses of this research are that as the status of French in Quebec rises, its influence on the English in Montreal will increase and the nature of its influence will change. Thus the first question the data must address is whether there has been an increase in the frequency of use of Quebec French-influenced elements in Montreal English. Accordingly, the results of an analysis of the proportion of gallicisms per English-language text, the number of different types (each different influenced element) per text and the distinction of types by document is relevant. The second research question inherent in the central hypothesis is what kinds of changes have occurred from Time 1 to Time 2. With this objective, a presentation of the nature of influence (category) provides a means to examine these changes.

Two questions not related to the central hypotheses arose in the course of research. They concern features specific to the documents studied. These questions are what proportion of gallicisms can be classified as educational jargon and whether influenced elements are distinguished from English in the text.

Is There an Increase?

(a) Proportion of Influenced Words

The hypothesis on the quantity of influence predicts that the percentage of influenced elements per text will increase from Time 1 (1970, 1971) to Time 2 (1981, 1982). Figures 2 and 3 show the

Figure 2. Percentage of Influenced Words per Annual Report.

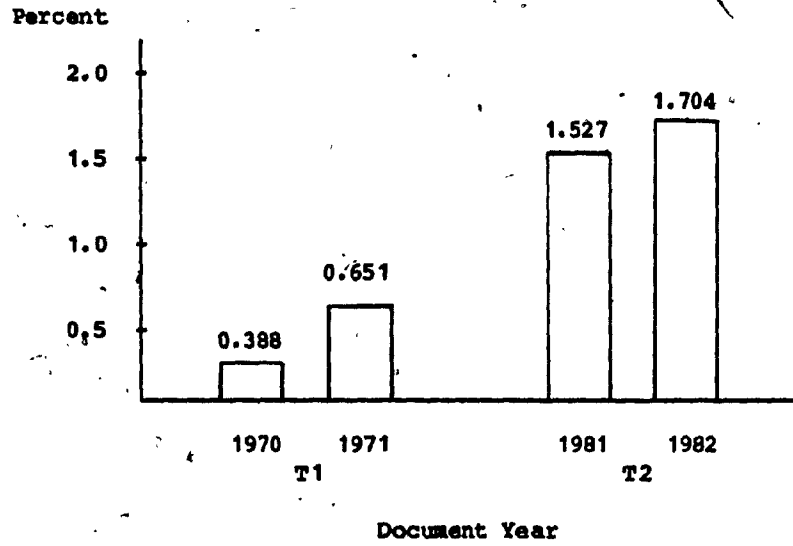
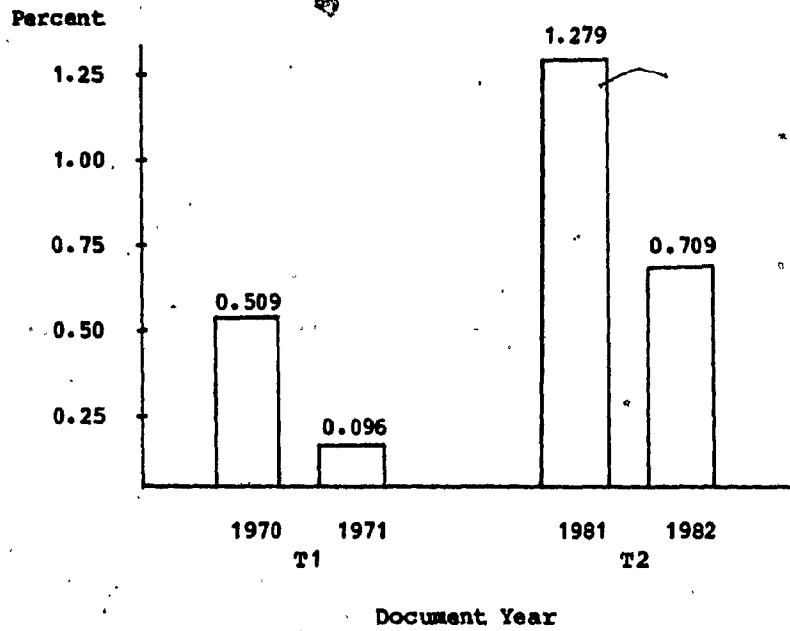


Figure 3. Percentage of Influenced Words per Meeting Minutes.



percentage of influenced words in each document. These numbers are determined by taking the number of influenced words and ascertaining their percentage against an estimate of the total number of words per text. For example, the 1970 Annual Report has 75 influenced words and a total of 19,311 words. Therefore, the percentage of influenced words is 0.388. All figures are rounded to three decimal places.

These graphs strongly support the hypothesis that the rising status of French leads to an increase in the use of French-influenced elements as measured in terms of the percentage of influenced words per document. From Time 1 (1970, 1971) to Time 2 (1981, 1982) the percentage of influenced elements per text increases consistently. In the Annual Reports, the Time 2 increase ranges from a low of 0.8% (difference between 1981 and 1971) to a high of 1.3% (difference between 1982 and 1970). Similarly in the Meeting Minutes the Time 2 increase ranges from 0.2% (1982 minus 1970) to 1.2% (1981 minus 1971).

(b) Number of Types

Because the percentage of words used in Time 2 documents could be significantly influenced by a few words that occurred frequently, it is important to examine the hypothesis of increasing French influence on Montreal English in terms of a count of types (a type being a French-influenced element and its variants) (see p. 25 re. Mackey's use of the term "type"). Tables 1 and 2 present the number of different types in the Annual Reports and Meeting Minutes in Times 1 and 2.

Table 1. Number of Different Types per Annual Report and Time.

| Date | Number | Date | Number |
|----------|--------|----------|--------|
| 1970 | 24 | 1981 | 53 |
| 1971 | 39 | 1982 | 49 |
| Total T1 | 63 | Total T2 | 102 |

Table 2. Number of Different Types per Meeting Minutes and Time.

| Date | Number | Date | Number |
|----------|--------|----------|--------|
| 1970 | 11 | 1981 | 11 |
| 1971 | 3 | 1982 | 11 |
| Total T1 | 14 | Total T2 | 22 |

Table 1 shows a clear increase of 39 different types in Time 2 Annual Reports over those in Time 1. The results from Meeting Minutes (Table 2), while not as striking, show an increase of eight types in Time 2. Again, the hypothesis of a quantitative change is supported.

(c) Distribution of types by document

If Quebec French influence is increasing, influenced terms would have a wider distribution in Time 2 than they would in Time 1.

Therefore, the hypothesis predicts that, at a lesser level of influence, a greater number of types occur in one document only while in Time 2, at a level of increased influence, a higher proportion occur in more than one Time 2 document. This would indicate a higher degree of acceptance or integration of these terms into Montreal English. Tables 3 and 4 present the distribution of types in three categories: 1) the percentage of types which occur in one document only; 2) the percentage of types which appear in more than one document of the same period; and 3) the percentage of types which occur in documents from both times.

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of Time 1 Types by Document.

| | | One Document Only | More than One T1 Document | Both T1 and T2 Documents |
|---------|------|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Reports | 1970 | 45.8% | 16.6% | 37.5% |
| | 1971 | 64.1 | 10.25 | 25.6 |
| Minutes | 1970 | 63.6 | 18.2 | 18.2 |
| | 1971 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 |

Table 3 shows in Time 1 most types occur in one document only while the lowest percentage of types occurs in more than one document of the same period. A substantial proportion of the types occurring in Time 1 occur in Time 2 documents as well.

In contrast to Table 3, Table 4 shows that in Time 2 most types

occur in more than one document, while the lowest percentage of types usually appears in both Time 1 and Time 2 documents. Thus, as the hypothesis predicts, types in Time 2 have a wider distribution.

Table 4. Percentage Distribution of Time 2 Types by Document.

| | | One Document Only | More than One T2 Document | Both T1 and T2 Documents |
|---------|------|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Reports | 1981 | 37.7% | 43.4% | 18.9% |
| | 1982 | 38.8 | 42.9 | 18.4 |
| Minutes | 1981 | 27.3 | 36.4 | 36.4 |
| | 1982 | 36.4 | 54.5 | 9.0 |

What Kinds of Changes Have Occurred?

The second hypothesis predicts that as the influence of Quebec French on Montreal English increases, the nature of its influence will change. Therefore, each influenced element was classified according to the kind of influence: assimilated loanword, codeswitch, cognate extension, calque or spelling (see pp. 35-36 for full definitions and examples of these). Table 5 compares the percentage of each category occurring in Time 1 with that in Time 2. All occurrences in both times are taken as 100 percent. Table 6 ranks the categories in the order of their frequency of occurrence. Thus Tables 5 and 6 reveal how Quebec French influence has changed in the period studied.

Table 5 shows that Time 2 has the consistently highest percentage

Table 5. Percentage of Categories Occurring in Time 1 and Time 2.

| | Codeswitch (Head) | Calque | Spelling Influence English | Cognate Extension | Codeswitch (Modifier) | Assimilated Loanword | Spelling Influence Cognate |
|--------|-------------------|--------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Time 1 | 26.7 | 44.8 | 39.3 | 14.9 | 41.2 | 13.3 | 0 |
| Time 2 | 73.3 | 55.2 | 60.7 | 85.1 | 58.8 | 86.7 | 100 |

Table 6. Ranking in Order of Frequency of Occurrence in Categories of Time 1 and Time 2.

| | Codeswitch (Head) | Calque | Spelling Influence English | Cognate Extension | Codeswitch (Modifier) | Assimilated Loanword | Spelling Influence Cognate |
|--------|-------------------|--------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Time 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 6 | 7 |
| Time 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 7 |

of influenced elements in all categories. Table 6 shows that while three categories -- codeswitch head, spelling influence on English, and assimilated loanword -- have maintained the same rank in both times, the other four categories have gained. Thus the hypothesis of the changing nature of influence is confirmed in both the proportion and ranking of the categories of influence.

What Proportion of Gallicisms are Jargon?

Since the data in this thesis come from educational documents, a natural question is what proportion of educational jargon to non-jargon gallicisms comprise the data. Tables 7 and 8 show the percentage of influenced elements classified as educational jargon per document date and type. The influenced elements of Time 1 consist of 45.3 percent jargon. By Time 2 jargon comprises 70.3 percent. However, while the figures per document support the general trend of increase in jargon, the tables below show that there is some variation from document to document.

Table 7. Percentage of Influenced Elements Classified as Educational Jargon per Document in the Annual Reports.

| Time 1 | | Time 2 | |
|--------|------|--------|------|
| 1970 | 66.7 | 1981 | 59.0 |
| 1971 | 46.9 | 1982 | 80.6 |

Table 8. Percentage of Influenced Elements Classified as Educational Jargon per Document in the Meeting Minutes.

| Time 1 | | Time 2 | |
|--------|------|--------|------|
| 1970 | 17.6 | 1981 | 82.6 |
| 1971 | 0.0 | 1982 | 41.7 |

What Proportion of Influenced Elements Are Set off from Regular Text?

According to the PSBGM's Chief Archivist, while every document writer has his or her own style, generally he/she tries not to use French "in the stream of English". French terms such as the initials MEQ and CEGEP are not marked because they are considered acceptable in English. However, generally when French terms are used, they are set off from the regular text in some way (for example, quotation marks, italics, bold-face type, etc.) (personal communication, Nov. 30, 1982). If this is so, one would expect a high proportion of gallicisms to be set off from the regular text. However, this is not the case.

Table 9 presents the proportion of influenced elements set off from the regular text. Of all influenced elements in all documents, only 16 percent are set off from the regular text in some way. Influenced elements from Time 1 documents comprise only 29.3 percent of this 16 percent. Thus Time 2 documents contain most of the

influenced elements in this category but this is because they contain most of the influenced elements as will be shown in Table 9.

Table 9. Proportion of Influenced Elements Set Off from Regular Text

| | Not Set Off | Quotation Marks | Capital Brackets | Letters Italics | Translation Provided | Other |
|--------|----------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Time 1 | 84.9 | 9.4 | 2.8 | 1.9 | 0.9 | 0.0 |
| Time 2 | 87.5 | 2.7 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 2.7 | 0.4 |

While there is some change in the devices used and their frequency of use between Time 1 and Time 2, the basic proportion of gallicisms distinguished to those not distinguished in the text remains the same.

Summary

The results of this study indicate affirmative answers to both major hypotheses and reveal some characteristics specific to the language of educators. First, there has been an increase in the use of gallicisms in the period under study. The percentage of influenced elements per text is consistently higher in Time 2 than Time 1. As well, there is an increase in the number of different types in Time 2 and types are more widely distributed in Time 2 documents. Second, there is a change in the kind of influence. This is reflected in the proportion of categories of influence and their order of frequency.

The proportion of jargon to non-jargon gallicisms and the proportion and the way influenced elements are distinguished from regular text reveal some of the idiosyncrasies of this language domain. The hypotheses are affirmed by the change in the quality of French-influenced elements in the documents as well as the change in quantity.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Diachronic study design is essential to the treatment of language as a constantly changing entity. Despite the limited scale of this study, a diachronic design allowed the substantiation of what is increasingly recognized -- the rising and changing influence of Quebec French on Montreal English. In the case of Montreal English, these notions of increase and change are central because the change in relative status of Montreal English accelerates the ongoing changes already existing in language. To employ a synchronic study design in such a case is to use an instrument without the sensitivity to measure the subject adequately. The results presented in this study clearly show that diachronic study design is vital to the analysis of language, as what it is, a system in flux.

The results demonstrate the increasing receptivity of the English language in Montreal to innovations from Quebec French over the period studied. The proportion of influenced elements per document, the different types per document and the distribution of types in the documents all support the hypothesis of increased influence. Moreover, the context of this increased influence, the decline in status of English in Quebec in the 1970's, is well documented in the literature. In this context the influence of status at work on the direction of linguistic innovations from one language group to another or "prestige differential" is easily distinguished. As English declined in status and French rose, French has had an increasing influence on the English in Montreal. The unambiguity of these events

demonstrates the fundamental relationship between prestige and influence.

The social changes inherent in the context relate to not only increased influence but to the nature of that influence as well. For instance, bilingualism among Montreal Anglophones has increased from 17% in 1971 to 53% in 1981 (Martin, 1984). The distribution of types over the documents reflects this rise in bilingualism. In Time 1 most types occur in one document only, while in Time 2 most types occur in more than one Time 2 document. Types in Time 2 documents, therefore, have a wider distribution than those in Time 1 documents which suggests that the former are more accepted as a regular part of the language. This notion is supported by the terms which make up each grouping. For example, in Time 1 the terms occurring in the largest category are most often French names for French programs, plays, theatre groups, organizations, etc. such as A la mode de chez nous, Pierre et le loup, les Jeunes Comediens and Service General des Moyens d'Enseignement. Many of these terms would be awkward to translate or indicate that the items itself is in French (see Appendix I for a complete list of these terms). The largest Time 2 category, by contrast, consists of a much wider range of terms such as Message du Directeur General, regime pedagogique, MEO, Isle des Soeurs, animator, etc. (see Appendix II for a full list of these terms). These items often have English versions or are accepted as a part of the language. This is evidence of a higher acceptance of influence, something attributable to higher bilingualism.

Also traceable to a higher rate of bilingualism is the change in

ranking of cognate extensions. A cognate extension retains its English spelling but extends its meaning on a French model. In Time 1 the cognate extension category is the fourth most frequent, while by Time 2 it is the second most frequent category of influence. The following are examples of Time 2 cognate extensions:

'polyvalent' meaning a 'comprehensive school'

'teacher's corporations' meaning 'teachers' unions'

'animateur' meaning 'group activities organizer'

'syndical dues' meaning 'union dues'.

The meanings of these words come from Quebec French. The acceptance of these meanings as fit for publication in English-language documents indicates an acceptance of this use as English. The increased level of bilingualism is a likely cause.

While the other changes in rank of categories (see Table 6 of the previous chapter) are likely also related to social changes, at present it is difficult to attribute these changes in rank to a particular social factor. Calques and codeswitch modifiers have a lower frequency ranking in Time 2 than Time 1. Further research could reveal how such changes in influence relate to factors inherent in changing status.

Another social change reflected in the outcome of this study is the penetration of Quebec French-influenced elements into the language of those higher up the social scale. This shift becomes apparent in reviewing the literature concerning Montreal English (see p. 12 for a discussion of this). The overall increase of French-influenced

elements in Time 2 supports this notion. Clearly gallicisms are now more accepted by educators, an educated and influential group.

The tolerance of French-influenced elements in their language is not consistent with the PSBGM's perceived practice in the treatment of gallicisms in their documents. As stated in the previous chapter, the PSBGM's chief archivist, Mrs. O. Kowcz, felt that attempts are made to distinguish French in English documents by using quotation marks or other devices (1982). However, the figures show a consistently high proportion of gallicisms are not distinguished in any way (see Table 9 in the previous chapter). This indicates either a high degree of acceptance of these terms in English or that the writers/readers of these documents are unconscious of these as French terms. Either interpretation supports the general wisdom that the study of actual language behavior is more reliable than what people think or say they do. However, that the writers of these documents try not to "pollute the language" (O. Kowcz, personal communication, Nov. 30, 1982) shows a consciousness of and a resistance to the increasing penetration of gallicisms into the English of Montreal.

While a higher proportion of gallicisms are classified as educational jargon in Time 2 than Time 1 (see Tables 7 and 8 in the preceding chapter), that the language of educators exhibits increasing influence is a good indicator that there is increasing influence in the language of Anglophone Montrealers for two reasons. First, schools help maintain a standardized language and, in doing so, control against unlimited foreign borrowings in the bilingual context (Weinreich, 1966: 88). Thus schools play a key role in what is

perceived as standard language by a language group. Second, the PSBGM is one of the most influential representatives of Anglophones in Montreal (see p. 29 for a discussion of this). Thus if this influential group is tolerant of innovations from Quebec French in its language, this tolerance is likely to reflect and affect the language norms of Anglophones in Montreal.

While this study demonstrates the increasing influence of Quebec French in the language of Anglophone Montrealers, the study itself must be considered preliminary. It confirms the changing influence of Quebec French with reference to social context rather than focusing on what kinds of changes are occurring. The study looks at various kinds of influence -- interference, borrowing, code-switching and integration -- but does not attempt to distinguish interference, borrowing or integration. Further, while an exhaustive study would use speech samples as well as textual sources, textual sources are the only data presently available which lend themselves to a diachronic study design. Thus the range of language represented here is necessarily limited. Finally, in Mackey's words, the data in this study are measurements from the message (utterances) rather than from the code (the language itself) (Mackey, 1970). Thus the figures are liable to be unstable because of the idiosyncracies of expressing a certain topic or repetition of certain words. However, while the measurements in this study do not provide a comprehensive analysis of the language, they are adequate for the fulfillment of the aims of this study. These aims are to document the changing influence of Quebec French on the English language in Montreal and to place these results into the

context of status change in Quebec.

Since the results of this study indicate that Quebec French influence on Montreal English is a fruitful area of study and as relatively little work has been done on it to date, there are numerous possibilities for further research. Research is needed to document more precisely the influence revealed in this study not only on the level of written documents but on the level of oral use as well. In addition, research into other Anglophone groups could provide insight into how social factors such as bilingualism and social class correlate with the kinds of changes an influenced language undergoes. Moreover, there are various forms of influence in the data presented here -- interference, code-switching, borrowing and integration -- therefore, specific investigation into any of these areas is promising. Also, in the course of the present study, this writer noticed that place names in Montreal and the surrounding area have long exhibited influence from Quebec French to varying degrees. The complexities of this influence, while intriguing, were outside the scope of this research. Thus the changing influence of Quebec French on these place names would provide an involved area of study. Generally speaking, the English language in Montreal is clearly in a situation of changing influence and little work has been done on the influence of Quebec French. Thus this is an area which merits closer study from many perspectives.

Summary

The diachronic design of this study allowed the confirmation of

the hypotheses -- that as the relative status of English declines, Quebec French influence on Montreal English will increase and the nature of that influence will change -- despite the limited data base. The results of this study and the decline of the status of English as documented in the literature illustrate the fundamental relationship between prestige and direction of influence. In addition, the social changes inherent in the context, such as degree of bilingualism among the language group and social class, affect the nature of that influence. While the language of educators is studied here, this group is highly influential in regulating the language and among Montreal Anglophones in general. Therefore, if the language of the PSBGM shows increasing influence, these norms will be reflected in those of the Anglophone group in general. Despite its generalizability, this study must be considered preliminary. Further research is needed to determine the exact nature and extent of the influence revealed by this study. Because little work has been done on Quebec French influence on Montreal English, this intriguing area is wide open for all kinds of research into influence.

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APPENDIX 1

DISTRIBUTION OF TIME : TYPES

Types Occurring in One Document Only

1970 Minutes :

Aube
Cadastre
La Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal
La Diplomate
Sault-Au-Recollet
Secrtaire
Le Bureau Metropolitain des Ecoles Protestantes de Montreal

1970 Annual Report

Pierre et le loup
"A la mode de chez nous"
"Gregar"
Biologie, Perspective Ecologique
Corporations :
Forte
Le Vaisseau Spatial
Leon
Levels IV and V
Polyvalent

1971 Annual Report

"Aux yeux des petits"
"Barbe bleu"
"Carnaval des Avions a l'aerport Dorval"
"Gros Guillaume"
"Ici on parle francais"
"L'enfant sauvage"
"Les Fourberies de Scapin"
"Les Rayons Lumineux"
B.C.G.
Cinema Odeon
First / Second / Third / Fourth
Frere Jacques, Cadet Rousselle, l'Alouette, and L'Empereur
et le Petit Prince
Hebert
Hikings
Institute Marie-Enfant
La Corporation des Conseillers d'Orientation Professionnelle
du Quebec
Le Theatre Soleil
Les Jeunes Comediens
Les Marionnettes de Montreal

1971 Annual Report - Continued

Longpre
Rue St. Denis
Service General des Moyens d'Enseignement
Theatre du Nouveau Monde
Theatre du Rideau Vert
Ville d'Anjou

Types Occurring in More Than One Time 1 Document

1970 Minutes

Andre
Limitee

1971 Minutes

Andre
Limitee
Pointe-aux-Trembles

1970 Annual Report

Coteau-Saint-Pierre
Institut Francais
Levels First to Fourth
Pointe-aux-Trembles

1971 Annual Report

Coteau-Saint-Pierre
Institut Francais
Levels First to Fourth
Pointe-aux-Trembles

Types Occurring in Time 1 Which Also Occur in Time 2 Documents

1970 Minutes

Cadre Scholaire
Maitre

1970 Annual Report

CEGEP
Level IV
Level V
restructuration
Secondary II
Secondary III
Secondary IV
Secondary IV and V
Secondary V

1971 Annual Report
Secondary one
Cycle I
Cycles I & II
restructuration
Secondary II
Secondary IV
Secondary IV and V
Secondary V
Ville La Salle

APPENDIX 2

DISTRIBUTION OF TIME 2 TYPES

Types Occurring in One Document Only

1981 Minutes

Basins
Carrieres
Classe bilingue
de Roberval

1982 Minutes

escalier
Service de garde en milieu scolaire
Corporation d'hebergement du Quebec
Sortie

1981 Annual Report

La Grammaire au secondaire V
Accueil
Le Francaise dans les ateliers
Methode Orange
animation
Bases de plein air
Bureau d'admissibilite a l'enseignement a l'anglais (BAEA)
Clubs sportifs program
Concours des jeunes mathematiens
La Spirale
Le Francais intensif^x
Le Francais international
Le Francais langue seconde
Level II
MRE Program Protestant
OYEP
Secondary I, II and III
TREAQ
100 000
105 000 \$

1982 Annual Report

Cite des Prairies
Classes d'accueil et le francisation
Classes d'immersion francaise premiere et deuxieme annee
Coordinateur
D.S.I.R.
Des Rapides de Lachine
Deschenes
Ecole Tetraultville

1982 Annual Report - Continued
Levels I and II
NNA's
Pare
Pre-maternelle
Publication du service des communications
Rédacteur
Secteur des écoles françaises
tel.
Ecole Iona
Ecole Maisonneuve

Types Occurring in More Than One Time 2 Document

1981 Minutes
Ecole Van Horne
Felix
Ile des Soeurs
MEQ

1982 Minutes
animateur
Felix
Francisation
francophone
MEQ
Regime pedagogique

1981 Annual Report
Accueil et Reference
animateur
CEFCM Rapport Annuel
Commission des écoles protestantes du Grand Montreal
Cote-des-Neiges
Cycle II
de Roberval
DGEA
FLPQ
Francisation
francophone
Ile des Soeurs
Levy
MEQ
Message du Directeur General
Pare et Associes
post-normalisation
Quebec
Regime pedagogique
Secondary I & II

1981 Annual Report - Continued
Secondary I - V
syndical
Universite de Montreal

1982 Annual Report
Accueil et Reference
CEFGM Rapport Annuel
Commission des ecoles protestantes du Grand Montreal
Cote-des-Neiges
Cycle II
de Roberval
DGEA
Ecole Van Horne
FLPQ
Ile des Soeurs
Levy
MEQ
Message du Directeur General
Pare et Associes
post-normalisation
Quebec
Regime pedagogique
Secondary I & II
Secondary I - V
syndical
Universite de Montreal

Types Occurring in Time 2 Which Also Occur in Time 1 Documents

1981 Minutes
Cycle I
Cycles I and II
Maitre

1982 Minutes
CEGEP

1981 Annual Report
Cadre scolaire
CEGEP
Cycle I
Level IV
Level V
restructuration
Secondary II
Secondary IV
Secondary V
Ville La Salle

1982 Annual Report
Cadre scolaire
CEGEP
Cycle I
Secondary II
Secondary III
Secondary IV
Secondary IV and V
Secondary V