BILINGUAL COMMUNICATION IN MONTREAL: SOME MATCHED-GUISE STUDIES[1]

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ABSTRACT

This article provides an overview of dialogue and face-to-face matched-guise studies designed to explore French/English language switching in Montreal since the adoption of pro-French laws such as Bill 101 in 1977. Results showed that Bill 101 may have had a 'carry-over effect' which increased French use by Anglophones in their encounters with Francophones on the streets of Montreal over the decades. By 1997, field studies showed that both Anglophones and Francophones overwhelmingly converged to each other's linguistic needs. Results are discussed using the concept of Diglossia and Communication Accommodation Theory.

Diglossia refers to situations where co-existing languages differ in prestige and are assigned different social functions reflecting the power position of the language communities within the social stratification (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1991). The language that enjoys a higher status is used mainly for formal communication such as the public administration and management functions within the work world. In contrast, the use of the lower status language(s) is optional and usually limited to informal communication in private settings such as conversations between family members and friends (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). While the languages are complementary, the function of the higher status language corresponds to more socially valued domains of public communication, often reflecting the advantaged position of its speakers in the status, power and wealth hiearchy.

DIGLOSSIA AND LANGUAGE NORMS IN QUEBEC

Before the adoption of Quebec language laws in the 1970s, English traditionally enjoyed higher status than French, thereby reflecting the elite position of the dominant Anglophone minority (Corbeil, 2007). While English was the public language of work and upward mobility, French was deemed more appropriate for private, informal or familiar exchanges, given the subordinate position of the Francophone majority in the province (Québec, 1972). It is in this intergroup setting that Wallace Lambert undertook his classic matched-guise studies which showed that Anglophone and Francophone undergraduates in Montreal rated the English speaking guise more favourably than the French guise on status and solidarity traits (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum, 1960; see Giles, this issue). That Francophone listeners rated the French speaking guise even more negatively than did Anglophone raters suggested that Francophones suffered from 'linguistic insecurity' reflecting their endorsement of the negative views Anglophones had of the French majority in Quebec (Genesee & Holobow, 1989).

As in most other diglossic settings of the world, lower status Francophones in contact with Anglophones shouldered the effort of bilingualism and were likely to switch to English when communicating with Anglophones in formal and private cross-cultural encounters. In contrast, few members of the Anglophone community needed to learn French or bother switching to French when conversing with Francophone majority speakers (Taylor, Simard & Papineau, 1978).

However, the adoption of Bill 101 in 1977, which sought to improve the status and use of French relative to English reflected the changing power relationship between Quebec's two solitudes (d'Anglejan, 1984; Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Bourhis, 1984a; Caldwell, 1994). With the rise of the Québécois nationalist movement, Bill 101 was designed to foster greater use of French as the language of public

communication in business, commerce, education and the public administration (Corbeil, 2007). In a sociolinguistic survey conducted five years after the adoption of Bill 101, results showed that Montreal Francophone undergraduates stated they were more willing to maintain French in a conversation with an Anglophone interlocutor than they had been before the promulgation of the law (Bourhis, 1983). Such reports were concordant with those of Anglophone undergraduates, who in the same survey declared that Francophones converged less to English with them than had been the case before the adoption of Bill 101. Furthermore, Anglophone undergraduates reported that their own language switching to French with Francophone interlocutors had increased since Bill 101.

Bill 101 formally specified that all consumers of goods and services have the right to be informed and served in French when dealing with store clerks and public employees. In order to evaluate the effectiveness of this component of Bill 101, two experimental studies were conducted, one in Montreal and the other in Quebec City (Genesee & Bourhis, 1982, 1988). Using a dialogue version of the matched guise technique, over 1200 Francophone and Anglophone high school students were asked to listen to recorded conversations between a client and a clerk. In these content-controlled matched guise dialogues, the client and the clerk actors used different combinations of French and English language switches across four speaker turns. Students rated their impressions of the relationship between the client and the clerk across speaker turns and also rated the personality traits of the client and the clerk based on their language switching strategies and their background as Francophone and Anglophone speakers. Though complex in other ways, results showed that Francophone and Anglophone high school students systematically rated the clerk more favourably when he converged to the linguistic needs of the client than when he maintained his own language, this being particularly so when the clerk was portrayed as an Anglophone who converged to French with a client portrayed as a Francophone. Overall, the client/clerk encounter was also perceived as more harmonious when the clerk converged to the language choice of the client rather than when the clerk did not converge, and this whether the clerk converged to French or to English and whether students were tested in Quebec City or in Montreal. The more favourable rating of the clerk converging to French with the Francophone client was in line with the Bill 101 regulation stipulating that Francophones have a right to be served in French by store clerks. However, favourable ratings of the Francophone clerk converging to English as a way of accommodating to the linguistic needs of the Anglophone client were not in line with Bill 101 regulations. But such results did attest to the strength of the sociolinguistic norm favouring the linguistic choice of clients who, because of their buying power, impose accommodating language choices on clerks, especially in a setting where the offer of goods and services exceeds demand.

COMMUNICATION ACCOMMODATION THEORY (CAT)

Sociolinguistic and Social Psychological processes are important mediators of multilingual communication (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001, 2005). Communication accommodation theory (CAT) is the social psychological framework most pertinent to the understanding of language switching behaviour in cross-cultural encounters (Bourhis, Giles & Lambert, 1975; Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977). The CAT framework seeks to account for language-switching behaviour not only on the basis of sociolinguistic norms, but also depending on interlocutors' motives, attitudes, perceptions, and group loyalties (Giles, Mulac, Bradac & Johnson, 1987).

According to CAT, three basic speech strategies can be used in bilingual encounters: language convergence, language maintenance and language divergence (Giles & Coupland, 1991). Convergence is a language strategy in which speakers choose to switch to the language of their interlocutor. Convergence can be used to improve communication effectiveness, reduce interpersonal uncertainty, or signal interpersonal liking. It may also be used as an ingratiating strategy or as a way of being perceived more favourably by one's interlocutor, especially if the code-switching is towards the accent or language of higher prestige in a given sociolinguistic setting.

In contrast, language maintenance is a strategy in which speakers choose to maintain their own speech style or language while communicating with ingroup or outgroup speakers (Bourhis, 1979). Finally, language divergence occurs when speakers choose to accentuate the differences between their own speech style and language relative to that of the outgroup interlocutor. Both maintenance and divergence are dissociative speech strategies which may reflect the speaker's personal dislike of his or her interlocutor. As an inter-group communication strategy, language maintenance and divergence may be used not only as a way of asserting one's owngroup distinctiveness, but to also signify a person's rejection of the other as a rival or despised outgroup speaker.

These three language strategies were documented at many levels including paralinguistic, content, style, accent, and language choice. Interestingly, studies showed that speakers were not always aware that they were modifying their communicative behaviours, though levels of awareness about divergence and maintenance were found to be more acute than for language or accent convergence (Giles et al., 1987).

CAT accounts for multilingual communication in terms of psychological processes at two distinct levels: inter-individual and inter-group. At the inter-individual level, CAT highlights the role of personal desire for social approval as the prime motivation for language convergence. For instance, based on similarity-attraction theory, it was proposed that increased similarity in speech styles would foster more liking between interlocutors. This hypothesis found support in an empirical study of French/English language switching conducted in Montreal (Giles, Taylor & Bourhis, 1973). It was found that bilingual Quebec Anglophone students perceived Quebec Francophone bilinguals more favourably when the latter converged to English than when they maintained French. Also, Quebec Anglophones were more likely to communicate in French with their Francophone interlocutor if the latter had previously converged to English than if he or she had maintained communication only in French.

Language convergence can also be accounted for by speakers' motivation to maximize "rewards" and minimize "costs" (Van den Berg, 1986). Other interpersonal determinants of language convergence include the need to foster intelligibility, predictability and interpersonal involvement (Berger & Bradac, 1982). Using attribution theory, a study of language switching in Montreal showed that individuals were perceived more favourably when their language convergence was attributed to their personal dispositions and good will than when it could be accounted for by external pressures such as situational norms (Simard, Taylor & Giles, 1976).

In multilingual settings, language and accent not only situate speakers on the social map but often emerge as a key dimension of social identification and of inter-group differentiation between ingroup and outgroup speakers (Giles & Johnson, 1981; Tabouret-Keller, 1997; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). At the inter-group level, social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and ethnolinguistic identity theory (ELIT; Giles & Johnson, 1987) help account for language switching behaviour during inter-group encounters. In brief, SIT proposes that individuals are motivated to maintain or achieve a positive social identity, whereas ELIT is concerned with the search for psycholinguistic distinctiveness through favourable comparisons with outgroups on language and speech dimensions. Thus, SIT and ELIT are complementary in accounting for language maintenance and language divergence in terms of speakers' desire for achieving a positive social identity while establishing social differentiation from outgroup interlocutors. When language becomes the most salient dimension of group identity, linguistic divergence can be used to assert ingroup identification, contribute to positive social identity and accentuate boundaries between ingroup and outgroup speakers (Bourhis, El-Geledi & Sachdev, 2007).

Experimental studies have shown that ingroup identification can be related to the positive evaluation of language maintenance and language divergence voiced by ingroup members during conversations with rival outgroup speakers (Bourhis et al., 1975; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Tong, Hong, Lee & Chiu, 1999). Actual accent and language divergence was also documented in empirical studies of language behaviour. In Wales, adults learning Welsh in a language laboratory for cultural identity reasons used accent divergence by emphasizing their Welsh accent in English when responding to an outgroup English speaker who had voiced a culturally threatening message using the standard RP British accent (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). The strategy of language divergence was documented experimentally in a study conducted in Belgium with trilingual Flemish undergraduates (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens & Tajfel, 1979). Flemish undergraduates studying English in a language laboratory responded to a series of neutral or threatening questions voiced in French or English by a French Brussels confederate speaker. Flemish students converged to English when giving their answer to a content-neutral question voiced in English by the confederate. In contrast, when the question was content-threatening and voiced in French, Flemish students diverged by switching to Flemish, disagreeing with the disparaging statements about the Flemish language, and using insulting epithets to describe the French confederate. The Welsh and Flemish studies showed that threatening messages to the linguistic identity of group members can trigger dissociative language strategies such as accent, language and content divergence. Language divergence can also occur under less threatening circumstances. Taken together, these empirical studies of language convergence and divergence provide support for basic premises of CAT in multilingual settings.

BILINGUAL COMMUNICATION IN MONTREAL: 1977 TO 1997

Officially at least, Bill 101 was not designed to regulate French/English language use in private situations such as conversations between individuals in the home, with friends, or in anonymous encounters on the streets. However, the architects of Bill 101 posited that vigorous legislation in favour of French in public settings would trigger a '*carry-over effect*' in favour of French use in private settings such as the home, with friends, and on the street between strangers (Corbeil, 2007).

Four field experiments conducted on the streets of Montreal from 1977 to 1997 were designed to test the '*carry-over effect*' in favour of French use not only as the language of public discourse but also as the language of

private communication between anonymous individuals on the street. The first study was conducted on the streets of Montreal in 1977, two months after the adoption of Bill 101. The second street study took place two years later, in 1979, not only in the streets of downtown Montreal but also on the Anglophone campus of McGill University and on the Francophone campus of Université de Montréal (Bourhis, 1984b). The 1991 study was conducted both on the streets of downtown Montreal and on the Francophone and Anglophone university campuses, and included both a White and Black confederate (Moïse & Bourhis, 1994). The final study was conducted in 1997 using the same experimental design as the 1991 Montreal study (Bourhis, Montaruli & Amiot, 2007).

In the four studies, Francophone and Anglophone pedestrians were randomly accosted by a discreetly attractive 20-25 year old female confederate who voiced a plea for directions in either fluent French or fluent English. Male and female pedestrians in the 20 to 60 year old range were accosted randomly during rush hours on weekdays in underground shopping malls of East downtown Montreal for Francophone respondents and in West downtown Montreal for Anglophone participants. The content-controlled 30-second plea was a query for the location of the nearest metro station. Undergraduate students at Université de Montréal and at McGill University were accosted randomly on crowded sectors of the campuses during daytime class hours and were asked the location of the university bookstore. In the 1977 and 1979 experiments, there was only a White confederate asking for directions. However, the 1991 and 1997 studies included both a White and a Black female confederate for the downtown and university campus experiments. Numerous studies have shown that visible minorities are more likely to be the victim of prejudice and discrimination than other minorities in both Quebec and Canada (Berry, 2006; Bourhis, 1994; Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly & Jantzen, 2007). It was expected that White pedestrians may be less likely to converge to the linguistic needs of a Black confederate than to those of a White confederate.

Pedestrians who, from their accent and their responses to a brief post experimental questionnaire, were not native speakers of either Montreal French or Montreal English were dropped from the analyses. Results obtained in the four field studies showed that all pedestrians did provide accurate information to the confederates. However, the language used by the pedestrians to provide directions to the confederate served as the main dependent variable. When responding to the confederate's plea, total or partial use of the pedestrian's second language was considered a convergent response. The use of a single word such as "bonjour" for an Anglophone or "good-bye" for a Francophone was coded as a convergent response, on the assumption that the pedestrian made an effort to accommodate psychologically to the linguistic need of the confederate (Giles et al., 1973). This lenient criterion for coding convergence was also designed to minimize lack of second language competence as an alternative explanation for respondents who used language maintenance while providing directions to the confederate. Montreal is the most bilingual city in Canada and all its citizens have had a chance to learn a few words of greeting and leave-taking in both French and English. For those participants who were accosted in their mother tongue, the dependent variable was also the language in which they provided directions. In all cases, pedestrians accosted in their first language responded in their first language attesting to the fluency of the confederates in portraying themselves as native French or English speakers

The procedure used in all four experiments is a novel face-to-face elaboration of the classic matched-guise technique. Accordingly, the confederates in each year of the study were chosen for their ability to speak both English and French fluently. The use of the same person to formulate the same message in both French and English had the advantage of controlling for paralinguistic voice cues, physical attractiveness, age, and dress style which was neatly casual in all experimental conditions across the four studies. The White and the Black confederates involved in each of the 1991 and 1997 studies were also carefully matched as regards physical attractiveness, age, as well as paralinguistic and speech style cues. All confederates involved across the four studies were carefully trained to voice the 30-second content-controlled message in a clear and neutral speech style.

A basic goal of Bill 101 was to foster a pro-French climate that could make the use of French normal and spontaneous, especially amongst Quebec Francophones in bilingual Montreal. Could a *'carry-over effect'* of Bill 101 foster French language maintenance amongst Francophones even when responding to an individual plea for directions voiced in English? As can be seen from **Figure 1**, the 1977 to 1991 studies revealed that downtown Francophone pedestrians overwhelmingly converged to English (95%-100%) when accosted in English by the White confederate. At Université de Montreal, where pro-French nationalist activism was evident in the mid 1970s, results of the 1979 and 1991 studies showed that Francophone undergraduates accosted in English were only slightly less keen to converge to English (80%-84%; **Figure 2**) than their older counterparts in downtown Montreal (95%-100%). Taken together, these results suggest that Bill 101 had little obvious impact on the private language choices of Francophones in their encounters with English speakers. Francophone respondents seemed mainly concerned with accommodating the personal needs of their English

interlocutors, thus accounting for the overwhelming use of English convergence.

Over fifteen years after the adoption of Bill 101, political events such as the 1995 Quebec referendum and the 1996-97 Quebec partition debate further polarized French-English political relations in the province. Thus, from the 1991 to 1997 studies it was expected that Francophones might be less likely to converge to the linguistic needs of the English-speaking confederate, especially when she was portrayed as being doubly different by virtue of her first language and Black visible minority status. As it turns out, the 1997 results showed that the proportion of Francophones converging to English did not differ as a function of the ethnicity of the confederate: 87%-100% converged to English with the Black confederate in downtown Montreal (**Figure 1**) and 85% to 100% of the Francophone undergraduates converged to her in English at the Université de Montréal (**Figure 2**). Thus, more than twenty years after the adoption of Bill 101, the majority of Francophones were consistent in converging linguistically with the English-speaking confederates and this, whether the confederate was White or Black or whether she addressed her plea for directions in Francophone downtown Montreal or at the Université de Montreal.

The proportion of Anglophones converging to the needs of the French-speaking confederates was quite stable both immediately and ten years after the promulgation of Bill 101. From 1977 to 1991, the proportion of Anglophones converging to French with the White confederates in downtown Montreal was quite stable: 60% in 1977, 70% in 1979 and 65% in 1991 (**Figure 1**). Furthermore, as seen in **Figure 2**, no significant differences were observed in the proportion of Anglophone undergraduates converging to French with the White confederate on the McGill University campus from 1979 (83%) to 1991 (77%). The ethnicity of the confederate did not have an impact on the proportion of Anglophones converging to French in downtown Montreal: in 1991, 61% converged to French with the Black confederate and 65% converged to French with the White confederate. Likewise on the McGill campus, Anglophone undergraduates were as likely to converge to French with the Black confederate (77%) as with the White confederate (77%). However it remains remarkable that despite a decade of language planning in favour of French, as many as 30% to 40% of Montreal Anglophones maintained English when responding to a Black or White confederate requesting a plea for directions in French. Such results were obtained even with the charitable criteria of counting a greeting or leave-taking word spoken in French as a convergent response by Anglophone pedestrians. That more than a third of Anglophone respondents in downtown Montreal maintained English when accosted in French reflects the enduring position of Anglophones as high status group

Figure 1 : Language convergence of Anglophone and Francophone pedestrians in downtown Montreal.

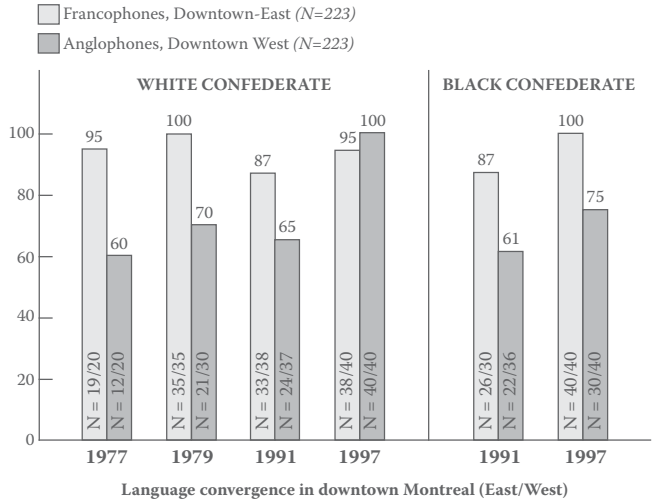
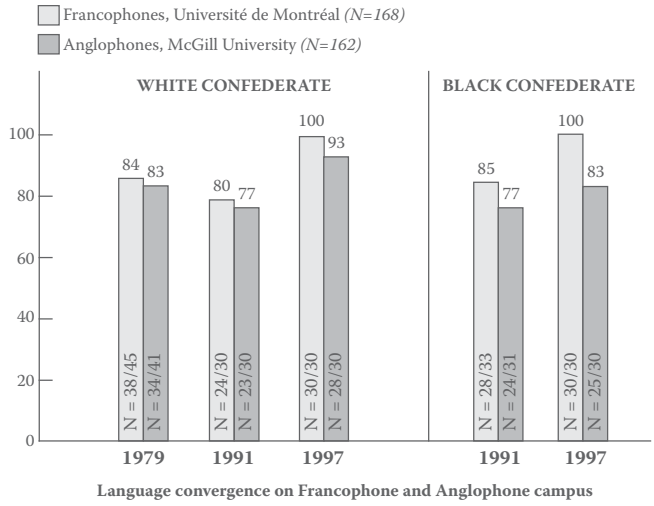


Figure 2 : Language convergence of Anglophone and Francophone undergraduates at McGill University and Université de Montréal



members whose personal language choices need not be constrained by the linguistic needs of the Francophone majority. Indeed, it was in 1991 that the president of the pro-English Alliance Quebec, Reed Scowen, urged Quebec Anglophones to adopt English-language maintenance as a collective ethnic affirmation strategy during private encounters with Quebec Francophones across the province (Scowen, 1991).

However, by 1997, results in both downtown Montreal and at McGill University showed that the overwhelming majority of Anglophones converged to French (100% and 93%) with the White Francophone interlocutor (**Figures 1 & 2**). Were Anglophones less likely to converge to French

with the Black than the White confederate? Results of the 1997 downtown Montreal study showed that fewer Anglophones converged to French with the Black confederate (75%) than with the White confederate (100%). On the McGill campus, Anglophone undergraduates were also less likely to converge to French with the black (83%) than with the white (93%) confederate.

Overall results obtained in these four studies suggest that Quebec language policies favouring French at the institutional level may have had a *'carry-over effect'* on private language behaviours, particularly on the ones adopted by Anglophones with White Francophones. Despite the political polarization which emerged during and after the referendum debate on Quebec separation in 1995, Anglophone pedestrians converged more to French in 1997 than they did in the field experiments conducted in 1977, 1979, and 1991. Thus the cumulative effect of Bill 101 did succeed in increasing their use of French, not only as the language of public discourse but also for private language use between anonymous individuals on the streets and on campuses of Montreal.

Though Bill 101 was also designed to increase the status and use of French by Francophones in the Montreal bilingual zone, results obtained with Francophone respondents showed overwhelming convergence to English with both White and Black Anglophone confederates. The strong proportion of Francophones converging to English may attest to the enduring status of English relative to French in Quebec and North America. These results confirm that even in private encounters with strangers, Francophone majority group members remain very sensitive to the linguistic needs of their Quebec Anglophone compatriots.

In the earlier studies from 1977 to 1991, private French-English language choices seemed imbued with inter-group connotations related to ingroup identification, inter-group differentiation, and power differentials favouring the elite Anglophone minority relative to the lower status Francophone majority in Montreal. However, the patterns of language convergence obtained in the 1997 field study suggest that for both Francophones and Anglophones, French/English language choices in bilingual encounters may be emptied of their divisive inter-group content. Though Francophone pedestrians could invoke the spirit of Bill 101 as the symbolic framework supporting their quest for cultural affirmation and linguistic differentiation from Anglophone interlocutors, they did not choose language maintenance or language divergence to assert such social identity needs. Few Anglophones maintained English in the 1997 field study, though the diglossic elite status of English in Quebec could have been invoked to justify such a dissociative strategy. Instead, language choices in the 1997 field study were more strongly influenced by the individual and interpersonal needs of the Francophone and Anglophone interlocutors in the immediacy of their bilingual encounter. However, it remains that 'critical incidents' in the Quebec political and linguistic debate could rekindle the use of language maintenance and language divergence as ingroup affirmative and inter-group dissociative language strategies.

Results obtained in downtown Montreal and on the McGill campus showed that Anglophone pedestrians were less likely to converge to the language needs of the Black Francophone confederate than those of the White confederate. Studies conducted across Anglo-Canada have shown that Anglo-Canadians are sometimes ambivalent towards visible minorities such as West Indians and East Indians (Berry, 2006). Anglophones in Quebec may be particularly ambivalent towards visible minority Blacks who have chosen to integrate linguistically within the Quebec Francophone host majority rather than within the Quebec Anglophone host minority (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). However, Francophone respondents were as likely to converge to English with the Black confederate as they were with the White confederate. Further research may be needed to confirm and explain these contrasting convergence responses towards the Black confederate in our field studies.

The 1997 results suggest that after twenty years of implementation, Bill 101 may have had its intended effects of improving the status and use of French by Quebec Anglophones. That both Anglophones and Francophones overwhelmingly converged and declared their intention to converge to each other's linguistic needs in the 1997 field study suggests that such intercultural encounters are being emptied of their divisive inter-group symbolism and may become more neutral and functional, at least as regards language choices in private face-to-face encounters between anonymous Francophone and Anglophone interlocutors. Could such harmonious language convergence results have been achieved in Quebec without the adoption of pro-French laws such as Bill 101?

CONCLUDING NOTES

The mutual language convergence results obtained in Montreal especially in 1997 show that both Francophones and Anglophones are quite keen with accommodating to each other's communicative needs, at least in their private cross-cultural encounters. Furthermore, in Montreal neighbourhoods where Francophone and Anglophone bilingual speakers are in daily contact, new patterns of language switching patterns are emerging as French/English code-mixing. These patterns of rapid French/English language switching within the same speech acts may be stabilising as hybrid bilingual communicative strategies and are also being incorporated within Montreal hip-

hop independent lyrics (Sarkar, 2008). The frequency and acceptability of these code-mixing strategies seem to be on the rise reflecting an emerging hybrid Anglo-French cultural identity in Montreal. Well controlled matched-guise studies would be useful to explore evaluative reactions to such language-mixing strategies with unilingual and bilingual Francophone and Anglophone listeners in Montreal.

Interestingly, fluent French-English bilingual French Canadians living in Saskatchewan have also been documented to use code-mixing in their owngroup private conversations, reflecting their double cultural identities (Clément, Shulman & Rubenfeld, 2010). Similarly, bilingual Hispanophones in New York City schools have also been observed in stable and systemic Spanish-English code-mixing amongst each other, known as 'translanguaging', revealing the emergence of hybrid Anglo-Hispanic cultural identities (Garcia, 2009). Overall, linguistic minority speakers are more likely than dominant majority ones to develop hybrid linguistic code-mixing strategies and cultural identities, thus suggesting that it is lower status minorities who are more likely to be transformed by their intercultural contacts with dominant group speakers.

The diglossia literature suggests that dominant language groups rarely converge to the linguistic needs of their subordinated minorities or majorities. The Quebec case shows that language policies such as Bill 101 can create the institutional and normative pressures needed to reverse a diglossic situation which traditionally favoured English in the province. Language laws and various provincial government measures contributed to the exodus of many Anglophones to the rest of Canada thus eroding the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec on the demographic, institutional support and status fronts (Bourhis, 2008; Caldwell, 1994; Stevenson, 1999; Jedwab, 2004; Johnson & Doucet, 2006). As shown in Canadian census results, it is noteworthy that a substantial proportion of Quebec Anglophones who stayed in the Province have become English-French bilinguals over the decades, from only 37% before the adoption of Bill 101 in 1971, to 61.7% in 1996 and to 69% in 2006. Conversely, whereas only 26% of Quebec Francophones reported being French-English bilinguals in the 1971 census, this proportion increased to 34% in 1996, while remaining stable at 36% in 2006. Census results also show that more than 50% of the Quebec population can still afford to stay unilingual French: 58% in 1991 and 54% in 2006. However the proportion of the Quebec population who could afford to remain unilingual English in Quebec dropped from 5.5% in 1991 to only 4.5% in 2006. The greatest success of Bill 101 has been its role in ensuring that the vast majority of the provincial population knows French: a majority of 93.6% in 1991 and 94.5% according to the 2006 census.

Though the Francophone majority succeeded in consolidating its institutional and demographic ascendancy over the English minority of Quebec (Bourhis, 2001), Québécois Francophone nationalists nurture feelings of linguistic threat by highlighting that Francophones are a language minority of 23% within Canada and a minority of less than 2% within North America. However, within the Quebec territory, will the francophone dominant majority have the linguistic and cultural security to one day endorse the responsibility of protecting and enhancing the institutional vitality of its largest historical minority in the Province: the English-speaking Communities of Quebec?

NOTES

[1] This article is based on a chapter by Richard Bourhis entitled: The English-speaking communities of Quebec: Vitality, multiple identities and linguicism. In R,Y. Bourhis (Ed).*The Vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec: From Community decline to Revival.* (pp.123-160). Montréal, QC: CEETUM, Université de Montréal. www.ceetum.umontreal.ca.

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