NATIVE LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING IN QUEBEC

BY

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

The use of Native languages in Canada has been in decline, and these languages are in considerable danger of becoming extinct. While the Native languages in Canada are surrounded by one official language, English, most of the Native languages spoken in Quebec are surrounded by two, English and French. Nevertheless, some of the Native languages spoken in Quebec appear to have maintained their vitality as a result of language planning.

In this thesis I argue that the language planning that was carried out in the late 1960s and 1970s in Quebec had a direct effect on the percentage of people who spoke a Native language as a mother tongue in the 1980s and early 1990s.

As evidence, I use statistics from Statistics Canada from 1951 to 1991 that document the number of mother-tongue speakers of Native languages in Quebec. These statistics show a definite decline in the percentage of mother-tongue speakers of Native languages before language planning began. Conversely, there was a stabilisation in the percentage of mother-tongue speakers of Native languages after considerable language planning efforts had been undertaken.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my much-loved father who, unfortunately, was no longer with us at the time of its completion.

Walter Vincent McIntyre

May 24, 1914 - February 26, 1997

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The use of minority languages is declining rapidly throughout the world. Krauss (1992), for example, estimates that anywhere between 20% and 50% of the world's languages will die in this century. His assessment for Native North American languages is more severe: of the estimated 187 Native languages in North America, he says that 149 (80%) are not presently being learned by Native children and are thus bound to die. Native languages spoken in Canada are among these languages in decline and are consequently in considerable danger of becoming extinct. McMillan (1995) estimates that of the approximately fifty-three Native languages currently spoken, only the three with the largest numbers of speakers, i.e., Inuktitut, Cree and Ojibway, have a reasonable chance of surviving in the 21st century.

The death of a language can result in the loss of the identity and culture of its entire speech community. For those Native peoples who have an oral tradition of transmitting their history and wisdom from one generation to the next, the loss of language can be devastating. Hale (1992) suggests that losing a language is also part of a larger process of loss of intellectual diversity. Moreover, similar to the extinction of a botanical or zoological species, a dead language cannot be resurrected. (The one exception to this rule is the revival of the Hebrew language which is now commonly used in a modern form.) Unlike immigrant languages in Canada, such as Ukrainian, if Native languages in this country die, there is no place in the world where they can be heard again.

The study of Native languages in Quebec is particularly important because such languages appear in some cases to have a better chance of surviving than many of the Native languages in other provinces. In fact, Shkilnyk (1985) goes as far as to say that in the early 1980s the decline in the use of Native languages in Quebec was reversed.

> Québec, ...is the only region where the accelerating trend of decline in the use of the aboriginal mother tongue has now been reversed. It is also the only province where the governments of Canada and Québec have made a substantial investment in the training of human resources and in the establishment of an institutional infrastructure for language research, development, and education. In this sense, Québec represents an important model of what can be achieved when governments and native people work together to preserve aboriginal cultures.

Consequently, the objective of this study is to examine the activities undertaken in recent decades that were aimed at preserving Quebec's Native languages as they may serve as an example for other Native communities.

In this thesis, I will first briefly discuss the factors that lead to the death of a language, the terminology used to refer to the relative health of a language, and the general theory behind deliberate language change, or language planning.

Second, I will discuss the groups that make up the Native nations of Quebec, the languages they speak, and the geographic location of their communities throughout the province. I will also provide statistics from 1951 to 1971, the period before language planning efforts began, that show the gradual decline in the number of speakers of Native languages in Quebec.

Third, I will provide an overview of the provincial and federal activities that led to an abundance of language planning for Native languages in Quebec. The time frame of these activities is primarily the late 1960s and early 1970s. During this time several events were instrumental in stimulating an interest in language promotion and preservation among policy makers, linguists, and Native people in Quebec. Some of these events include the federal government's statement on Indian policy in 1969, the Amerindianization of the Schools Project in 1972, and the National Indian Brotherhood's policy of Indian control of Indian education in 1972. To provide additional context, I will discuss the language planning activities that took place in Quebec during this time frame and the tangible results of these activities, such as the creation of orthographies and the development of classroom materials. I will then provide statistics from 1981-1991, the period after which much language planning had taken place, which will include population numbers, percentages of

the population who have a Native language as a mother tongue (the language a person first learned at home and still remembers), home language usage and retention rates of the various Native languages. Finally, I will compare these figures with the early statistics from Chapter Three to see what impact language planning had on the Native languages in Quebec.

I hope my thesis, a description of the language planning for the Native languages spoken in Quebec, will serve as a reference for Native language planners outside Quebec who may wish to adapt Quebec language planning activities for use in their communities.

In the development of this thesis I will use data from Statistics Canada as well as other studies on the retention rate of Native languages in Quebec. I will also use documents from relevant federal and provincial government departments written by educators, historians and policy makers, as well as articles written by linguists working on Native languages in Canada.

To date, the compilation of such information and its linkage to language planning and language retention statistics in Quebec has not been undertaken. By synthesizing information from a variety of sources, I hope to throw light on how language planning was first undertaken for Native languages in Quebec, what activities were pursued, and what the resulting accomplishments were in terms of language preservation.

Chapter 2

An Overview of Language Death and Language Planning

Before discussing the Quebec situation, it is helpful to review the terminology used in the classification of dying languages, the types of language death, and the various factors that cause a shift in usage from one language to another. In addition, language planning is defined and its various goals and activities are discussed.

A classification of declining languages

One may classify languages whose usage is in decline into several categories according to their perceived strength as living languages. The terms used to classify languages in this way often refer to a language's state of 'health', e.g., a 'dying language' or a 'dead language'. More than one set of terms for the diagnosis of the health of a language is used in the literature on dying languages, e.g., 'moribund', 'endangered', 'safe' (Krauss 1992), 'highly threatened', 'threatened', 'somewhat threatened', 'seemingly stable', 'not threatened', 'not likely to be threatened' (Marshall 1990). In this thesis, I will use the terms used in 1990 by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) (1990). According to the AFN, a 'flourishing' language is one in which over 80% of all persons are fluent speakers of the Native tongue. If only 60% of the population is fluent, that language is considered to be an 'enduring' language. When 50% of adults and less than 50% of younger people speak the language, it is said to be 'declining'. An 'endangered' language is one in which less than 50% of adult speakers and few, if any, young speakers are fluent. Finally, a 'critical' language has fewer than a total of ten speakers of any age. The AFN does not have a definition for a dead language. In this thesis, I will consider a language to be dead when there are no longer any people speaking it. The AFN terminology clearly represents a hierarchy of language health. Nonetheless, it is possible for a language to shift directly from being, for example, flourishing to being dead. It is also possible that a

language may decline in usage gradually descending through the categories as though failing in health. The type of death a language suffers depends on the reasons the speakers stopped speaking it and how quickly this decline occurs. We thus now turn our attention to the various types of language death.

Types of language death

Campbell and Muntzel (1989) describe four types of language death that are characterized according to the rapidity with which a given language is no longer spoken, and the reasons for the loss of speakers of that language. In their system of classification, the death of a language can be 'sudden', 'radical', 'gradual', or 'bottom-to-top'.

Sudden death is a type of language loss that is very abrupt and final. The sudden death of a language would be the result, for example, of a complete annihilation of speakers through massacre or war. This was the case with the Beothuk Indians in Newfoundland who were exterminated by European settlers and fishermen-trappers, starting in the time of settlement until the early 1800s (Rowe 1977). The Beothuk people became extinct and their language died with them. In this case, the language of the Beothuk went directly from being a flourishing language to being a dead one.

Radical death is also a rapid process, usually due to political repression that is so extreme that speakers abandon their language in order to survive. Unlike sudden death, where all of the speakers of a particular language are dead, with radical death there are still speakers of the language alive, but they do not use it. Campbell and Muntzel (1989) cite the example of two languages in El Salvador, Lenca and Cacaopera, that suffered radical deaths in the early 1930s. After a peasant uprising, the local Indians were believed to be Communists and many of them were killed. To escape death, the speakers of Lenca and Cacaopera abandoned their language to avoid being identified as Indians. Thus, like languages which suffered 'sudden death', Lenca and Cacaopera went directly from being flourishing languages to being dead ones.

Gradual death is the decline in the usage of a language over a longer period of time than is the case with sudden or radical death. With sudden or radical death, a language dies without alteration in the structure of the language, but with alteration to the population of speakers. Gradual death, on the other hand, is usually accompanied by a period of bilingualism, and then increasing proficiency and eventually monolingualism of younger generations in the language to which they have shifted. Although Bavin (1989) insisted that the Australian Aboriginal language Walpiri was not yet a dying language, she documented some of the changes that the language had undergone which were cause for some concern to its native speakers. Bavin observed that the Walpiri language contained many borrowings from English, had lost some distinctions in the Walpiri pronominal system, and that the speakers of Walpiri sometimes used codeswitching, i.e., they used English and Walpiri alternately. Bavin further noticed that these changes were present mostly in the speech of the younger generation. In fact, in one community in particular, the children answered their Walpiri-speaking parents in English.

The fourth type of language death described by Campbell and Muntzel (1989) is 'bottom-to-top death'. This occurs when a language is no longer in everyday use in family situations (bottom), but it is still spoken in certain official contexts such as in religious prayers or recited texts (top). Latin is an example of this type of death as it is no longer the mother tongue of any people, but prior to the mid 1960s remained in use in Catholicism.

Language shift

In radical, gradual, and bottom-to-top deaths, languages usually go through a decline in 'health' from flourishing to enduring, declining, endangered, critical, and dead, although some of these stages of decline may be bypassed, as discussed previously. Nonetheless, some type of decline occurs whenever speakers of one language transfer to the use of another language. This process of decline is referred to as *language shift*.

Language shift - the transfer in usage from one language to another - may be the result of language-contact situations in which one language community comes into frequent contact with another. Traditionally, the group that is more aggressive and has more advanced technology becomes the dominant group. This dominance of one group over another may lead to cultural and linguistic assimilation and thus to a shift in language. There are several reasons why the less dominant group may shift language allegiance.

One reason is that the less dominant group may be subjected to political pressure from the dominant group and be forced to adopt the dominant language. An example of such a case occurred in western South America when the conquering Inca pressured local people to adopt Quechua as their language (Wurm 1991).

Another possible reason for language shift is the minority language group's wish to be assimilated into the dominant culture and language in order to take advantage of social services offered in the society of the dominant language. That is, social services such as the education, health and legal systems of the dominant culture may be made available in the dominant language only. An example of such a case occurred in Port-au-Port peninsula, Newfoundland, where a dialect of Acadian French was the only language spoken until English-speaking Newfoundlanders began to settle there in the 1930s (King 1989). Essential services such as schooling, postal services, access to doctors, magistrates, and priests became available, but only in English. As of 1989, when King carried out her study, only six monolingual Acadian French speakers remained in Port-au-Port peninsula; all of them octogenarians. Now, ten years later, this dialect may well be dead.

Yet another reason for language shift is the perceived economic advantages of shifting to a different language, such as increased job opportunities which are sometimes associated with a dominant language. This is the case in Russia where younger generations are almost monolingual in Russian to the demise of minority languages such as Khanti, Mansi, and Nanay (Wurm 1991).

Finally, intermarriage between members of different linguistic communities may also result in language shift. Such a case has been documented in Southwest Ethiopia where the Kwegu people are surrounded by the more prestigious Mursi and Bodi people (Dimmendaal 1989). The Kwegu speak Kwegu and one of either the Mursi or Bodi languages, whereas both the Mursi and Bodi are monolingual. Mursi and Bodi men may marry Kwegu women who then become Mursi or Bodi, but, due to the perceived inferiority of the Kwegu, Kwegu men do not have the option of marrying Mursi or Bodi women. The Kwegu population and language are therefore diminishing as is their identity as a separate ethnic group.

Language planning

Minority languages will decline in usage and die unless a way can be found to slow, stop or even reverse the decline in usage of the language. Intervening to help a dying language to survive is one way *language planning* can be used.

Language planning can be defined as "...deliberate, institutionally organized attempts at affecting the linguistic or sociolinguistic status or development of a language" (Nahir 1984:294). Changes to the status or development of a language are "planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes" (Rubin & Jernudd 1971:xvi). Two scholars in particular have been credited with coining the term *language planning*. Weinreich first used the term as the title of a seminar he gave in 1957. Later, in 1959, Haugen first used the term in scholarly literature concerning the situation of Norwegian (Cooper 1989). Although there was some interest in the subject before 1957, it was during the 1950s that language planning took root as an academic discipline.

Planning the status or development of a language entails determining, by official policy, the usage of the languages of a speech community. It can take many forms and can be carried out by different agencies, that range from a federal government to local

community groups. Some examples of language planning and the organizations responsible for the planning would be:

- protecting the linguistic rights of minority groups through bilingual education, sanctioned by a federal or provincial government
- eliminating sexist language in school textbooks, by government institutions such as departments of education
- creating new alphabets by linguists
- reforming spelling by language academies
- modernizing religious texts by the Vatican
- legislating and enforcing unilingual sign laws by governments.

Language planning processes

There are several steps that are involved in the planning of a language. Haugen (1983) suggested a model that can act as a "framework for the starting points of language planners everywhere" (Haugen 1983:269). The four processes of his model include selection, codification, implementation and elaboration. These four processes cover the areas of society, language, norm and function.

	Norm	Function
Society	selection	implementation
Language	codification	elaboration

Figure 2.1

As Haugen (1983) points out, selection and codification deal with the form, whereas implementation and elaboration deal with the function. On the other hand, selection and

implementation are societal considerations, external to the language, and codification and elaboration are linguistic considerations, internal to the language.

When a language problem has been identified and a choice must be made regarding the language, this is what Haugen refers to as 'selection'. It may be, for example, choosing to replace English with Irish in Ireland.

Once a norm has been chosen, 'codification' involves giving explicit, usually written form to that norm. Haugen gives the example of Japanese which originally was written using the ideographic *kanji* of Chinese.

Following the selection and codification of a norm, the next process is the 'implementation'. The implementation of a selected writing system, for example, would involve writing, publishing, and distributing publications which are written in the chosen system.

The final process in Haugen's model is 'elaboration' which he says is in many ways the continuation of the implementation.

Haugen admits that his model of language planning processes does not provide a theory of language planning. In his own words it "provides a description of what language planners have done, but it does not tell us why they have done it, nor what goals they have hoped to attain" (Haugen 1983:274). The goals involved in language planning were identified by Nahir (1984).

Language planning goals

Language planning can be characterized in terms of specific language planning goals. The most inclusive list of goals was compiled by Nahir (1984), as follows:

1. Language Purification, consisting of two types: a. External Purification, b. Internal Purification. External Purification is "prescription of usage to preserve the 'purity' of language and protect it from foreign influences" (Nahir 1984:299). Internal Purification involves " 'protecting' the accepted standard code as it exists at a given time against

deviation that occurs from *within* in the form of non-normative, 'incorrect' usage in a language" (Nahir 1984:300). Various language academies such as the Italian Academy established in 1582 and the French Academy established in 1635 have been involved in Language Purification for centuries (Nahir 1984).

2. Language Revival is "the attempt to turn a language with few or no surviving native speakers back into a normal means of communication in a community" (Nahir 1984:301). The only successful example of such a revival is the case of the Hebrew language. Initiated at the turn of the twentieth century, language planners managed to bring Hebrew back from being a written language to being an everyday language of communication (Nahir 1984).

3. Language Reform is "deliberate change in specific aspects of language, intended to facilitate its use. Usually this involves changes in, or simplification of, orthography, spelling, lexicon, or grammar" (Nahir 1984:302). For example, early in the twentieth century there was a successful reform in Turkish orthography and lexicon (Nahir 1984).

4. Language Standarization is "the attempt to turn a language or dialect spoken in a region, usually a single political unit, into one that is accepted as the major language of the region and, as a result, is often considered its best form" (Nahir 1984:303). In the 1920s, Swahili was chosen to be used as the language of education in East Africa. In choosing Swahili as the standard, it was then necessary to decide on a common orthography and dialect (Whiteley 1969).

5. Language Spread(ing) is "the attempt to increase the numbers of speakers of a language at the expense of another language (or languages)" (Nahir 1984:305). Cobarrubias and Lasa (1987) cite the case of the Catalan language in Catalonia, Spain. Linguistic assimilation was the goal of the Franco regime from 1939 to 1975. When the autonomous government and parliament were abolished in Catalonia, Catalan was no longer the official language of the region, and books written in the language were burned. Shortly after Franco's death a new government was established and the process of

language spread for Catalan began. The spread of the language was pursued with official sanction through statutes and laws promoting the spread of Catalan through education, public administration, media, and the workplace.

6. Lexical Modernization is "word creation or adaptation as a way to assist developed, standard languages (at times referred to as 'mature') that have borrowed concepts too fast for their natural development to accommodate" (Nahir 1984:307). In Sweden, a center for technical terminology was created in 1941. Language planners at the center work with experts in different fields to elaborate terminologies and to produce Swedish glossaries. The glossaries contain terms and definitions in Swedish with translations of the terms in English, French, German, and sometimes other languages (Bucher 1981).

7. Terminological Unification is "establishing unified terminologies, mostly technical, by clarifying and defining them, in order to reduce communicative ambiguity, especially in the technological and scientific domains" (Nahir 1984:308). The unification of terminology and compilation of terminological glossaries and dictionaries was a goal of the Arab Language Academy specified in a law in 1976 (Ibrahim 1979).

8. Stylistic Simplification is "simplifying language *usage* in lexicon, grammar, and style, in order to reduce communicative ambiguity between professionals and bureaucrats on the one hand and the public on the other, and among professionals and bureaucrats themselves" (Nahir 1984:310). Battison (1980) cites the example of forms and documents for the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. While the people who must complete these forms are tourists, students, and permanent residents with limited abilities in English, Battison found that even college-educated native speakers of English had trouble understanding the forms. As a result, a document design center was created to improve communication through better-designed documents.

9. Interlingual Communication, consisting of two types: a. Worldwide Interlingual Communication, subdivided into Auxiliary languages and English as a *Lingua Franca*, b.

Regional Interlingual Communication, subdivided into Regional *Lingua Franca* and Mutual Intelligibility between Cognate Languages. Interlingual Communication is "facilitating linguistic communication between members of *different* speech communities by enhancing the use of either an artificial (or 'auxiliary') language or a 'language of wider communication' as an additional language used as a *lingua franca* either throughout the world or in parts thereof for verbal or written communication" (Nahir 1984:312). An example of an auxiliary language used for worldwide communication is Esperanto, an invented language which uses word bases from primarily European languages and a simple grammatical system. An example of a regional *lingua franca* would be the use of Russian between communities that spoke different languages in the former Soviet Union.

10. Language Maintenance, consisting of two types: a. Dominant Language Maintenance, b. Ethnic Language Maintenance. Language Maintenance is "the preservation of the use of a group's native language, as a first or even as a second language, where political, social, economic, educational, or other pressures threaten or cause (or are perceived to threaten or cause) a decline in the status of the language as a means of communication, a cultural medium, or a symbol of group or national identity" (Nahir 1984:315). A Canadian example of dominant language maintenance is French in Quebec. Although the Quebec population was 80% French-speaking in 1976, the provincial government passed Bill 101 in 1977. Bill 101 is a unilingual language policy aimed at reducing the use of English in the private and public spheres (McConnell 1977). A case of ethnic language maintenance, also for French, was documented by Schweda (1980). In a small American town in Northern Maine, bordering Quebec and Northern New Brunswick, the St. John Valley Bilingual Education Program began in the 1970s. The program was developed to eliminate cultural biases and negative feelings towards people with a French heritage. Pedagogical materials including textbooks were written specifically for the program keeping in mind the dialect of French spoken in the area and

the cultural contexts of the students instead of relying on culturally irrelevant teaching materials from Quebec or France.

11. Auxiliary-Code Standardization is "standardizing or modifying the marginal, auxiliary aspects of language such as signs for the deaf, place names, and rules of transliteration and transcription, either to reduce ambiguity and thus improve communication or to meet changing social, political, or other needs or aspirations" (Nahir 1984:318). An everyday situation, such as the one cited by Rubin (1979), shows a need for auxiliary-code standardization in our day-to-day lives. In 1979 the county of Santa Cruz, California, ordered a study of the need for street name changes. This decision was the result of confusion facing emergency service personnel who had recently received a call about a fire on "Pine". Three groups of firefighters had to be sent out to each of Pine Street, Pine Place, and Pine Avenue. Had the fire been on "Redwood", there would have been 29 possibilities.

Nahir's (1984) 11 goals of language planning do not refer to goals of one language planning organization at one given time. For example, a community that decides on the goal of language revival will not at the same time have the goal of language maintenance because the language would have to be revived before it can be maintained. This is not to say, however, that language maintenance would not eventually be a goal for that language, but that the two goals would not logically be pursued concurrently. The decision to work towards a certain goal or set of goals can be based on many factors, such as the desires and expectations of the speech community of the language, availability of native speakers of the language, and the availability of funds to undertake the activities involved in language planning. Table 2.1 shows what I consider to be possible language planning goals for languages classified according to their relative 'health'.

Possible language planning goals for languages of varying categories of health						
	HEALTH					
GOAL	Flourishing	Enduring	Declining	Endangered	Critical	Dead
Purification	x	x				
Revival					x	x
Reform	x	x	x	x		
Standardize	x	x	x	x		
Spread			x	x	x	
Lex. Mod.	x	x				
Term. Unif.	x	x				
Stylistic Sim	x	x				
Int-ling Com	x	x				
Maintenance	x	x	x	x		
Aux-code	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 2.1

Once the desired goals have been decided upon for a language, language planners can then prioritize these goals. For example, it would be logical for planners of flourishing and enduring languages to pursue language maintenance as a priority, and pursue other goals once the maintenance of the language has been assured. For example, planners of flourishing and enduring languages may begin by ensuring that the right to use the language in all levels of society is maintained and encouraged, and that it is the primary language of use in schools and in the media (Language Maintenance). Subsequently, the planners may concentrate on promoting one standard dialect in the schools and media (Language Standardization) and delegate a team of planners to ensure that the language contains appropriate terms for words that may be entering everyday usage from other languages - words for computer, minivan, and compact disk, for example (Lexical Modernization).

Planners of declining and endangered languages might set the goals of Spread or Maintenance as their priority. Later, setting the goals of Reform, Standardization, and Auxiliary-Code Standardization could assist in facilitating the spread of the language by simplifying it, by choosing a standard dialect to promote and/or by increasing the visibility of place names in the language thus strengthening its status. Planners involved in declining or endangered languages would be less likely to focus on goals such as

Purification, Lexical Modernization, Terminological Unification and Interlingual Communication, until the languages are first significantly strengthened.

Planners of critical and dead languages have language revival as their logical priority. Once the language is revived, it can be spread and maintained. Unlike planners of dead languages, planners of critical languages may have language spread as a goal along with revival, as there are still some speakers living who could teach their language. Like declining and endangered languages, critical and dead languages may benefit from the psychological boost of seeing place names written in the respective target languages, thus auxiliary-code standardization may be a goal for languages in these positions.

Language planning activities

There are many examples of the measures or activities taken by language planners to attain their language planning goals - e.g., an appointed committee deciding what is proper French, moving from an Arabic to a Latin writing system in Turkey, giving official sanction to a language through statutes and laws, compiling terminological glossaries and dictionaries, and changing street names, among others. These measures are all examples of language planning activities.

The activities involved in pursuing the goals of language planning may be broadly classified into one of two types, depending on whether the activity is meant to affect the linguistic structure or the usage of the language (Kloss 1969). Activities pertaining to orthographic standardization, vocabulary expansion, grammar, selecting an alphabet, etc., affect the structure of the language and are considered *corpus planning*. Activities such as choosing a specific dialect to be taught in schools and used in textbooks, in the courts, in the workplace, in the mass media, and in official documents, or choosing an official language for a country, affect the usage of the language and are considered *status planning*.

Both corpus and status planning activities may be undertaken for each of the 11 language planning goals. For example, a community that has language spread as its goal

may establish newspapers, radio programs, and teaching materials in the language under consideration. These are activities that involve the structure of the language - i.e., the corpus. Giving the language official status within the community is an attempt to affect the usage of the language - i.e., the status. Conversely, sometimes only one of either corpus or status planning is necessary. Language planners who have the purification of a language as their goal may not need to increase its status in any way.

A case study

The field of language planning has been one of descriptive, rather than prescriptive inquiry. Case studies of language planning are numerous (e.g., Gallagher 1971, Rubin and Jernudd (eds.) 1971, Fishman (ed.) 1977, Cobarrubias & Lasa 1987, Dorian (ed.) 1989, Robins & Uhlenbeck (eds.) 1991) and they provide a good description of language planning at work including the goals and activities associated with it. One such case study by Macnamara (1971) focuses on the Irish language. It provides a good example of language planning that, over time, was undertaken by more than one organization and whose planners pursued many language planning goals including Maintenance and Spread initially, and Standardization, Reform, Stylistic Simplification, and Lexical Modernization as time went on. Language planning for Irish began when, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the English language gradually replaced Irish in Ireland, much to the dismay of many Irish nationalists. As a result, the Gaelic League in late 19th century attempted to maintain Irish as a spoken language in Ireland (Language Maintenance). The League obtained support from political and religious groups, and from many Irish people. The League started a newspaper, promoted Irish literature and the arts, and promoted the teaching of Irish in the country's schools. In some cases, including in kindergarten classes, Irish was used as the language of instruction, with English being introduced in the higher grades. Language Standardization was another goal with a particular dialect initially being chosen as the one in which school books were written. This gradually changed to a

different dialect, in favor of inter-lingual communication because the latter was a type of regional *lingua franca* between dialects. Language Reform was attempted with a simplified spelling in 1945 requested by the prime minister of Ireland. In 1953 the Translation Office undertook Stylistic Simplification with a simplified and standardized grammar. The Department of Education subsequently pursued Lexical Modernization providing Irish equivalents for modern technical terms. Later, in 1964, the Commission on the Revival of Irish had as its mission to promote Irish as the national language of Ireland and to spread its use as a spoken language (Language Spread). The use of Irish in the schools was so strongly encouraged by the Department of Education in the 1960s, that schools in which all subjects were taught in Irish received more funds per student in grants. In addition, students were rewarded with a 5 - 10% increase in their examination grades if they responded to the questions in Irish, not English. Though unsuccessful in restoring Irish to the status of a language of everyday usage, the planning of Irish was successful in other ways, such as in increasing its status to that of the national and first official language of Ireland. Within just this single case study, there are examples of at least seven of Nahir's 11 language goals undertaken - viz., Language Maintenance, Language Spread, Language Standardization, Inter-lingual Communication, Language Reform, Stylistic Simplification, and Lexical Modernization.

Summary

Languages may be classified according to their 'health' which is defined by the percentage of speakers; a language may be classified as 'flourishing', 'enduring', 'declining', 'endangered', 'critical', or 'dead'. There are various factors that can lead to the death of a language. Sudden death can be brought about by genocide or war, radical death by abandonment of the language, and gradual and bottom-to-top death by cultures in contact. With radical, gradual, and bottom-to-top death there is a shift in the use of one language to another. This shift may be forced, by political pressure, or voluntary, in favor

of social, economic, or marital benefits. A conscious effort to slow, stop, or reverse the decline in the use of a language is one aspect of language planning. Language planners may choose one or more of 11 language planning goals. In attempting to achieve these goals the activities involved can be divided into work on the structure of the language, Corpus Planning, or the promotion of the usage of the language, or Status Planning.

Chapter 3

The Native Nations of Quebec and the Decline in Native Language Usage

In this chapter I will discuss the Native nations of Quebec, their populations and where they are located in the province, and provide some statistics on the number of speakers of Native languages before language planning began in the 1970s. I will also outline some of the reasons for the decline in the use of these Native languages between the 17th and 20th centuries.

Native nations in Quebec and their languages

There are eleven aboriginal nations in Quebec - Abenaki, Algonquin, Attikamek, Cree, Malecite, Micmac, Montagnais, Naskapi, Huron-Wendat, Mohawk, and Inuit (Dumas 1995). The Native peoples live in approximately 55 communities across Quebec and comprise less than one per cent of the population of the province (Ibid.). The geographic distribution of the nations throughout the province is indicated in Figure 3.1. The population of each nation, according to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1999) is indicated in Table 3.1.

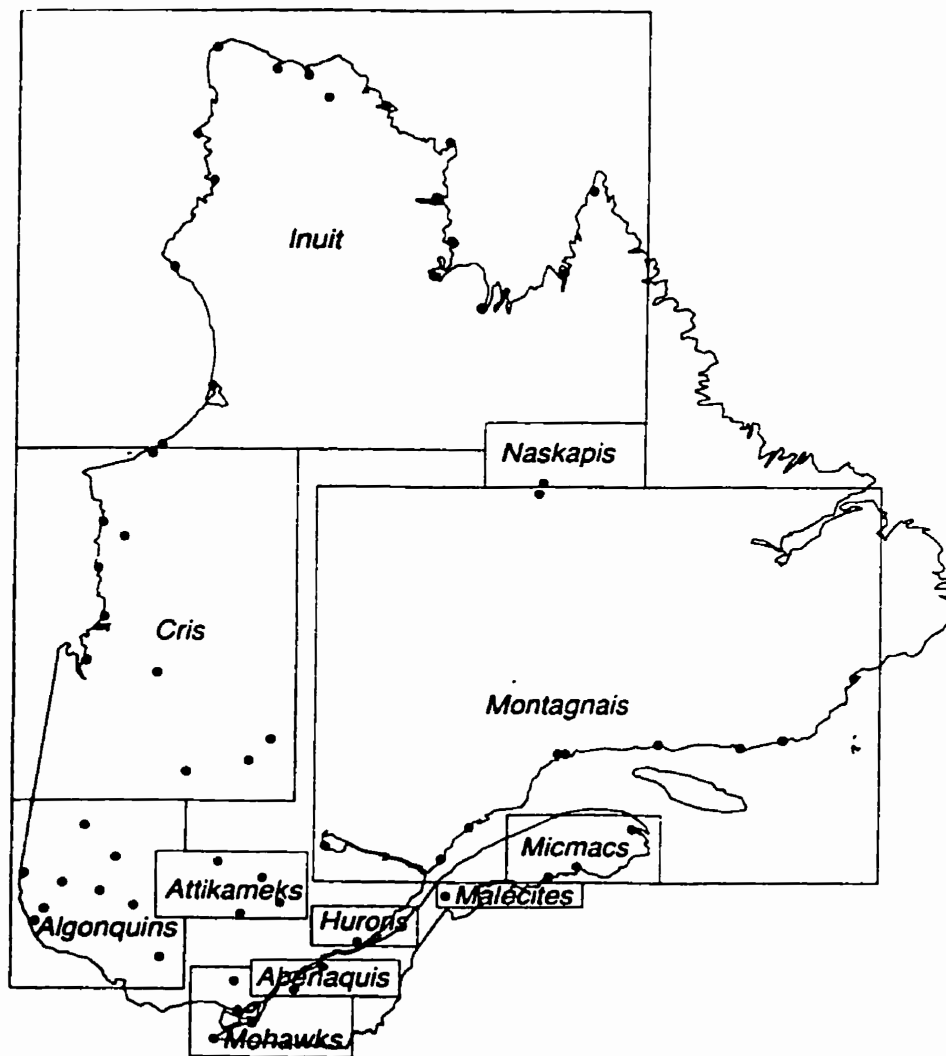

Figure 3.1 The Native nations of Quebec (Drouilly 1991)

Native population of Quebec by nation (Dec. 1998-Native, Dec. 1996-Inuit)

Nation	Population
Abenakis	1,886
Algonquins	7,976
Attikameks	4,898
Crees	12,424
Hurons-Wendat	2,791
Malecites	570
Micmacs	4,371
Mohawks	10,472
Montagnais	13,757
Naskapis	569
Inuit	8,506
TOTAL	68,220

Table 3.1

Within the Native nations, there are three language families: Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Eskimo-Aleut. East and West Abenaki, Algonquin, Attikamek, Cree, Malecite, Micmac, Montagnais and Naskapi belong to the Algonquian language family, and Huron-Wendat and Mohawk are Iroquoian languages. Inuktitut is the only language of the Eskimo-Aleut family found in Quebec (Collis 1992).

According to Bright (1992) and Collis (1992), Huron-Wendat and East Abenaki are dead languages. Another language, Malecite, also known as Passamaquoddy, is still living, but not among the Malecite community in Quebec. Though speakers of Malecite can be found on the other side of the eastern Quebec border in New Brunswick and across the Canadian border in Maine, French is currently the language spoken by members of the Malecite nation living in Quebec. Therefore, there remain nine spoken Native languages in

Quebec. These nine languages show varying degrees of 'health', as described in Chapter Two, ranging from 'flourishing' to 'critical'. Inuktitut, Naskapi, Cree, and Attikamek are 'flourishing languages'; Montagnais and Algonquin are 'enduring languages'; Micmac and Mohawk are 'endangered'; and West Abenaki is in 'critical condition' and on the verge of extinction with only six speakers in 1991 (Bright 1992).

Pre-language planning use of Native languages

It is difficult to establish accurately the rates at which individual Native languages in Quebec have been used as living languages over the past fifty years. The reason is that federal census data from the 1950s and 1960s do not provide details on individual languages. The figures for Native language speakers in early census reports were listed under 'Indian and Eskimo' and did not distinguish between the Algonquian, Iroquoian and Eskimo-Aleut language families. The census of 1971, however, provided a little more detail on the number of Native language speakers by separating the category 'Indian and Eskimo' into two categories. This census report provided figures for the number of speakers of 'Native Indian' languages and 'Eskimo' languages. It also included figures for usage of a Native language as a 'mother tongue' and as a 'home language'. (The term 'mother tongue' was used by Statistics Canada to refer to the language a person first learned at home in childhood and still understood at the time the census data was gathered. The term 'home language', on the other hand, referred to the language a person spoke most often at home.)

Burnaby and Beaujot (1986) compiled statistics on Native language speakers in Quebec from the census reports of 1951 to 1981. They divided the total number of mother-tongue speakers of all Native languages by the total population of Native people. In doing so, they were able to show the percentage of the Native population who spoke any Native language as a mother tongue for each of the years 1951, 1961, 1971, and 1981. Table 3.2 contains these percentages and indicates a considerable decline in the percentage of Native people speaking a Native language as a first language from 1951 to 1971 despite a

considerable increase in the Native peoples' population. The figures for 1981 will be presented in Chapter Four following a discussion of the language planning efforts made in Quebec in the 1970s. This will allow the drawing of some conclusions about the effects of language planning on the number of Native language speakers in Quebec.

Total Aboriginal Ethnic Origin and Percentage Aboriginal Mother Tongue Quebec 1951-1971			
	1951	1961	1971
Population	16 620	21 343	36 595
Mother Tongue %	86 %	77.4 %	57 %

Table 3.2

Reasons for the decline in number of speakers of Native languages

There are a variety of reasons for the decline in the number of speakers of Native languages in Quebec in both the early and more recent history of the province. The loss of speakers has been principally due to wars, diseases, assimilation through intermarriage, and mandatory formal education.

Wars causing the deaths of Native people began as early as the mid-1600s, when King Louis XIV sent 600 troops to New France to crush the Iroquois because they were allies of the English (Indian and Northern Affairs 1973). During a period of famine in the 1690s, the governor of the colony, Comte de Frontenac, retaliated against raiding Mohawks by destroying Mohawk settlements and taking many prisoners (INA 1973). Wars of revenge among the Natives themselves became wars of extermination as the Iroquois acquired firearms from the Dutch and English in trade for beaver pellets. Conversely, France would not sell firearms to the Huron. This left the Huron at the mercy of the Iroquois who wanted a monopoly on the fur trade (INA 1973).

Diseases brought to Quebec by European settlers were also responsible for many Native deaths. Natives had no immunity to foreign diseases such as measles and smallpox, and the impact of these imported diseases on the Native populations was devastating (Trofimenkoff 1983). Furthermore, sickness, exacerbated by shortage of food supplies, resulted when Natives were driven out of their homes by invading settlers (Kinkade 1991).

As to assimilation, the population of Quebec changed from a principally Native population to a principally European one in the 1600s. Between 1665 and 1673, girls from orphanages in Paris were sent to Quebec specifically to marry settlers and army officers and to populate the new colony (Trofimenkoff 1983). European men also married Native women. The Hudson's Bay Company, an important employer in the fur trade at the time, even had an assimilatory language policy for its employees:

> As a preparative to education, that the mother and children be always addressed and habituated to converse in the vernacular dialect (whether English or French) of the Father, and that he be encouraged to devote part of his leisure hours to teach the children their A.B.C. and Cathechism together with such further elementary instructions as time and circumstances may permit (Oliver 1915:756).

Finally, formal education was imposed on Native peoples throughout Canada by the federal government in the early 1950s (Collis 1992). Federal residential schools were built for Native students, and instruction was in English only. Native children were even reprimanded and punished for speaking their Native languages. From 1960 to 1975, the residential schools were closed and Native students were integrated into the regular sections of the provincial schools where instruction was either in French or English (Collis 1992). Consequently, the federal and provincial schools were responsible for much of the linguistic and cultural assimilation of Native people in Quebec through their use of non-Native languages for instruction and their intolerance towards the use of Native languages by their pupils. As Kinkade (1991) adds, this intolerance led Native students to believe their languages were inferior and not worth retaining.

Summary

The people of the 11 Native nations in Quebec currently make up less than one percent of the population of the province. There are 55 Native communities throughout the province and there remain nine living Native languages belonging to one of three language families. Only four of the living Native languages can be considered to be flourishing languages. From 1951 to 1971 the proportion of Native people who used a Native language as a mother tongue declined from 86% to 57%. The decline in the number of Native speakers in the early history of Quebec (beginning in the 1600s) can be traced to wars, disease, and assimilation through intermarriage. In more recent history (1900s), the decline in the number of Native speakers is more likely to be the result of a formal European-style system of education that prohibited the use of languages other than French or English.

Chapter 4

Language Planning for Quebec's Native Languages

This chapter will address the social and political climate that stimulated provincial and federal language planning in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, the federal government's responsibility for Native education, and Native peoples' reactions to proposed federal changes in Native education. Also included will be a description of language planning activities for Native groups in Quebec in the late 1960s and the 1970s, and a discussion of some of the activities involved. Finally, some of the resulting accomplishments will be listed, as well as some conclusions about the language planning goals that were present for each language.

Historical context: provincial language planning

The 1960s constituted a decade when many francophone Quebecers began to identify very strongly with their heritage and their culture. It was an eventful decade during which there were many social changes, such as the strengthening of the authority of the provincial government in areas of culture and language following the establishment of the Quebec Ministry of Culture, the transfer of administrative jurisdiction of Native people in northern Quebec from the federal government to the provincial government with the creation of a Director General of New Quebec, the increased control by the provincial government over the Quebec education system with the establishment of a provincial Ministry of Education and, finally, at the end of the decade, the entrenchment of French language rights in Quebec with the Charter of the French language. The common denominator of among all of these events is the obvious symbol of Quebec culture and distinctiveness, the French language.

To put these events in proper historical context, it should be noted that the post-World War II economic boom was waning in the 1960s, and unemployment in Quebec was

high. French Quebecers resented English prosperity compared with the high unemployment rate present among francophones. Even during the Second World War, when unemployment rates were low, French-speaking soldiers were confronted with the fact that the majority of officers were English-speaking, that there were few French textbooks in the military schools, and that promotions depended on a knowledge of English (Trofimenkoff 1983). Furthermore, the Navy, Air Force, and most specialized war-related military services operated solely in English (Ibid.). French Canadians constituted only approximately 15% of the Air Force and 5% of the Navy, which is why, coupled with the fact that Canada was seen as a predominantly English-speaking country, the necessity to operate in English may have been acceptable to the French military personnel. However, what francophones resented about the situation in Quebec was that anglophones had better paying jobs and better economic opportunities than francophones within the predominantly French province (Ibid.).

In 1961, the Quebec government established the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and within it Quebec's *Office de la langue française*, or French Language Bureau. With this step, a process of 'purifying and strengthening' the French language in Quebec was initiated, ushering in Quebec's control over the use of the French language. With the advent of such cultural 'strengthening' of the language, a new nationalistic sense of pride in the 'langue québécoise' began to develop in the province. This pride that Quebecers felt for their language encompassed both the French language as prescribed by the French Language Bureau and the French version of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation known as 'Radio-Canada', and extended to the 'vulgar' language commonly known as 'joual'. There was a proliferation of songs, poems, and plays written in Quebec's French dialect (Ibid.).

In 1963 the Quebec government created a position of Director General of New Quebec (the northernmost area of the Province) and began taking over administrative responsibilities for the Native inhabitants of this region from the federal government. The

federal government had historically had jurisdiction in this region because traditionally it had been responsible for the welfare of the Native peoples in Canada. The provincial government took over responsibility from the federal government in matters of justice, housing, health, and education. In doing so, the services which were previously offered in English by federal civil servants were offered by provincial civil servants who spoke French. The assertion of French language rights in the province was beginning to translate into widening the boundaries within which French was spoken. Moreover, some Inuit place names were replaced with French ones. In fact, replacing Native place names with French ones was not new. For example, between 1915 and 1920 the provincial government's Geography Commission deleted 15,000 Native place names from maps, survey drawings and descriptions of territorial divisions (Trudel 1992).

Another significant event occurred in 1964, when the provincial Ministry of Education was established in Quebec and thus, for the first time since the establishment of schools in the Province in the 1870s, the state, not the church, was to control the administrative, financial and pedagogical aspects of education in the province. There was much public opposition to ending church involvement completely, and as a result, the government did not abolish the religious nature of the schools, but made them state-run. Consequently, the Province now had the authority to limit the number of English-language schools within its borders in favour of more French-language schools.

In 1969 Bill 63, an act intended to promote the French language in Quebec, was passed. Although the Bill ensured that immigrants to Quebec would send their children to French schools, and that the quality of French being taught as a second language would improve, many francophones thought that the Bill was much too lenient (Wardhaugh 1983) and did not adequately strengthen French. The Native people and the Inuit were not mentioned in Bill 63.

In 1974, Bill 63 was replaced by Bill 22 which made French the one and only official language of the Province. Unlike Bill 63, Bill 22 granted "special status to the

territory of New Quebec" (Laurin 1977:76), by asserting that "the School Board of New Quebec may provide instruction to the Indians and Inuits in their own language" (Mallea 1977:62).

In 1977, a separatist government was elected in Quebec and Bill 22 was replaced by Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language. Bill 101 ensured that in Quebec, Quebecers had the right to work, to be taught, to be informed, to be served, to receive public services and to be able to express themselves in French (Laurin 1977). Mandatory 'francization' made French the language of work, signs in the province had to be uniquely in French, and access to English schools was severely restricted. In addition, English was no longer an official language of the legislature and courts (Wardhaugh 1983). Whereas Bill 22 gave Native people the right to use their languages for instruction in the schools in New Quebec only, Bill 101 extended to "all the Amerindians of Quebec the right to receive instruction in their own language if they wish it" (Laurin 1977:76).

The renewed sense of national pride in Quebec during the 1960s was not shared by other Canadian provinces because so much of Quebec's identity revolved around the French language. Compared to English, French was a minority language in Canada. In order to avoid assimilation, Quebecers felt it was important for French to be dominant and secure at least in their own territory. During what became known as the Quiet Revolution in Quebec in the 1960s, the Quebec provincial government took a much more dominant role in the language of its inhabitants. As Trofimenkoff (1983) pointed out, the French language became the primary characteristic of French Canadians. National pride was strong in Quebec and, in that Province, nationalism almost always involved language.

Federal language planning

While the Quebec government was working towards strict unilingualism for the Province in the 1960s, the federal government was working towards French-English

bilingualism for the country. Moreover, the 1960s was a time when the question of who had responsibility for the Native people of Canada was addressed.

With the Quiet Revolution taking place in Quebec in the 1960s, Canada's Prime Minister Lester Pearson tried to find a way to solve some of Quebec's social problems because he considered them to be the country's problems (Trofimenkoff 1983). Consequently, he appointed the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. The role of the commission was to advise the federal government on how to accommodate an equal partnership between the two 'founding races' (Granatstein *et al.* 1986). The final report of the Commission specifically stated that it was concerned only with the 'founding' (French and English) and 'ethnic' (immigrant) languages of Canada and could therefore not consider the Native languages. As a result of the Commission's work, there was an increased level of support for French groups outside the province of Quebec, and more federal civil service and military opportunities for French speakers. As a result, the presence of French was being felt more strongly throughout the country.

In 1969, two years after the official release of the Commission's report, Canada became an officially bilingual country under the Official Languages Act. Federal civil servants in English-speaking provinces began signing up for French classes in order to remain in their jobs and be eligible for promotion. Likewise, there began a boom in French immersion education across Canada for children because parents thought it would be essential for their children to be bilingual. The fact that Canada was now an officially bilingual country provided an enormous boost to the status of French within the country.

Federal responsibility for Native education

In 1967 the Federal Government released a report entitled *A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada*. The report provided an analysis of the attitude of the Federal Government towards Native education from 1867 up to the time of the report. It described the Federal Government's attitude between 1867 and 1945 as one of paternalism

and protectionism, because the Native people lived on federal reserves and their needs such as health and housing were the responsibility of the Federal Government. Since Native people lived and died on reserves during that time, the Federal Government believed that education was not really necessary for them. From 1945 to 1965 the Government's attitude towards Native people changed to one of integration. The Government wanted Natives to integrate into Canadian society and to attend the same schools as non-Natives did. Education was seen by the Federal Government as an effective way of integrating Natives into society at large. However, critical of the Federal Government's attitudes towards Native peoples and its desire to integrate the Native into non-Native schools, the authors of the report made a statement that the preservation of language was an essential factor in the preservation of cultural identity:

> Certain texts emphasize that the Indians must retain their particular cultural value in this transition from a traditional to a modern society, but it is not made clear what these values are. There is no reference to preservation of language which is a primary factor in the preservation of the cultural identity of a community (Government of Canada 1967:29).

The authors of the report acknowledged, among other things, the importance of the use of Native languages with regards to language of instruction in schools. Furthermore, they wrote of the Federal Government's ambiguous policy about the preservation of Native languages and suggested that the loss of languages would facilitate integration into Canadian society:

> We have found no proposal that education or any part of it be given in an Indian language or that courses in Indian languages be offered. It is true that this would be more difficult to accomplish in the joint schools than in reserve schools, but it is conceivable that, even in the joint schools, Indian children could be given the opportunity to improve their written and spoken knowledge of their own language, even if this required that special courses be offered. The lack of qualified teaching staff for the Indian languages is the principal reason for this serious weakness.
>
> The government's policy on the preservation of the Indian languages is ambiguous. It would appear that there is a general unwillingness to make open statements on this subject. However, the lack of attention shown towards the teaching of the Indian languages in

> the courses of study would seem to indicate rather clearly that the Indian languages might be allowed to disappear and be replaced by either English or French (in Quebec). The great number of Indian languages and dialects and the need to integrate Indians with Canadian society might justify this measure.
>
> The question then arises as to whether integration does not thus become actual assimilation. The loss of a people's language leads almost inevitably to the loss of their own ethnic identity and cultural traditions (Government of Canada 1967:37).

Even though the Commission acknowledged the primary role of language in cultural identity and suggested that the federal government had been ambiguous about preserving Native languages, the authors of the report offered no clear recommendation to the Government about Native language education. Likewise, the Commission recognized that Native children entering school did not necessarily speak the language of instruction. However, instead of suggesting Native language instruction, it recommended more remedial courses in their second language, English or French.

At the end of the 1960s the Federal Government published a document that was denounced by Native groups across Canada. The Federal Government in its Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy (1969) suggested repealing the Indian Act from the constitution, letting the provincial governments take over responsibility for Native people and their education, transferring control of reserves to the Native people living on them, removing the legal distinction between Natives and other Canadians, and leaving the responsibility of promoting Native culture and languages entirely up to Native peoples (Government of Canada 1969). Native groups considered the policy to be an attempt to assimilate them into the larger society. As Granatstein (1986) points out, the policy unintentionally made the Native people more conscious of their collective identity and more insistent on their special status. The policy so infuriated Native groups across Canada that they united in officially expressing their disapproval and making their own recommendations for changing the status quo especially in regards to Native education.

Indian Control of Indian Education

In November 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), a national group of people advocating Native issues, later known as the Assembly of First Nations, published a report entitled "Indian Control of Indian Education." Native people nation-wide felt the need for greater or even exclusive involvement in and control of the education of their children. Native parents were concerned about seeing their children drop out of school due to lack of interest and its foreignness to Native culture. Likewise, parents felt that their children were losing their language along with their "Indianness", or sense of Indian identity, because instruction in the schools was given in English or French. The authors of the report recognized the importance of the use of Native languages in the education system to foster pride. The three main points contained in the report concerning Native languages in education dealt with (1) the language of instruction in the schools, (2) training of Native teachers as instructors, and (3) curriculum development.

The Brotherhood wanted pre-school and primary classes to be taught in the Native language of the community, with the introduction of the second language, English or French, to take place after the student had acquired a solid knowledge of the mother tongue. The report states:

> While much can be done by parents in the home and by the community on the reserve to foster facility in speaking and understanding [of the Native language], there is a great need for formal instruction in the language. There are two aspects to this language instruction: (1) teaching in the native language, and (2) teaching the native language (National Indian Brotherhood 1972:15).

The desire for Native language teaching led to the second point, that of trained Native teachers. The report states:

> The need for teachers who are fluent in the local language is dramatically underlined by this concern for the preservation of Indian identity through language instruction (National Indian Brotherhood 1972:15).

Some ways the authors suggested to increase the number of Native teachers were

> ...to have teacher-aides specialize in Indian languages, ...to have local language-resource aides to assist professional teachers, ...to waive rigid teaching requirements to enable Indian people who are fluent in Indian languages to become full-fledged teachers (National Indian Brotherhood 1972:15).

Curriculum development was the third crucial element in the plan to promote Native language instruction in the schools. The authors of the Brotherhood's report called for funds and personnel to develop and run language programs to study the linguistic structures of Native languages and to produce writing systems for those languages that were unwritten. Where it was not practical to have instruction in a school completely in the Native language, due, for example, to a lack of fluent speakers, the Brotherhood suggested formal teaching of the language as a second language that would lead to full academic credit.

The NIB's report on education with its emphasis on the importance of first language instruction has been crucial in the language planning of Native languages in Canada. It was written by Native people in response to a Federal Government document that they considered assimilatory. That single government document seemed threatening enough to some Native peoples that it served as a catalyst for Native groups across the country to unite and fight for the preservation of their respective languages. Considering the amount of French language planning that was taking place in Quebec, it is not surprising that Native leaders in Quebec were inspired to fight for the preservation and promotion of their languages.

Native language planning in Quebec

It was in the late 1960s (well before the NIB's report on education) that Native chiefs in Quebec first requested that primary education for Native children be given in the Native language (Bourque 1979). The Native language was the only language known to Native children in some areas of Quebec. The Director of Education at the Quebec Regional Office of Indian Affairs (QROIA) at the time was Aurélien Gill. Gill, a Montagnais Native

from Pointe Bleue, was in fact the first Native person to be named to the position of director of education of the QROIA (Ibid.). Gill became a key player in establishing Native language programs in Quebec in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He asked Raymond Gagné and Velma Bourque from Indian Affairs in Ottawa to come to Quebec to set up a Native teacher-training program and to work on curriculum development (Gagné 1975a). According to Gagné, before official teacher training had begun,

> ...there were already a dozen or more native teachers already engaged in teaching their language as a second language in Caughnawaga, Maniwaki, and Restigouche while a few others were using their native tongue in various capacities (interpreting, translation, etc.) as classroom assistants to non-native teachers. None of these teachers had received any formal training for the difficult tasks they were doing (Gagné 1975a:1).

In the fall of 1970, the first Native teacher-training candidates began studying at McGill University in Montreal. The McGill University Intertribal Council of Native students had requested that programs on Native issues be taught in universities and colleges in Quebec. This request led to the creation of the Native North American Studies Institute in Montreal in 1971 (Bourque 1979). The Institute's mandate was to produce culturally relevant teaching materials.

Thus, by the early 1970s, programs had already begun in Quebec to develop teaching materials and to train Native teachers. Also in the early 1970s a project was started to continue the work of Bourque and Gagné and to comply with the NIB's report on Indian control of Indian education. The project was called the Amerindianization of the Schools Project.

Amerindianization of the Schools Project

The Amerindianization of the Schools Project was a provincial project established in 1972 to "ensure the preservation of Indian ethnic identity through the continuity of native languages and cultures" (Gagné 1975b:1). The aim of the program was to train Native speakers as accredited teachers and then eventually to use the Native language as the

primary language of instruction in the respective schools. Once the teachers were trained, Native schools were to use the "inverted triangle" approach for language of instruction. This meant that up to 90% of classroom instruction was to be conducted in the Native language in Grade One, with French or English being gradually introduced so that by Grade Four, instruction would be in French or English with the Native language still taught as a subject (Bourque 1975).

In implementing the inverted triangle approach, it was quickly recognized that there was a great need for Native language curriculum materials. The Amerindianization of the Schools Project, therefore, in addition to training teachers, had to provide some support for the creation of teaching materials. Much of the training and creation of educational materials for Native languages was undertaken at Manitou College, a Native-run college in the Laurentiens in Quebec.

Manitou College

Established in 1973 as a post-secondary educational institute, the Manitou Community College was run by Native people at a former missile base in La Macaza, Quebec. It functioned as a regular college of general and professional training (CEGEP), and instruction was in French and English with some courses offered in Native linguistics. The students, all Native, came from Quebec, the Maritimes, and Ontario.

Not long after the college was established, it became the new home for the Native North American Studies Institute, and as such, the centre for the creation of teaching materials by the Institute and the Department of Indian Affairs. During eight-week periods, teams from the different linguistic groups met and produced materials in English, French, Algonquin, Attikamek, Cree, Micmac, Mohawk, Montagnais, and Naskapi (Bourque 1979).

The Native student-teachers were transferred from McGill University to Manitou College where they received accreditation through the University of Quebec at Chicoutimi.

Manitou College became an important and unique meeting place where much of the work on Quebec Native languages was undertaken. Indeed, according to Bourque (1979) it functioned as the centre for Native education programs in the province. The existence of Manitou College, from 1973 to 1976, meant that for the first time, Native students and linguists specializing in Quebec Native languages were brought together.

A unique distinction of the language planning work being conducted at Manitou College, such as the teacher-training program and the development of classroom materials, was the strong involvement of linguists and the extensive linguistic training being given to the students. Linguists, not educators or pedagogical specialists, were the key players in the Amerindianization of the Schools Project in Quebec. This was primarily due to the fact that R. Gagné, the Indian Affairs official who had been involved in the Native education initiatives since the late 1960s, was a linguist. He had previously written a standardized orthography of Inuktitut and thus was closely familiar with the potential problems involved in developing classroom materials for multiple Native languages, some of which had more than one dialect and used different orthographies.

According to MacKenzie (nd), four linguists worked at Manitou College on a full-time basis, while many others worked part-time. In the summers, the full team of linguists worked together at Manitou College. They taught courses and worked with Native speakers on projects such as standardizing spelling and producing pedagogical grammars and lexicons. Indeed, MacKenzie (nd) stated that nearly every linguist in Quebec who worked on Native languages was involved with Manitou College and the Amerindianization project at some point during the 1970s.

Native speakers of different languages and of different dialects of the same language collaborated with linguists at Manitou College in different ways, such as in the development of Native-language classroom materials. This collaboration led linguists to the realization that there was much foundation work to be done in the standardization of the languages and their writing systems before classroom materials could be made.

It was recognized that it would be pointless to develop, produce and distribute materials in one dialect to schools in communities where the dialect spoken was different and where they would not be used. The extent of some of these dialect differences is discussed by MacKenzie (nd) for the cases of Montagnais and Cree. The writing system used for Montagnais was introduced by French Catholic missionaries and was based on Roman orthography. Conversely, the Cree language, though closely related to Montagnais, used a syllabic writing system. Even within the individual speech communities there were sub-dialects. Speakers had developed their own spelling practices that reflected phonetic differences in the language. These practices deviated not only from one speech community to another, but sometimes even for the same speaker. The replacement of individual spelling practices with a standardized spelling was initially met with great resistance by the native speakers, but, as they acquired more linguistic knowledge of the structures of their languages, they soon began to realize the need for a standard writing system in order to overcome inconsistencies and to create classroom materials.

Responding to the need for orthographic standardization to facilitate the creation of pedagogical materials, the University of Quebec at Chicoutimi began to offer a Certificate in Indian Linguistics. The courses leading to the certificate were taught at Manitou College and were intended to train students to become 'techno-linguists'. The students, who were native speakers of Native languages, took specialized linguistics courses about their respective languages. Their program consisted of courses in sociolinguistics, general phonetics, phonology and orthography, morphosyntax, methods of linguistic research, elements of dialectology, elements of lexicography, Amerindian semantics, translation, Amerindian linguistic structures, historical linguistics, and finally, the Amerindian learning process (Bourque 1979). Evidently the Amerindian learning process was thought to be different from the learning process of students with a European culture. This training enabled the students to return to their communities as resource personnel to work on the

development of Native-language teaching materials, prepare programs for teaching the local language as a first or second language for all levels of schooling, write reference materials (grammars, dictionaries), do linguistic analysis, work on the standardization of orthographies, and edit all written materials the community wished to publish in the Native language before they were printed (Bourque 1978).

Because Manitou College was the central institution for Native language planning in Quebec in the mid-1970s, it brought linguists, Native speakers, and education specialists together in one institution to work toward practical language planning. The college was home to a teacher-training program, the Native North American Studies Institute, and the Indian linguistics program. It also offered regular college courses to an all-native clientele. The college was operated for and by Native people, and at various times it had collaboration from all Native groups in Quebec.

One year before the closure of Manitou college in 1976, the activities of the Amerindianization program had already started to decentralize. Teaching materials were being prepared on reserves and in cultural and educational centres throughout the province. After the closing of the college, teacher-training continued in teaching centres that were set up for the different linguistic groups of the Province. In 1978, the training of Cree and Inuit teachers became the responsibility of the new Cree and Kativik Native-run school boards following the signing of the James Bay Agreement in 1975 (Bourque 1979).

Despite its uniqueness, Manitou College was not without its problems. Bad financial management, overspending, and high operating costs led to its demise. Moreover, in 1975 the Inuit withdrew their financial support. Native bands also started to withdraw financial support because in supporting Manitou College, all of their funds for cultural development went to the College leaving no funds for local projects. The school closed in December 1976, a mere three years after it had opened.

Language planning activities in Quebec's Native languages

The results of various language planning efforts for each of Quebec's Native languages can be divided into the two types of language planning discussed in Chapter Two, corpus planning and status planning. Efforts in the corpus planning included the publication of dictionaries, grammars, lexicons, teaching manuals, and school books written in the respective Native languages, as well as scholarly publications such as linguistic descriptions of various Native dialects. Though dialect descriptions may not be considered language planning *per se*, they can still be helpful resource materials in the creation of language planning materials such as pedagogic grammar books for use in schools. Efforts in the status planning consisted of the creation of Native schools boards.

This thesis focuses on the initial (i.e., the late 1960s and the 1970s) activities and results of language planning for Native languages in Quebec. Therefore, this chapter is limited to documents published during and immediately following this period, discussed primarily by Drapeau (1992) and Bourque (1979).

Inuktitut

Corpus planning activities in Inuktitut include the scholarly research published between the late 1960s and early 1980s. A description and analysis of the language can be found in Paillet (1979), a collection of articles can be found in Hamp (1976), and historical, phonological and grammatical issues of Inuktitut can be found in Dorais (1981). Grammars books were written by Schneider (1967, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1976d, 1978), one by Trinel (1970) which includes a list of infixes and an Inuktitut-French vocabulary list, a dictionary of infixes (Schneider 1968), an Inuktitut-French dictionary (Schneider 1966), a French-Inuktitut dictionary (Schneider 1970), and an etymological dictionary of neologisms (Dorais 1978). Finally, Dorais (1975) also wrote a book for learning Inuktitut as a foreign language. The syllabic and Roman orthographies were standardized for the

Inuit across Canada by 1976 with a slight modification made by the Kativik School Board for use by the Inuit in New Quebec.

The significant status planning accomplishment for the Inuktitut language was the creation of the Kativik School Board where the language of instruction has been Inuktitut (Collis 1992). The creation of this new school board was made possible with the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975.

Cree

The corpus planning activities for Cree include books on learning Cree as a second language (Vaillancourt 1978, 1980), and descriptions of Cree dialects (Pentland 1978, MacKenzie 1980, Rhodes & Todd 1981). Bourque, in her 1979 report on the Amerindianization project, lists nine teaching materials produced in Cree, including spelling dictionaries, Grade One primers, syllabic readers and story books. In addition to the Amerindianization project, the Cree Way Project (Tanner n.d.) was started in 1973-74 and continued until 1976. As Tanner (n.d.) points out, the primary objective of the project was to provide much-needed teaching materials with a predominantly Cree content for teachers of the Cree language and for teachers of subjects taught in French or English. Books were written, illustrated, and printed by Cree people in a Cree community.

As in Inuktitut, the significant status planning activity for the Cree language was the creation of the Cree School Board in whose schools the language of instruction is Cree. The Cree School Board was created as part of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975. The School Board also took over the responsibility for training its teachers when Manitou College closed and for producing teaching materials by its Curriculum Development Unit (Bourque 1979, Drapeau 1992).

Naskapi

Corpus planning activities for the Naskapi language were very limited during the period in question, i.e., the late 1960s through the early 1980s, and they remain limited (Drapeau 1992). There were 11 teaching materials produced during the Amerindianization Project, including mostly story books, readers, and writing books for use in kindergarten through Grade Four.

Montagnais

Unlike Naskapi, there were many corpus materials produced for the Montagnais language. They include Montagnais-French dictionaries of the roots of Montagnais (Fabvre 1970, Angers, Cooter and McNulty 1974), Montagnais-French lexicons for different dialects (Mailhot and Lescop 1977, McNulty and Basile 1981), grammatical descriptions (McNulty 1971, Clarke 1982), research of the dialects of Montagnais (Cowan 1976, Drapeau, Ford and Noreau-Hébert 1975, MacKenzie 1980, MacKenzie and Clarke 1981), changes in the language (Drapeau 1981a, 1981b), and studies on the morphology of the language (Drapeau 1979). A Montagnais language course for French speakers was developed as well (Ford and Bacon 1978-1979). Teaching materials in Montagnais, produced during the Amerindianization Project, were numerous as well. Bourque (1979) listed 38 publications including readers, lexicons, grammar books, mathematics books, and catechisms which were written as part of the Amerindianization Project.

Attikamek

There has been very little descriptive analysis done on the Attikamek language (Drapeau 1992). A description of the language, including a small lexicon, was written by Béland (1982). During the Amerindianization Project, on the other hand, at least 29 teaching texts were produced primarily for elementary school.

Algonquin

A word list and a teaching grammar of Algonquin were published by Jones (1976, 1977). Studies in Algonquin dialectology were published by Gilstrap (1978), Daviault, Dufresne, Girouard, Kaye and Legault (1978), and by Piggott (1978). In addition, a total of eight teaching materials were developed for Algonquin during the Amerindianization Project.

Abenaki, Huron, and Malecite

Little or no work was produced on Abenaki, Huron, or Malecite even during the language planning efforts in the 1970s. Warne (1975) wrote a thesis on the historical phonology of Abenaki, and Blin-Lagarde (1977) wrote a thesis on the Huron verb. No materials were produced for these languages as part of the Amerindianization project. Similarly, there was no work published on the Malecite language - a language that is no longer spoken in Quebec (Drapeau 1992).

Micmac

Two pedagogical grammars were published on Micmac by Delisle and Metallic (1976) and by Williams (1981). Morphophonemics and morphology were addressed by Fidelholtz (1968, 1978), and Proulx (1978) wrote about Micmac verb paradigms. The Amerindianization project produced four teaching materials - a Micmac lexicon, a primer for Grade One, and lessons and stories for Junior High School and High School.

Mohawk

Finally, a Mohawk grammar (Bonvillain 1973), a Mohawk pedagogical grammar (Deering and Harries-Delisle 1976), and a Mohawk dictionary (Michelson 1973) were published. The Amerindianization Project produced ten teaching materials including grammar books, and teacher guides for teaching Mohawk.

Overall, work that was carried out under the Amerindianization of the Schools Project provides a concrete example of the abundance of practical, hands-on language planning undertaken for Native languages in Quebec in the 1970s. The difficulties in language planning arising from dialectal differences, regional variations and the need for standardization of orthographies for curriculum materials became evident to language planners during the process. Both linguists and speakers of Native languages faced the challenges arising from the dialectal differences. Those involved in the first organized language planning of Native languages in Quebec had the responsibility of conducting language planning for eight languages. Consequently, the huge obstacles that they faced were not very predictable at the time language planning for Native languages was actively being practised in Quebec.

As a result of the efforts of language planners and Native people, Canada's first Native language program offered in a federal school was started in the Mohawk language in Caughnawaga, Quebec in 1969-70 (Indian and Northern Affairs 1976). By the 1974-75 school year, there were 24 federal schools, along with six provincial schools throughout Quebec offering language programs in Mohawk, Algonquin, Cree, Montagnais, Micmac, Attikamek, and Inuktitut (Indian and Northern Affairs 1976).

Language planning goals

Nahir's (1984) proposed 11 language planning goals - language purification, language revival, language reform, language standardization, language spread, lexical modernization, terminological unification, stylistic simplification, interlingual communication, language maintenance, and auxiliary-code standardization - were discussed in Chapter Two. By looking at the state of health of each of the Native languages in Quebec and the language planning that was involved, we can make a hypothesis about the language planning goal for each language during the 1970s. We can eliminate nine goals from the above list for the language planning of Native languages in Quebec, as I have found few or

no examples of activities leading to the goals of: language purification, language revival, language reform, language standardization, lexical modernization, terminological unification, stylistic simplification, interlingual communication, and auxiliary-code standardization. I had originally hypothesized that language standardization would be one of the major goals of language planning for Native languages. However, I have found no examples of attempts to turn a dialect of any Native language into the standard for a particular language. But I have found examples of *orthographic* standardization. I consider orthographic standardization to be an *activity* that makes up part of the goal of language maintenance and spread, and is therefore distinct from language standardization. The two goals that were pursued for Native languages in Quebec were language maintenance and language spread.

Two of the four 'flourishing' languages (Chapter Two) went through an abundance of language planning. Language planners for Inuktitut and Cree definitely seem to have pursued language maintenance as a goal. This is evident in the large amount of research undertaken on these languages, the documents produced by the Amerindianization project, and the creation of their own school boards which allowed teaching in Cree and Inuktitut. In addition, the goal of language spread was pursued as evident in books on learning Inuktitut (Dorais 1975) and Cree (Vaillancourt 1978, 1980) as second languages. For the other two flourishing languages, Naskapi and Attikamek, teaching materials were produced (Bourque 1979), suggesting the pursuit of the goal of language maintenance.

For the two 'enduring' languages, Montagnais and Algonquin (Chapter Two), language maintenance also appears to have been the goal of language planners, though more work was done on Montagnais than on Algonquin. Language spread was also a goal for language planners of Montagnais such as Ford and Bacon (1978-1979), who published a Montagnais language course for French speakers.

Most of the language planning efforts for Quebec's Native languages in the 1970s concentrated on 'flourishing' and 'enduring' languages. Unfortunately, the languages

perhaps most in need of language planning, i.e., the 'endangered' and 'critical' languages (Chapter Two), received much less attention. Language planners who worked on the two 'endangered' languages, Micmac and Mohawk, produced some pedagogical grammars and other teaching materials, but not as much language planning was pursued for them compared to 'enduring' languages such as Montagnais. The fact that little language planning was done for Micmac and Mohawk makes it difficult to ascertain which language planning goals the planners were pursuing. Given the fact that the materials produced for these two languages at the time were pedagogical grammars and other teaching materials, and that Canada's first Native language program offered in a federal school was started in the Mohawk language, I can hypothesize that the goal pursued for both Micmac and Mohawk was language spread, eventually leading to language maintenance once the language was learned by more and more Native people, particularly children.

As to the one 'critical' language (Chapter Two), Abenaki, there was even less language planning pursued than for the 'endangered' languages. There was no language planning practised *vis-à-vis* Abenaki in the 1970s, so obviously no language planning goal was sought. Moreover, at this critical point in the language, with only a handful of speakers living, the only possible activity regarding the language was recording it before the remaining speakers died.

Consequently, from Nahir's list of 11 language planning goals, there were definitely two goals that were pursued for Native languages in Quebec in the 1970s, viz., language maintenance and language spread. There was an abundance of activity in language maintenance, which I consider to be the major goal of Native language planners in Quebec in this period, followed closely by the goal of language spread.

Just as not all language planning goals are targeted in every community, the same language planning activities may not be engaged in for each goal. Moreover, there is some overlap among activities for different goals. This difference between activities and goals has been discussed in Nahir (1984). For example, two language communities may seek the

different goals of language spread and language maintenance, but may be involved in the same language planning *activity* of developing pedagogical grammars in their language. It is, therefore, difficult to classify a group of language planning activities as leading to one specific goal.

Results of language planning

To this point we have seen that there was a substantial organized language planning effort conducted in the 1970s in Quebec for the Native languages. We now turn our attention to the results of this effort. Here we will show that language planning for Quebec's Native languages in this period was effective in slowing the decline in the use of Native languages in the Province, and that language planning had a positive impact on the retention rates of these Native languages. First, Table 4.1 presents statistics from Burnaby and Beaujot (1986) which is more inclusive than has been presented to this point. Next I will present comparative statistics of numbers of Native language speakers before and after language planning was carried out. Clearly, if there were more speakers of native languages after language planning, it had to have had an effect on these languages, although the exact correlation cannot be determined.

Aboriginal mother tongue statistics 1951-1981

As shown earlier (Chapter Three), Burnaby and Beaujot (1986) compiled statistics on Native language speakers in Quebec from the census reports of 1951 to 1981. They divided the total number of mother-tongue speakers of all Native languages by the total population of Native people. In doing so, they were able to show the percentage of the Native population who spoke any Native language as a mother tongue for each of the years 1951, 1961, 1971, and 1981. Table 4.1 presents these figures, which indicate a considerable decline in the percentage of people speaking a Native language as a first language from 1951 to 1981. Between 1951 and 1961 the number of Native people who

spoke a Native language as a mother tongue dropped 8.6 percentage points, and between 1961 and 1971 the number dropped 20.4 percentage points. However, between 1971 and 1981, as the Native population continued to increase and the percentage of mother-tongue speakers decreased, the number of mother-tongue speakers dropped only 9 percentage points.

Total Aboriginal Ethnic Origin and Percentage Aboriginal Mother Tongue Quebec 1951-1981				
	1951	**1961**	**1971**	**1981**
Population	16 620	21 343	36 595	50 350
Mother Tongue %	86 %	77.4 %	57 %	48 %

Table 4.1

Deficiencies in sources

The results of language planning in the 1970s may not be fully evident by 1981. For example, it is plausible that the beneficial effects of having Inuktitut as the language of instruction in Kativik schools, established only in 1975 (Chapter Four), might not be reflected in the statistics as early as 1981. It is therefore necessary to look at statistics after 1981 to determine if the slowing down in the decline of the usage of Native languages, which had begun in the 1970s, continued into the next decade. First, however, the accuracy of the statistical sources ought to be discussed. Two separate counts of Canada's registered Native population established by law exist. One count, the Indian Register, is released each year by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). The other count is the Census Population of Canada, conducted every five years by Statistics Canada. Several factors led to an incomplete enumeration of Canada's Native population by Statistics Canada in 1991, thus leading to differences in population counts

between the two sources. For example, some reserves and other communities refused to participate in the 1991 census. In addition, Statistics Canada regularly suppresses population data on communities of fewer than 40 people in order to protect the anonymity of the respondents (Indian and Northern Affairs 1995). The Indian Register, on the other hand, contains information about the age and sex of respondents, but it does not contain information about Native language usage. For this reason, the numbers provided by Statistics Canada have been used in this discussion of language retention; though it has deficiencies, it is still the best source available.

Aboriginal language use and retention 1991

Table 4.2 shows the population counts for Native Indians and Inuit in Quebec as well as mother tongue and home language numbers, taken from the 1991 federal census.

Total Quebec Native and Inuit Population, Mother Tongue and Home Language 1991			
	Population	Mother Tongue	Home Language
Native	65,405	25,880	23,580
Inuit	6,850	6,135	5,900
Total	72,255	32,015	29,480

Table 4.2

In Table 4.3, as in Table 4.1, the percentage of the population of a nation that speaks their Native language as a mother tongue (Chapter Three) is calculated by dividing the number of mother tongue speakers by that nation's population. Similarly, the percentage of the population that speaks their Native language as a home language (Chapter Three) is calculated by dividing the number of home language speakers by that nation's

population. Retention rate is calculated by dividing home language numbers by mother tongue numbers (Dorais 1992).

It must be noted that retention rate indicates the retention of the language by those who already speak it as a first language, and is not necessarily indicative of the overall strength of the language and its chance of surviving. If, for example, a nation with a population of 1,000 people had only five people who spoke the Native language as a mother tongue, and those five people also spoke the language as a home language, the retention rate would be 100%. Clearly we cannot presume this high retention rate in that case would indicate a healthy, vibrant language.

Percentages of Mother Tongue, Home Language and Retention Rate Quebec 1991			
	Mother Tongue	Home Language	Retention Rate
Native	39.6%	36.1%	91.1%
Inuit	89.6%	86.1%	96.2%
Total	44.3%	40.8%	92.1%

Table 4.3

It appears from the statistical data for 1991 that Native languages were stabilizing in Quebec. The Native language planning that was conducted in Quebec in the 1970s cannot be ignored as a factor in the maintenance of the languages. In fact, as it was pointed out in Chapter One, Quebec has been considered a province that had actually managed to reverse the trend of language loss (Shkilnyk 1985).

Summary

The 1970s was an important decade for Native languages in Quebec. The abundance of language planning for French acted as a catalyst for language planning for Native

languages. Language planning efforts for Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the Official Languages Act in 1969 making Canada an officially bilingual country, led to an interest in language planning by Native groups across the country. On the national level, the National Indian Brotherhood called for significant changes in the education of Native students. On the provincial level, the Amerindianization of the Schools project was the most significant project of the decade bringing together linguists and Native language speakers to develop teaching materials for use in Native classrooms. Over all, linguists played an important role in Native language planning in Quebec. The language planning efforts resulted in many useful reference and teaching materials, and the goals of language planners appear to have been language maintenance and spread. By the 1974-75 school year, there were 24 federal schools and six provincial schools throughout Quebec offering language programs in Mohawk, Algonquin, Cree, Montagnais, Micmac, Attikamek, and Inuktitut (Indian and Northern Affairs 1976).

The Native language planning that was undertaken in Quebec in the 1970s was followed by a period in which the rate of language loss slowed considerably. Between 1951 and 1971 the rate of people who had a Native language as a mother tongue in Quebec dropped from 86% to 57%. This rate further decreased to 48% by 1981, but the rate at which it decreased had slowed. The statistics from 1991 are not fully accurate, but they are still reasonably reliable for many Native languages and for a global picture of the retention of the Native languages. During the 1980s and including the statistics from 1991, the decline in the number of speakers of the Native languages continued, but the rate at which this rate declined slowed as well. The rate of mother tongue speakers of Native languages in Quebec dropped only 4 percentage points, i.e., from 48% of the Native population to 44% in a period of ten years.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

The use of Native languages in Canada has been in decline and these languages are in considerable danger of becoming extinct. While the Native languages in the rest of Canada are surrounded by one official language, English, most Native languages in Quebec are surrounded by two, English and French. Nevertheless, some of the Native languages spoken in Quebec appear to have maintained their vitality as a result of language planning.

In this thesis, the objective was to examine the activities that were undertaken primarily in the 1970s that were aimed at preserving Quebec's Native languages. This was done in order to examine whether language planning could be considered effective in reversing the decline in Native language use. First, descriptions of language death and language planning were provided. This was followed by a discussion of the Quebec situation in particular, the Native languages that are spoken in that province and their relative 'health'. Statistics were used to show the gradual decline in the numbers of speakers that the languages had been experiencing over the years. This was followed by an explanation of the political and social climate in Quebec that eventually led to language planning for Native languages in the province. Next was a discussion about what language planning took place and the goals associated with it. Finally, by comparing numbers of Native language speakers before and after language planning, it was shown that there was a definite difference in the numbers after language planning had occurred.

It is notable that, though there is no fully reliable way to measure the effects of Native language planning, during the period when Native language planning was undertaken there was a relative stabilisation in the rate of Native language use. In fact, there was a definite decline in the speed with which Native languages were being lost. This suggests that language planning had a positive effect on the retention of Native languages in Quebec.

Although there are deficiencies in the sources (Chapter Four), inaccuracies in statistics can work for or against the hypothesis presented. Moreover, the numbers presented in the 1991 statistics may be considered conservative. The numbers that were provided to indicate the users of a Native language as a mother tongue or a home language indicate the number of people who use only the Native language in these contexts. In other words, I have not included in the statistics the numbers of respondents who indicated a Native language and French or English as their mother tongues or home languages. Therefore, the percentage of Native language use and retention may in fact be higher than what has been presented here.

Language planning arouses awareness to the problem of language death and provides a concrete way to deal with it. Through language planning, Native peoples can take charge of activities to attain their goals, albeit with support from linguists, educators, and government, as was the case for Manitou College in Quebec (Chapter Four). The case of language planning for Quebec's Native languages is an interesting and noteworthy one for language planners of other languages.

Finally, this study shows that more language planning studies are needed on endangered languages in order to see what methods or steps may be successful in attaining the goals of a community. This would provide a guide for which methods can best preserve a consistent base of Native language speakers.

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