

**Language attitudes of Québécois students towards
*le français québécois standard and le franco-québécois***

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Linguistics.

Chapel Hill

2006

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ABSTRACT

Amie Kraus: Language attitudes of Québécois students towards *le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois*

(Under the direction of Dr. David Mora-Marín)

The many language attitude studies which have been conducted in the province of Québec over the past fifty years have revealed that the linguistic attitudes and beliefs of the Québécois towards both English and specific varieties of French have changed considerably. The purpose of the present study was to determine the current language attitudes of Québécois students towards standard Québec French and towards a colloquial variety of Québec French, *le franco-québécois*.

In spite of the significant shift in language attitudes in Québec's recent history, the results of this study were comparable to those of a similar study conducted three decades ago by Méar-Crine and Leclerc. In both studies, the majority of Québécois participants indicated a preference for the standard variety of Québec French.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are several people whom I wish to thank who have greatly contributed to this study in a variety of ways. From the linguistics department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. David Mora-Marín, for his many helpful suggestions regarding the survey and the write-up. I also want to thank Dr. Paul Roberge and Dr. Laura Janda for reviewing this thesis and for their constructive comments.

Many thanks go to Vincent Lagace for graciously offering his time to look over the survey, for giving his opinions as a native Québécois regarding the wording of survey questions and their multiple choice answers, and for helping to find sound clips which could be used in section 3 of the survey. I am also very grateful to Franck Dalmas from the French Department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for spending time proofreading and correcting the French version of the survey and consent form before they were posted online. Professor Karim Larose from the Université de Montréal was very helpful in providing information regarding the terms used by linguists to refer to the two varieties of Québec French pertinent to this study; and I wish to thank Rosette d’Aragon for her contacting professors in Québec on my behalf and for her willingness to help.

Special thanks go to Dr. Lawrence Rosenfeld and the others at the Behavioral Institutional Review Board at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for reviewing and approving this study (IRB study #06-0093) as well as all of its modifications. I would also like to thank Teresa Edwards of the Odum Institute for providing valuable suggestions on the set-up of the survey as well as helping to set up the sound files online. Another thank you

goes to Michelle Temple, also from the Odum Institute, for taking the time to teach me how to use the ZPro program; and Dr. Catherine Zimmer, also from the Odum Institute, provided direction with the analysis of the data and was available to answer my questions. I would also like to thank Odum statistics lab attendants Ryan Bakker and Heather Krull for help with the analysis and Scott Hajek from the psychology department for meeting to discuss computer survey programs.

I gratefully acknowledge the 126 students who voluntarily participated in the study: this study wouldn't have been possible without them; and special thanks go to those students who also offered their feedback afterwards. A thank you goes to the departments of several Québécois universities who forwarded the recruitment message to these students as well. I am also indebted to Professor Natalia Dankova of l'Université du Québec en Outaouais for her supplying background information to keep in mind when reading and analyzing participants' responses. I also thank Danielle Thibault and Radio Canada for permission to use an excerpt from *C'est bien meilleur le matin* as well as Patrice Demers of GeneX communications for permission to use an excerpt from one of ChoiFM's broadcasts.

Last but certainly not least, I would also like to thank my family for their prayers and support, and I am grateful to my friends who also kept this project on their prayer list. The most thanks goes to the One Who gives strength and ability to accomplish all things.

(Note: The author claims full responsibility for any inaccuracies which might be present in this work.)

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INTRODUCTION

The goal of this study was to examine the current language attitudes of Québécois university students towards two varieties of Québec French, *le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois*. *Le français québécois standard* is the variety of Québec French which has emerged as the standard in the province and is the variety most similar to standard European French. The latter variety, *le franco-québécois*, is a colloquial Québec French which differs from *le français québécois standard* mostly in pronunciation and vocabulary, but there are also some syntactic differences as well. Studies conducted over the past fifty years have shown that language attitudes in Québec have changed considerably during that time, but the hypothesis regarding current linguistic attitudes was that people would favor *le français québécois standard* over colloquial varieties in situations where overt prestige was important, which is the general pattern in most language attitude studies concerning standard and non-standard varieties.

A language attitude survey implementing direct and indirect measurements of language attitudes was designed in order to obtain data for this study. A method which analyzed Québécois society's treatment of language varieties was also utilized in some sections of the survey. The survey was posted on the internet, and responses from 112 Québécois students were analyzed. The results indicated that participants did indeed have more favorable attitudes towards the regional standard variety than towards *le franco-québécois* in general, associating the former with 'correct French' and with higher status. These results are

comparable to the data obtained by Méar-Crine and Leclerc in a similar study conducted in the mid-1970s (which will be summarized in chapter 3) and therefore provide evidence that attitudes towards *le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois* have not changed much during the past thirty years.

Four chapters are included in this thesis. The first chapter provides a brief history and an overview of language attitude studies: the concepts, goals, and the methods used in this research.

The second chapter provides the reader with the historical background, political and linguistic, which has produced the current sociolinguistic situation and language varieties of *la belle province*.¹

The third chapter summarizes some of the language attitude studies which have been conducted in Québec, beginning with Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum's 1960 study of attitudes towards French and English and ending with Evans' 1999 research on attitudes towards different varieties of French. The results of these studies attest to the changing linguistic attitudes of the Québécois over the past fifty years regarding both English and French.

The fourth chapter discusses the current study. A description of the survey and its methods, as well as the results and conclusions, are provided in this section.

The conclusion summarizes the study; and it is followed by appendices which include copies of the survey itself for reference purposes.

¹ The province of Québec is also referred to as *la belle province*.

CHAPTER 1

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDE STUDIES

1.1 Introduction

Language attitudes are the beliefs and values that people have regarding language. These beliefs include the characteristics that people associate with languages, dialects, styles or registers within a dialect, and particular language features; and these beliefs and values are extended to and projected upon the people who use these different speech forms. Linguistic attitudes therefore influence how listeners perceive speakers, whether the listener is engaged in face-to-face conversation or listening to a speaker on a radio program. Linguistic attitudes also influence a speaker's behavior, as he or she will consult his or her own linguistic beliefs to determine which speech variety will best convey the self-image he or she wishes to project to listeners.

Beliefs about language are influential in interpersonal communication and, if many individuals within a group share the same beliefs, in intergroup communication (Hewstone & Giles 1986: 13). Language attitudes are therefore present in every social communicative exchange and affect both communication within a society and the society itself. For this reason, studies of language attitudes have been essential to fields of study such as linguistics, psychology, and sociology, to name a few.

1.2 The role of language attitude studies in sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics, the study of language in society, has greatly benefited from studies of language attitudes. These studies are the primary focus of the social psychology of language, a sub-branch within the field of sociolinguistics (Coupland & Jaworski 1997: 267), but the knowledge gained from language attitude studies is applicable to many different realms and areas of study.

1.2.1 Attitudes in Applied Sociolinguistics

Within applied sociolinguistics, language attitude studies are essential in the planning and implementation of language education programs and of language policies.

First of all, measuring linguistic attitudes and language use is important in determining a community's need for language education programs. Kriens' 2003 "Report on the Kumbe River Survey" is an example of this. Kriens distributed a survey in several villages in the Kurik District in Irian Jaya, Indonesia, to evaluate the villagers' use of the native language and of the national language, to study villagers' attitudes towards their language, and to hear their thoughts concerning a possible program which would promote the native language. The data gathered from such a study would indicate the villagers' need and desire for a language program and would supply education planners with important information on how to design a program so that it would be most beneficial to the villagers.

Linguistic attitudes are not only pertinent when designing language programs but continue to be significant throughout the learning process. Attitudes towards a language can affect second language learning, as both attitude and ability *together* determine a student's success (Gagnon 1973: 95). Awareness of students' linguistic attitudes and of their motivations in

language learning¹ can help educators develop or modify language programs according to the students' needs and goals. Budach, Roy, and Heller (2003) provide an example of a literacy center in French Ontario which welcomed people who wanted to learn to read French for a variety of purposes, personal and professional. The program responded to the needs of its clients by supplying a wide range of reading materials on various topics so that everyone would have access to practice materials which would interest them and which would be applicable to their situation. Additionally, the materials always contained some information about the francophone culture so that clients would profit from learning more about their own heritage. The literacy program was therefore designed to meet individuals' needs as much as possible in its goal of educating the francophone community, at the same time reaffirming the community's identity in the midst of a dominant anglophone culture (Budach, Roy, & Heller 2003: 613-4). Therefore, when designing the literacy program, the workers at the center took into consideration their clients' attitudes towards and reasons for learning to read and write the language.

In addition to programs teaching literacy or knowledge of another language, some language education courses focus on teaching dialect and language awareness and appreciation. With language awareness programs, minority or subordinate groups which previously downgraded their speech can be empowered to overcome the effects of linguistic insecurity; and, if successful, such language programs can also curb linguistic discrimination. The measurement of language attitudes in this context can be used to measure a language program's efficacy.

¹ There are two types of motivation: integrative and instrumental. Integrative motivation stems from a desire to become acquainted with another culture group and to interact with its members, while instrumental motivation stems from a work-related interest (Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone 1988: 1069).

Some linguists have attempted to influence the public's linguistic beliefs by broadcasting linguistic knowledge via television programs, newspaper articles, or books written for the general public; but such attempts have sometimes met with failure and even hostility from intended audiences (Laforest 1999: 280). Garrett stresses that information from language attitude studies should be taken into account much more when ascertaining how to best "increase the public awareness of linguists' scientific knowledge" (Garrett 2001: 626). Knowledge of the public's attitudes would aid linguists in determining what linguistic information would initially be accepted by a wider audience, how to present that information, and how to proceed with sharing more concepts in the future.

Language attitudes are important in the realm of language policy as well, and policy planners can also benefit from a knowledge of the public's opinions before and during language legislation development. For example, Chiung conducted a survey in Taiwan in 1998 to determine whether a program promoting Taibun as the national orthography would be successful. In the survey, Chiung asked Taiwanese college students to rate different orthography systems, and the results obtained enabled Chiung to identify a target population which would be most receptive to the promotion of Taibun (Chiung 2001: 519).

The public's linguistic beliefs continue to be pertinent in the area of language legislation even after policy planning and implementation. Language legislation has the potential to greatly affect a society's linguistic beliefs, as attitudes often accommodate to changes in the socio-political realm (Giles, Hewstone, Ryan, & Johnson 1987: 587). For example, if a language of a minority or a historically dominated group is raised to official status, the value of that language rises in the minds of its speakers.

“Lorsqu’une langue qui, jusque là dominée, accède au statut de langue officielle, elle subit une réévaluation qui a pour effet de modifier profondément la relation que ses utilisateurs entretiennent avec elle.” (Bourdieu 1982: 40)

Therefore, language attitude studies can also be used to measure the efficacy of language policies after their implementation, and the examination of the nature and consequences of language laws is a responsibility that accompanies work in the realm of language rights (Paulston 1997: 83). According to Ricento and Hornberger, language policy should be “evaluated not only by official policy statements or laws on the books but by language behavior and attitudes in situated, especially institutional contexts” (Ricento & Hornberger 1996: 417).

The effect of language legislation on linguistic attitudes is evident in the case of Québec and her linguistic policy. Chapter 2 presents a short summary of the most important language legislation passed to protect the rights of francophones within *la belle province*; and the effects of Québec’s policy on linguistic beliefs are evident in the results of the recent language attitude studies which are reviewed in chapter 3.

1.2.2 Language attitudes and theoretical sociolinguistics

The preceding section summarizes how knowledge of language attitudes can be useful in educational or political realms, but linguistic attitudes are also pertinent in more theoretical areas of sociolinguistics. The study of language change, for example, can greatly benefit from language attitude studies, for language change or changes in a speech variety’s use can be governed to some extent by the attitudes that its speakers have towards it. Gal (1978) studied how women’s associating the Hungarian language with fewer opportunities has altered language use in a bilingual community in Austria. Nearly three decades later, Bilaniuk (2003) examined a comparable situation in Ukraine: despite recent legislation that

promoted Ukrainian, many Ukrainian women favored the use of Russian because they believed that it would offer them more opportunities for social advancement.

While members of some subordinate or minority groups may try to assimilate their speech with that of the dominant or prestigious group, others choose to maintain their speech because of their linguistic beliefs. For some groups of Amish, for example, the English language is a symbol of the anglophone culture which surrounds their community, and German is an integral part of their Amish identity. While members of these particular communities speak English with outsiders, they perceive the use of English in specific situations, such as in church services or among family members in the home, as a rejection of traditional Amish ways (Johnson-Weiner 1998: 382). In spite of pressure to adopt English for all facets of life, many of these Amish have been successful in maintaining German, a symbol of their identity and a self-imposed social boundary between themselves and worldly cultures (388-9).

Speakers' attitudes towards a language variety may influence language change, but linguistic attitudes may also indicate the vitality of a language. In healthy language communities, for example, speakers often associate language varieties with differences in social status, while the absence of these sociolinguistic associations may be a characteristic of a declining speech community (Russo & Roberts 1999: 72). Russo and Roberts noted a trend in some varieties of Canadian French in which the verb *être* is replaced by the verb *avoir*, and the researchers wanted to see if this replacement process was also occurring in the endangered dialect of Vermont French. The researchers chose two Franco-American communities to study, and they examined the linguistic variation regarding the use of the two verbs among those of the communities who still spoke French. Russo and Roberts found that

the leveling of the two verbs seemed to be taking place more quickly in Vermont French than in Montréal French, and they found that variation regarding the use of *être* and *avoir* did not carry social significance in the Franco-American communities (81-2). According to Hill (1989) and King (1989), these results would indicate that Vermont French is undergoing processes common to language death: “the processes of change in language death are differentiated from ordinary change processes primarily by their rapidity” (Hill 1989: 149), and “variation does not seem to carry the social weight that one finds in healthier language communities” (King 1989: 148). In this case, language attitudes aided the researchers in ascertaining the status of this endangered dialect.

Researchers have also been studying the relationship between beliefs and linguistic behavior for quite some time in order to find what language attitudes do in addition to what they are (Ladegaard 2000: 216). Researchers have conducted studies which measure subjects’ actions in response to requests expressed in different speech varieties. These ‘cooperative studies’ have been used to test whether behaviors can be predicted based on language attitudes. However, several personal as well as situational factors interact with linguistic attitudes, limiting the success of attitude-behavior predictions (228). Researchers have only had success in predicting the most general language behavior (230).

Social scientists also rely on language attitude studies in their attempts to better understand how people and groups communicate. “While the findings have varied across variables of culture, dialect, accent, and context, scholars have argued that determining the effects of language on social judgment is an integral part of uncovering the *communication* process” (Giles & Billings 2004: 187).

Language attitude studies are therefore pertinent to a number of applied and theoretical contexts, as evidenced above. Before proceeding to a description of the methods available to researchers conducting such language attitude studies, it is important to present a brief history of the beginning of language attitude studies as well as some principal concepts which were of great consequence in these earlier studies and which continue to be relevant in contemporary sociolinguistics.

1.3 Origins of language attitude studies

Two studies are important in the discussion of the origins of language attitude studies, and both are reviewed in the following sections. Ironically, the first study of language attitudes, conducted in the 1930s by T. H. Pear, was not originally intended to be a study of linguistic beliefs, but it served as a beginning for language attitudes research. The second study, conducted two decades later by Wallace Lambert and his colleagues, was a ground-breaking experiment which altered study methods and launched a wave of attitude studies which continues to this day in several countries across the world.

1.3.1 Pear and social stereotypes

In the 1930s, Pear (1931) conducted a study in Britain in which he had subjects listen to different speakers who were broadcasted over BBC radio. He then asked participants to supply a personality profile to match the voices that they heard. In this study, Pear's intent was to determine whether personality could be predicted by the way an individual spoke (Pear 1931: 151). Although the purpose of the study was not to measure language attitudes, the language beliefs held by the study participants dictated the results that Pear obtained. In a way, then, this was one of the first studies in the area of language attitudes. Subsequent studies continued to search for a relation between speech and personality but to no avail;

instead, results revealed that participants were associating stereotypical traits with the voices that they heard (Giles & Billings 2004: 188).

Pear's results had exposed his participants' social stereotypes, the set of attributes that they, as a group, associated with the majority of members of other groups (Hewstone & Giles 1986: 13). 'Stereotyping' is often thought of as ascribing negative characteristics to another group or 'outgroup.' However, stereotypes are not always negative, and members of a group often stereotype their ingroup as well.² Positive or negative, ingroup or out-, the attributes ascribed to a particular group in social stereotyping will also be associated with the speech that the group uses and will therefore play an important role in forming language attitudes.

Pear's study participants had identified specific speech varieties with which they were familiar as they listened to the radio speakers, and they categorized the speakers into the groups that were associated with those speech varieties. The personality profiles that Pear obtained were the stereotypical traits associated with those groups and their speech varieties.

Talk about stereotypes usually raises the question of their truthfulness. Whether or not they are true, stereotypes influence behavior and are real in their social consequences, as Pettigrew has noted (Pettigrew 1981: 304). The way in which a speaker is first perceived in a job interview will affect his chances of being hired. A teacher's evaluation of a student, and therefore the student's academic success, will be influenced by the attitudes the teacher has towards the variety of speech that the student uses (Giles, Hewstone, Ryan, & Johnson 1987: 589-90). Stereotypes will even affect the linguistic behavior of the speaker him-/herself. In Kuiper's study of language attitudes in France, youth from Provence exhibited linguistic

² It is important to note that prototype research uses the notion of stereotype as the "traits that characterize the most prototypical exemplar of a category." Those of a group who are not prototypical exemplars do not possess the stereotypical traits associated with their group, so a group's stereotype does not necessarily apply to all of its members. Also, stereotypical categories are not always distinct but can blend with one another. (Thanks to Dr. David Mora-Marín for this comment.)

insecurity and downgraded their speech because they had accepted the stereotype which associated their region with a “substandard”³ variety of French. Ironically, their speech was practically indistinguishable from the speech of the Parisians, the group whose speech they had rated as most correct (Kuiper 2005: 46).

Subjects’ stereotyping themselves and others has affected the results of many language attitude studies, including those conducted in *la belle province*. As Chapter 3 will show, the responses given by québécois francophones in language attitude studies were indeed influenced by the stereotypes that the participants held.

1.3.2 Lambert’s Matched Guise Test

In the late 1950s, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum conducted a study in Montréal that was to greatly influence the domain of language attitude studies. The researchers wished to avoid directly asking participants their views of English or French speakers as direct questioning can affect responses if the subjects feel bound by social expectations. Lambert and his colleagues therefore developed a method which would discretely measure participants’ more “privately held beliefs” (Giles & Billings 2004: 189).

First, the researchers recruited the help of bilinguals who could pass as native anglophones and as native francophones. They recorded each bilingual reading a text in English and made another recording of them reading the same in French. These recordings were then arranged in order so that no bilingual’s two recordings would be played in succession.

The researchers presented these recordings to their research subjects and asked them to rate the speaker in every recording on ten sets of character traits that Lambert and his colleagues had chosen beforehand. Participants thus supplied ratings for every recording that

³ This term is enclosed in quotation marks as it reflects the views of some of the participants in Kuiper’s study. “Substandard” is a term which should be avoided by linguists as no speech variety is truly better or worse than any other speech variety.

they heard, not aware that they were evaluating the same bilingual speakers two times each. With this method, Lambert and his colleagues were able to control for voice quality and message content in their recordings and could be more certain that rating differences between each bilingual's two recordings could be attributed to the language attitudes of the study participants. (The results of this particular study will be reviewed in chapter 3.)

This method is known as the matched guise technique, or MGT, and has been used repeatedly in the plethora of language attitude studies which have been conducted since the 1960s until today. More specifically, the MGT has been used in other language attitude studies which were conducted in Québec, several of which will be reviewed in chapter 3. As those attitude studies as well as the present study also utilized other methods to obtain data concerning linguistic beliefs, the following section provides a brief summary of the methods which are available to researchers in the field of language attitude studies.

1.4 Methods available for language attitude studies

There are three different methods which can be used in language attitude studies. These approaches can be described as 1) direct measurements of language attitudes, 2) indirect measurements of language attitudes, and 3) analysis of societal treatment of language varieties (Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone 1988: 1068). All three methods were utilized in the present study of language attitudes in Québec, which is discussed in chapter 4.

1.4.1 Direct measurements of language attitudes

Direct measurements of language attitudes are methods in which subjects respond to direct questions about their views towards different languages, different varieties or registers of a language, or specific language features. Surveys and questionnaires often fall into this

category. For example, a questionnaire that asks study participants to indicate whether they agree or disagree with a list of statements implements this direct method to measure attitudes.

Direct measurement methods are often used to obtain results which are then applied in domains such as education or language policy. An example of this would be Kriens' 2003 study in Irian Jaya, Indonesia, in which he asked villagers in the Kurik District their use of and their attitudes towards the native language in order to determine the need for a language development program.

Although direct measurements are an effective way to gather information regarding language attitudes, a drawback to this method is that the direct manner of questioning subjects on language issues may "call forth certain socially desirable responses and repress others and hence responses may not accurately reflect privately-held attitudes" (Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone 1988: 1071). This is the reason why Lambert and his colleagues designed the matched guise technique, which brings us to the second method of language attitude measurements: indirect measurement of language attitudes.

1.4.2 Indirect measurement of language attitudes

Researchers use the speaker evaluation paradigm to indirectly assess language attitudes. As the name suggests, this method gathers data from the evaluations that subjects give of a speaker who is presented to them. The MGT, developed by Lambert *et al.*, is a prototype of the speaker evaluation paradigm. Two processes are relevant in the speaker evaluation paradigm: first, listeners identify the group a speaker belongs to based on his or her language, dialect, or sociolect. For example, a speaker might be identified as being a Southerner if they exhibit speech characteristics that listeners associate with Southern speech. The second process involved is eliciting stereotypes that listeners associate with the speaker's

group by examining their ratings or comments about the speaker (Lambert 1967: 100). Researchers often obtain attitude measurements by asking participants to rate speakers on traits which are based on status and solidarity dimensions. The status dimension measures a speaker's perceived prestige, power, influence, and control or a speaker's perceived competence. The status rating also generally indicates a speaker's perceived socio-economic status (Hewstone & Giles 1986: 14). Some examples of status traits would be intelligence, education, self-confidence, and ambition. The dimension of solidarity is, as defined by Hewstone and Giles, "terms of similarity between speaker and listener, frequent interaction, self-disclosure and intimacy... This dimension... reflects the social pressures to support one's own group and maintain its linguistic variety" (14). While status ratings reflect socioeconomic standing or competence, the solidarity dimension includes the more 'human' characteristics such as kindness, dependability, sense of humor, and likeability (14).

The MGT uses status and solidarity traits to elicit stereotypes; and verbal guise tests also utilize status and solidarity trait measurements. The verbal guise test, or VG, is another technique which has often been used in language attitude studies and differs from the MGT in that different speakers are used for each recording. For example, if a researcher is not able to find bilingual speakers who can successfully switch between two languages or dialects, he or she might recruit two speakers who are about the same age and the same gender and who have similar voice qualities, if possible. These two speakers would be recorded speaking in their respective languages or dialects, and these recordings would be used to elicit responses from subjects. Obviously, the researcher cannot control for voice quality with the VG, so care should be taken to match the speakers as closely as possible in all aspects other than their language use (Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone 1988: 1072). The VG test was used in two of

the Québec studies which are reviewed in chapter 3 and also in the present study (which is summarized in chapter 4).

1.4.3 Analysis of how language varieties are treated by society

The third method used in language attitude studies is the “analysis of societal treatment of language varieties.” Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone state, “An important source of information about the relative status and worth of language varieties lies in their public treatment” (Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone 1988: 1068). This method consists of techniques such as analyzing language laws and policies within a society and examining what newspaper articles, textbooks, and the media have to say about language. Data gained from simple observation of language use within a society supplies important information about linguistic attitudes within the culture. Basically, any research in which subjects are not directly asked their beliefs about language or asked to give an evaluation can be classified under this third group of methods. For example, obtaining self-reports regarding language use, such as you might find in census information, qualifies as analysis of how society treats language varieties. Although the self-reports which people supply concerning their language use often differ from observed usage, the fact that people under- or over-report use of a certain linguistic feature can still indicate what a group’s linguistic attitudes are: subjects tend to over-report the use of linguistic features which they perceive as desirable and under-report features which are perceived as less favorable. Labov found this to be the case in the New York study which he completed in the 1960s. New Yorkers systematically reported their own speech inaccurately regarding their use of /r/, /θ/, and certain vowels for which there were prestigious and stigmatized variants (Labov 1982: 316-336). Participants over-reported the use of prestigious variants and under-reported usage of stigmatized ones. Labov concluded

that many of the study participants “seemed to perceive their own speech in terms of the norms at which they were aiming rather than the sound actually produced” and were not trying to be deceptive in their language reporting (336).

Similarly, in a 1968 study in Norwich, England, Trudgill found that men under-reported their use of standard features and over-reported their usage of language features which were common to working class speech (Trudgill 1975: 96-7). To account for these results, Trudgill proposed Labov’s theory that working class speech is often associated with being rough and tough, which are seen as desirable masculine traits (92; Labov 1982: 349-50). These characteristics are not necessarily coveted by women, as Labov pointed out:

“The masculine values associated with the working class speech pattern used by men do not seem to be counterbalanced by any similar positive values with which women endow their native speech pattern.” (350)

In cultures where working class speech is associated with masculinity, women are more likely to under-report usage of features of working class speech. Trudgill suggested that women tend to value characteristics such as “sophistication” and “refinement” instead (Trudgill 1975: 92), traits which are often associated with the upper class, which is itself associated with standard language features (see following paragraph). Trudgill’s results indicated that the women in his study did indeed under-report usage of working class features and over-report their use of standard features. As in Labov’s study, under- or over-reporting was not attributed to participants’ purposefully being dishonest about their speech but was instead a reflection of the speech that participants valued and were attempting to attain (93).

The analysis of a society’s treatment of language enables researchers to determine the relative status of language varieties as well as which variety is set forth as the standard language or dialect. In most cases, the speech of the upper classes is the variety which is

promoted either through direct language legislation or through hegemony. The *standard* is often the speech variety taught in schools, used in textbooks, and codified by countless grammar rules (O’Grady, Archibald, Aronoff, & Rees-Miller 2005: 500). In general, the media also utilizes the standard variety (500). As the standard has such an influential presence, members of society are inculcated with its perceived importance, correctness, and prestige,⁴ and many seek to emulate the speech of the upper classes so that their status might be perceived more favorably by their listeners. At the same time, other speech varieties are downgraded with respect to the standard:

...people are complicit in devaluing their varieties of speech and accepting the legitimacy of the standard. It is no accident that Standard American English is the speech of the middle and upper classes in America, that the educational system labors tirelessly in its inculcation, and finally, that those who fail to acquire it are restricted to the lower classes, all the while in most cases accepting the prestige of the standard... (Foley 2002: 308-9)

The existence of a standard language or dialect can greatly affect language attitudes. The concept of a standard is and has been of great consequence in *la belle province*, as will be seen in chapter 2 and 3.

1.5 Summary

Language attitudes are important in the study of language and society as they affect people’s perceptions of each other, interpersonal communication, and also how groups interact with each other. Language attitude studies can supply information that is invaluable to a variety of topics within applied and theoretical sociolinguistics or any other field dealing with communication and society.

⁴ A society’s choice of one speech variety to be the standard is not based on any inherent qualities of that speech variety. As stated in a previous footnote, no speech variety is inherently better than any other speech variety. Instead, “evaluations of language varieties do not reflect either linguistic or aesthetic qualities so much as the social conventions within speech communities concerning the status and prestige associated with speakers of the variety” (Giles, Hewstone, Ryan, & Johnson 1987: 585).

There are three main methods that researchers utilize in language attitude studies: direct and indirect measurements of language attitudes and analysis of societal treatment of language. Concepts such as status and solidarity help researchers to measure linguistic attitudes, and the notion of a standard is pertinent in many studies of language beliefs. All three are important in the study of language attitudes in Québec, but before proceeding to the review of previous language attitude studies conducted in *la belle province*, it is necessary to first provide a description of the sociolinguistic situation there, past and present.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY, LANGUAGE, AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN QUÉBEC

2.1 Introduction

Before proceeding to the many language attitude studies that have been conducted in Québec, it is helpful to understand the current sociolinguistic situation and how it developed. The events which account for the current situation also account for some of the differences that exist today between the French spoken in *la belle province* and other varieties of French, including standard European French from the Île-de-France (Paris) region.

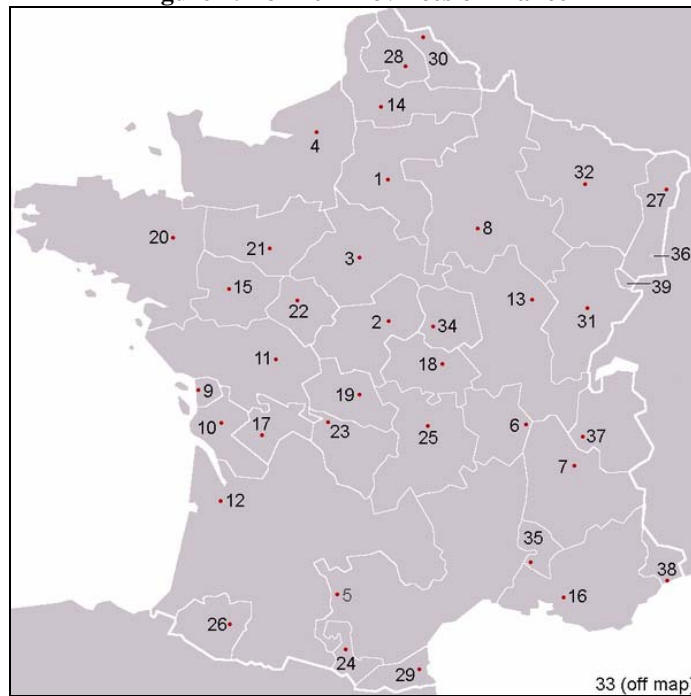
2.2 History

The political history of Québec has had a profound impact on its language and on the sociolinguistic situation, past and present. After the Treaty of Paris established Britain as the ruler of the French-speaking colony in 1763, francophones became a minority group in Canada. Even in Québec where they were still the demographic majority, they became a subordinate group under the ruling British elite. Close contact with English and separation from France promoted language changes which produced varieties of French which were distinctly Québécois.

2.2.1 Political events affecting the language and situation of Québec francophone

French colonists began settling in the area now known as Québec in 1608 at the foundation of La Nouvelle-France (New France) by Samuel de Champlain.¹ The settlers came from diverse regions of France such as Normandie, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge, and Paris (see Figure 1) (Auger 2003: 87). They brought their local dialects or languages with them to New France, but for ease of communication they settled on the usage of a French similar to that spoken around Paris.

Figure 1: Former Provinces of France



The regions of Normandie, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Aunis, and Saintonge are indicated by regions 4, 21, 15, 11, 9, and 10, respectively. Paris is within region 1. (Image from Wikipedia)

It was during the 17th century that the prestigious variety of French spoken at the Royal Court, situated in Paris, was promoted as the only correct variety of French.² The Académie

¹ This was not the first French settlement in Canada: Acadia was founded first in 1605 in what is now Nova Scotia (Auger 2003: 87).

² The prestigious Parisian (or Île-de-France) variety was chosen to become the standard, and today's standard European French is based on this speech variety. Standard European French is also referred to as standard

Française was established in 1637 with the sole purpose of “purifying” the French language and to encourage its correct usage. This notion of “le bon usage” became popular with the publishing of Claude Favre de Vaugelas’ *Les remarques sur la Langue Française* in 1647, and the French language was standardized under Louis XIV (Bourhis 1982: 36). The colonists of New France were well aware of these developments taking place in France, which apparently had a great influence on the language spoken in France’s North American colony. Visitors to the colony were impressed by the language spoken there:

“...à une époque où la majorité des Français qui vivaient en province parlaient des langues et dialectes autres que le français..., tous les habitants de la Nouvelle-France communiquaient entre eux dans un français qui faisait l’envie des visiteurs métropolitains... En Nouvelle-France, le contact avec la métropole et la présence des nobles et de notables maintenaient un français standard qui faisait l’admiration des visiteurs européens...” (Auger 2003: 87, 93)

Contact between the French colony and the mother country was broken after England’s victory at the end of the French and Indian (or Seven Years’) War³, and New France was officially handed over to Britain in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris (Bourhis 1982: 57; Auger 2003: 87). The British established themselves as the ruling elite in Canada while many of the French nobility chose to return to France. Francophones who stayed in the province remained in the rural areas, often working the land for sustenance and retaining close ties with the Roman Catholic Church. Although outnumbered by francophones, the anglophones remained the economically and politically dominant group in Québec from the 1760s until the latter half of the twentieth century (Evans 1999: 72).

French throughout this paper. The label of ‘standard’ is not meant to denote superiority but to refer to the speech variety which those in power in a particular society have chosen to promote.

³ The French and Indian War, or the Seven Years’ War, lasted from 1754 to 1763. On the North American continent, however, the British already held much power in New France by 1760, especially after their victory over the French on the Plains of Abraham in 1759 and after gaining control of Montréal in 1760 (Wikipedia).

After World War II, industrialization transformed Québec's society and brought many francophones to the cities in search of jobs. The dominant anglophones discriminated against French speakers because of their language, and francophones found themselves in low-paying, low status jobs and without any chance of upward mobility. Indeed, even if they were able to speak English well, francophones still earned less than anglophones (Shapiro & Stelcner 1981: 345). French speakers became increasingly discontent with their situation.

In addition, the subordinate francophone group had adopted some of the language beliefs of the dominant anglophone culture, not unlike other minority groups in similar situations (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum 1960: 49). The English language was viewed as the influential and prestigious language of Canadian society, and linguistic insecurity plagued the francophone community.

The prevalence of English as the language of power and prestige also presented a serious threat to the francophone culture in Québec. As ties to the Catholic Church and to rural life had been weakened by the changes in society after the Second World War, the French language had become integral to the Québécois⁴ identity; but the status of English as the language of business and government, even in *la belle province*, promoted assimilation to the dominant English-speaking Canadian culture. Francophones in other provinces of Canada were assimilating to English at an alarming rate; and Montréal, one of the largest French-speaking cities in the world, displayed a unilingual, English front (Auger 2003: 91). French already seemed to be losing a demographic foothold by the 1960s: many children of francophone-anglophone parentage were learning only English as their native language, the

⁴ *Québécois* is the common term which francophones in Québec use to refer to themselves, so this term will be used throughout this paper. Preference for this title was evident in the 1970s: Bourhis and Genesee found that the majority of their francophone subjects chose to identify themselves as 'Québécois' instead of 'Canadian' or 'French Canadian' (Bourhis & Genesee 1979: 337).

francophone birthrate dropped significantly with the changes brought about by modernization and urbanization, and immigrants coming to the province were choosing to assimilate to the anglophone culture instead of learning French. In reaction to socio-economic and linguistic oppression, a growing sense of nationalism among the Québécois manifested itself in the 1960s, the period known as the Quiet Revolution. During this time,

“...Francophones increasingly sought state intervention in the economic, social, and educational domains as a means of promoting the collective emancipation of the French-speaking majority within Quebec society” (Bourhis & Lepage 1993: 348).

Although two successive governments, the Union Nationale and a liberal Federal government, both passed legislation in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the intent of promoting French in Québec, these were inadequate to address the problem at hand (Auger 2003: 91). The francophones of Québec rallied behind the Parti Québécois, which was elected to power in 1976. This separatist party promptly passed Bill 101, also known as the *Charte de la langue française* or the French language charter, in 1977. This law established French as the official language of Québec, stipulated that all children of future immigrants to Québec be sent to French schools, and that English was not to appear on public signs or in advertising. Additionally, it set forth rules to establish French as the language of the workplace (Bourhis & Lepage 1993: 350-1). Since its passage in 1977, some of the original provisions have been altered when Québec anglophones contested their constitutionality, but Bill 101 continues to be most important in promoting the use of French within Québec.

Three government agencies were founded for the purpose of monitoring the Charter and its implementation: the *Office de la langue française*, the *Conseil de la langue française*, and the *Commission de surveillance et des enquêtes* (Genesee & Holobow 1989: 18-9). These serve, respectively, to “define and conduct Quebec policy and research in linguistics” (18), to

oversee language planning and its application regarding the quality, utilization, and status of French in Québec, and to handle violations of the law (19). Early language planning efforts were meant to promote the French language, but they served to deepen the linguistic insecurity already felt by the Québécois because language planners chose standard European French as the model to emulate instead of a variety of Québec French.

“Before the substantial impact of modernization, education and improved Franco-Quebec relations, it is likely that French Canadians had positive views towards their own study of Québécois French. But early efforts of Quebec language planners in the 1960s may have inadvertently denigrated Québécois-style French by introducing language planning favoring standard French...” (Bourhis 1982: 57-8)

The early language attitude studies conducted in *la belle province* and presented in chapter 3 provide evidence that the Québécois did indeed struggle with linguistic insecurity with respect to English and with respect to standard European French. The differences between Québec French and standard French, however, are due to natural processes that affect every speech variety and which are part of language change. The following section describes some of the changes which served to distinguish Québec French from standard European French.

2.2.2 Language change over the past 200 years

Geographical separation and the differences between the European and North American cultures by themselves would have, over time, served to define the French spoken in Québec from the French spoken in France, but political events also contributed to the course of language change in Québec.

After the British gained the territory of New France, Québec was cut off from any linguistic changes which developed in France during the next century. With the departure of the elite, also the most educated, the lower classes were left to maintain the French language in Canada. The various native dialects of the remaining French population evidently began

to have more of an effect on the language spoken in Québec, as influences from varieties other than standard French began to appear in Québécois documents at this time (Auger 2003: 93).

Québec French also changed due to processes which commonly occur when a language comes into contact with other languages. Words were borrowed from Native languages, especially for plants and animals not known in France. Modern-day Québec French words such as *atoca* ‘cranberry’ were acquired in this way (Auger & Valdman 1999: 405). English words such as *cheap*, *break*, *gang*, and *chum* found their way into Québec French as well (Auger 2003: 96). In addition to borrowing, new words were coined for new or previously unknown things or concepts; or, in other cases, the meanings of words shifted to reflect the North American situation. For example, *prélar* originally referred to a canvas covering used to protect goods being transported on ships, and colonists of New France used this canvas as a floor covering. The meaning of the word was then extended to include the floor covering as well. Although flooring materials have changed over the years, the term continued to refer to floor coverings and today serves as the Québec French word for ‘linoleum’ (Auger & Valdman 1999: 405).

Shifts in pronunciation occurred, another regular process in language change, such as the laxing of high vowels in closed syllables, the affrication of alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ before high vowels, or diphthongization in certain varieties of Québec French. These changes did not add to the number of phonemes in Québec French but simply created more allophones which were not present in standard European French.

All of these processes served to differentiate the French spoken in Québec from standard European French, but the latter variety was also undergoing the effects of language change in

spite of grammarians' attempts at "purifying" and preserving the language. New terms, new pronunciations, shifts in word meanings, and borrowings (even from English) affected standard French as well. Some words fell into disuse and were forgotten in France while they remained in circulation in Québec, and vice versa.⁵

The changes that affected the French on both sides of the Atlantic thus produced differences between them which can be categorized as lexical or phonetic differences⁶ (Bourhis & Lopicq 1993: 345). Although it sometimes takes European francophones a little time to get used to the different pronunciations which exist in Québec French, varieties of Québec and European French are, for the most part, mutually intelligible (358). Ease of communication also depends upon which varieties of French interlocutors use. Many different varieties of French are spoken in France, and the same is true of Québec French. In both cases, dialects can be arranged along a continuum ranging from the most standard variety to the variety most unlike the standard, including all the varieties of French in between. The most prestigious Québec French is very similar to standard European French, while other varieties of Québec French bear resemblance to vernacular forms of European French such as the French spoken by many in Provence (Auger & Valdman 1999: 407; Bourhis & Lopicq 1993: 345).

⁵ The use of such archaisms in Québec undoubtedly contributes to European French speakers' perception that the Québécois speak a French reminiscent of the 1700s.

⁶ Bourhis and Lopicq also list morphological variation as one of the main differences between Québec and European French (Bourhis & Lopicq 1993: 345). There is also syntactic variation among varieties of Québec French: while the variety of French taught in Québécois schools follows the same grammatical rules as standard European French, colloquial varieties may have slightly different syntactic rules. For example, a man speaking colloquial Québec French can say "*Je me suis-tu trompé?*" In standard French, one would ask "*Est-ce que je me suis trompé?*" (Auger & Valdman 1999: 406).

2.3 Linguistic insecurity and the emergence of a standard Québec French

When contact between Québec and France was reestablished many years after Britain's acquisition of New France, the realization of how their speech differed from standard European French came as a "brutal shock" to the Québécois (Auger 2003: 83). French governments had been so successful in promoting *le bon usage* and standard French within France and throughout her colonies that these concepts were still prevalent in Québec⁷ (Bourhis & Lopicq 1993: 366-7). The persistence of these beliefs combined with the linguistic insecurity often felt by members of the lower and middle classes (the educated French elite having left the country when England took over) no doubt fostered the "long tradition amongst Québec Francophones ... to decry the 'poor quality' of Quebec French" which Bourhis and Lopicq noted in their article (367). Any confidence Québec francophones had in their language was further shaken when language planning policies promoted by the *Office de la langue française* in the 1960s attempted to improve the quality of Québec French by pointing out its defects, or in other words, its deviations from standard European French (368). The effects of France's language policies unfortunately persist to this day, and standard European French is still perceived by many to be superior to Québec French (Auger & Valdman 1999: 407).

There is, however, a variety of Québec French which enjoys prestige in the province. *Le français québécois standard*, as it will be referred to throughout this paper, seems to have emerged as the standard of Québec French. Tremblay's study of 1990 indicated that her Québécois participants associated *le français québécois standard* with prestigious or neutral pronunciations that characterize Québec French (Tremblay 1990: 211-2). These include

⁷ This continues even today with the Alliance Française schools promoted by the French government, for example (Bourhis & Lopicq 1993: 367).

pronunciations such as lax high vowels in closed syllables, affrication of alveolar stops before high vowels, and the phonetic variants [a] and [ɑ] of /a/. These features are present in the colloquial varieties of Québec French as well, but colloquial varieties may also include stigmatized pronunciations such as diphthongs, the [ɔ] variant of /a/, the variant [wɛ] of /wa/ ([mwɛ] instead of [mwa] ‘me’), the lowering of /ɛ/ to [æ], or dropping certain segments ([zɛt] instead of [vuzɛt] ‘you are’) (Tremblay 1990: 211-2; Auger & Valdman 1999: 407). Colloquial varieties also include anglicisms, which *le français québécois standard* completely rejects (including anglicisms that have been accepted in standard European French) (407).

In spite of the differences mentioned above and some additional prosodic differences, *le français québécois standard* is very similar to the standard European French; but *le français québécois standard* has, after all, been modeled after standard French (407).

Within the province, there is a debate over whether this standard of Québec French really exists. Advocates of *le français québécois standard* point out that it is the variety of French taught in schools and universities and commonly used in the media, both characteristics of standard languages or dialects in other societies. Those who argue against the existence of such a standard seem to be more concerned about its effect on the relationship of Québec French to other varieties of French:

“Deux camps apparemment irréductibles s’affrontent ici: le clan du “non”, qui rejette la notion d’un français standard distinct du français de référence⁸, et celui du “oui”, qui en affirme l’existence. Comme c’est souvent le cas dans ces débats, les arguments invoqués par les deux clans ne se rejoignent pas toujours. Les uns accusent les autres de promouvoir une “langue” québécoise qui isolera les Québécois du reste de la francophonie, alors que les autres accusent leurs opposants d’adopter une attitude de colonisé envers l’ancienne mère patrie...” (Auger 2003: 94)

⁸ *Français de référence* refers to standard European French (Auger & Valdman 1999: 407).

Based on the evidence presented above and on studies indicating that Québec francophones do indeed associate prestige and status with *le français québécois standard*, it will be assumed in this study that this variety has indeed become the standard in Québec. Unfortunately, it is rather difficult to characterize this variety of French. Tremblay's study attempted to list some of the phonetic features which are associated with the prestigious standard, but many other studies offer vague descriptions of *le français québécois standard*. An example of this is Méar-Crine and Leclerc's description of Québec's standard:

“Dans notre étude, l'expression «français académique»⁹ désignera le code linguistique utilisé pas les Canadiens français instruits, dans les circonstances formelles ; c'est également le code linguistique préconisé et enseigné par les éducateurs, dans les écoles francophones du Québec...” (Méar-Crine & Leclerc 1976: 156)

Another complication in characterizing this speech variety is that different researchers use different terms for what *seems* to be the same variety of Québec French. For example, Méar-Crine and Leclerc, cited above, use *français académique* to refer to *le français québécois standard*. Others refer to Québec's standard as *Québec French* or *québécois* (Salien 1998), *upper class Québec French* (Genesee & Holobow 1989: 21), *educated Canadian French* (Rémillard, Tucker, & Bruck 1973: 385), or *français international* (Natalia Dankova, electronic mail, May 8, 2006), or they might simply refrain from assigning any label to this regional standard (Russo & Roberts 1999: 67). It is apparent that further research is needed to sufficiently describe and characterize this emerging standard.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has presented the historical backdrop which accounts for the sociolinguistic situation in *la belle province* today. Political events and linguistic changes occurring on both sides of the Atlantic have distinguished the French spoken in Québec from that of France and

⁹ *Le français académique* is another term for *le français québécois standard*.

have shaped Québécois language attitudes. With so many changes affecting the francophone community in *la belle province* in recent times, it is only natural that these changes affected language attitudes as well. The next chapter presents several language attitude studies conducted in Québec, and the results indicate a definite shift in linguistic beliefs in favor of Québec French.

CHAPTER 3

PREVIOUS LANGUAGE ATTITUDE STUDIES IN QUÉBEC

3.1 Introduction

Several of the language attitude studies which have been conducted in Québec are reviewed in this chapter. Both studies comparing attitudes towards English and French and studies on attitudes towards different varieties of French are included as the Québécois' attitudes have changed significantly in both areas. Language legislation and planning must be credited for much of the shift in language attitudes, and it is because of the effects of language policy on the sociolinguistic situation in *la belle province* that researchers have conducted so many language attitude studies there.

3.2 Studies of Québécois language attitudes towards English and French

3.2.1 Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum, 1960, part I

The most famous language attitude study conducted in Québec is Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum's matched guise experiment of 1958-59 (published 1960). The purpose of this study was to evaluate Montréal anglophone and francophone students' perceptions of their own linguistic group compared with their perceptions of the outgroup. The researchers presented ten recordings to their subjects, eight of which were made by four bilingual speakers and two of which were filler recordings; and participants were asked to rate the speaker in each recording according to fourteen traits on six-point scales. The traits chosen by Lambert and his colleagues included status traits, solidarity traits, and a few traits

which were classified in an “other” group. Traits pertaining to status were intelligence, leadership, self-confidence, and ambition; and perceptions of solidarity were measured in terms of sense of humor, kindness, sociability, likeability, entertainingness, character, and dependability. The ‘other’ category consisted of religiousness, height, and good looks (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum 1960: 44).

The researchers found that francophone students, like the anglophone students, rated the bilinguals in their English guises more favorably than when the speakers used French. In fact, francophones subjects tended to downgrade the bilinguals when they spoke French more than the anglophones did. The dominant anglophones exhibited ingroup favoritism and feelings of superiority in status, and the responses given by the francophones indicated that they had “internalized the negative views anglophones had of them as low-status group members within Québec society” (Bourhis & Lopicq 1993: 362).

From the end of the 1960s and into the 1970s, three different language laws were passed with the intent of promoting French in Québec, Bill 101 being the most successful. As language attitudes often shift in response to language legislation, researchers continued to study the Québécois’ attitudes towards English and French following the implementation of Bill 101.

3.2.2 Bourhis, 1984

Bourhis (1984) conducted a study in 1977 in which he asked anglophones and francophones to self-report their language use when conversing with a member of the other language group. Participants were asked if they would be more likely to accommodate the other speaker after the passage of Bill 101 than they would have been before the legislation. Francophones said that they would be less likely to speak English when talking with an

anglophone after the passage of the bill, and anglophones indicated that they would be more likely to accommodate a French speaker in conversation. However, as self-reports often do not describe actual language use, Bourhis set up an experiment which he conducted in 1977 and again in 1979 to see if linguistic behaviors matched the beliefs expressed in the self-reported language use study.

In both the 1977 and 1979 experiments, a bilingual female speaker approached pedestrians and asked them a generic question: half of the pedestrians were addressed in French and the other half were addressed in English. The experiment was carried out in Montréal, in a predominantly French section of the city and in a predominantly English part of town. The goal was to measure how many anglophones and how many francophones accommodated the woman in language choice.

Bourhis found, in both experiments, that anglophones were indeed becoming more disposed to using French when conversing with a francophone. In the 1977 study, about 60% of anglophones responded with French¹ when accosted in French; and around 63% of anglophones used French in the same situation in the 1979 experiment. However, when the bilingual speaker approached francophones and used her English guise, 95% of francophones responded with English² in 1977, and around 91% did the same in the 1979 study. Francophones therefore still accommodated English speakers more than anglophones accommodated French speakers. Bourhis proposed three possible reasons for these results: 1) a time lag between consciously expressed language attitudes and behavior, 2) a possibility

¹ Some anglophone participants responded with a mixture of French and English. Bourhis included these responses within the speaker accommodation group because it was believed that these anglophones were attempting to accommodate the female bilingual speaker even if they did not (or could not) answer completely in French.

² Some francophone respondents also answered with a mixture of French and English when approached in English. Again, these mixed responses were counted as participants' accommodating the female bilingual speaker.

that language maintenance is easier to report than to actually maintain, and/or 3) the persistence of a francophone sense of inferiority in comparison to the “dominant Québec anglophone minority” (Bourhis 1984: 45). (A later study by Genesee and Holobow which is reviewed on pages 37 and 38 indicates that Bourhis’ third proposal might have been the best explanation for francophones’ language behavior in the late 1970s.)

3.2.3 Bourhis and Genesee, 1979

In 1979, Bourhis and Genesee decided to measure the effects of the emerging socio-cultural norms on anglophone and francophone attitudes. They designed a study which pitted the emerging socio-cultural norm imposed by Bill 101 (that of increased use of French in the workplace) against a traditional situational norm, that of “the customer is always right.” Given a situation in which a francophone and an anglophone were engaged in a commercial exchange, how would participants’ attitudes towards the speakers be affected by the language choices that the speakers made? The researchers made four recordings of a simulated interaction between a French-speaking salesman and an English-speaking customer.³ Each simulated conversation between salesperson and customer began with the salesman greeting the anglophone customer in French. Bourhis and Genesee had the anglophone customer respond in English in two of the scenarios and in French in the other two. The francophone salesman was recorded answering in French for two of the recordings, once in response to the customer answering him in French and once in response to the customer’s using English. In the remaining two recordings, the salesman responded to the customer in English. The four different recordings were therefore comprised of the language switching patterns listed in Table 1:

³ Care was taken that the native language of both interlocutors was apparent. The customer had an English accent when speaking French, and the salesman had a French accent when speaking English.

Table 1: Language patterns in Bourhis and Genesee's scenarios

Salesman's greeting	Customer's response	Salesman's response
French	English	French
French	English	English
French	French	French
French	French	English

Bourhis and Genesee separated participants into four groups and played a different recording for each group so that each participant heard only one of the four recordings.

For all groups, the salesman's greeting was played first, after which the recording was paused. Subjects were asked to rate the salesman with respect to the following traits: friendliness, kindness, considerateness, honesty, competence, intelligence, and nationalism (Bourhis & Genesee 1979: 338). After finishing the first task, subjects then heard the customer's response in either French or English and indicated their perceptions of him using the same scales and traits that they had just used to evaluate the salesman. Finally, subjects heard the salesman's response to the customer in which he either accommodated the customer by speaking English or continued to speak in French. The participants then rated the salesman a second time after hearing his response.

Results from the study indicated a shift in francophone attitudes since 1960: compared to the ratings which francophone participants gave to the French speakers in Lambert *et al.*'s 1960 study, francophone respondents in Bourhis and Genesee's 1979 study gave the francophone salesman more positive ratings in their initial evaluation of him. In participants' second evaluation of the salesman (after they had heard the customer's response and the salesman's response to the customer), the salesman gained relatively little if he switched to English to accommodate the customer. However, the francophone salesman was downgraded in this second evaluation by all participants who heard the simulated conversations in which the salesman maintained the use of French.

Whether the anglophone customer used English or French made no difference in how he was perceived by subjects; but the results indicated that study participants, both anglophone and francophone, believed that the francophone salesman should accommodate the anglophone customer, indicating that the traditional situational norm still dominated the new socio-cultural norm.⁴ However, francophone attitudes towards their ingroup had indeed changed.

3.2.4 Genesee and Holobow, 1989, part I

Genesee and Holobow (1989) designed and conducted a study in 1984 which was based on Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum's 1960 MGT study and on a 1973 study by d'Anglejan and Tucker (summarized on pages 40-42) to determine how much language attitudes had changed since the late 1950s. The researchers recorded trilingual males and had participants rate each speaker once in a Canadian English guise, once in a Québec French guise, and once in a standard European French guise. The solidarity and status traits differed slightly from those used by Lambert and his colleagues. Speakers were rated on the solidarity traits of kindness, warmth of personality, likeability, sense of humor, colorfulness, and dependability and on the status traits of intelligence, education, ambition, and leadership qualities. Religiousness, height, and toughness were included as well but were grouped in a separate category.

Compared to the results of Lambert *et al.*'s 1960 study, francophones in Genesee and Holobow's study rated speakers' French guises much more highly, especially on solidarity traits. Only on colorfulness were speakers' English guises rated more highly than their

⁴ The researchers suggested that a similar study in which an anglophone clerk interacts with a francophone customer would determine whether anglophone participants would still favor the traditional situational norm (Bourhis & Genesee 1979: 342). If anyone did conduct such a study after Bourhis and Genesee's experiment, I am unaware of it.

French guises in the solidarity dimension. However, the English guises were still rated more favorably than French guises with respect to all status traits. (Results comparing Québec French with standard European French will be discussed in section 3.3.5.) Francophone participants, on average, also assigned speakers in their Québec French guises to an occupation of mail carrier while speakers in their English guises were more likely to be perceived as aeronautical engineers, indicating a sense of socio-economic inferiority *chez les Québécois* (Genesee & Holobow 1989: 33). Genesee and Holobow concluded that language legislation had been more successful in changing francophones' "perceptions of ingroup solidarity" than altering their perceptions of intergroup status. The results of this study were in keeping with those of Bourhis and Genesee in 1979: Québécois' self-perceptions had improved, but the status quo remained unchanged in intergroup situations.

The promotion of French in Québec continues to be an important issue to francophones in *la belle province*. Ingroup perceptions have improved after the passage of language laws, and with the persistent efforts of language planners and legislation, there is a possibility that francophone perceptions of intergroup status will change as well.

3.3 Studies comparing attitudes towards varieties of French

Many studies have been conducted which compare attitudes towards standard European French with one or more varieties of Québec French. Because it is impossible to separate the studies mentioned below into categories pertaining to standard European vs. Québec French and the comparison of Québec varieties, they are presented in chronological order. This ordering also emphasizes how language attitudes have changed in Québec over the past fifty years.

3.3.1 Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum, 1960, part II

Although Lambert and his colleagues did not intend to compare attitudes towards different varieties of French, they recorded bilingual speakers who spoke French with a variety of accents for their 1960 study. Of the four speakers, one spoke with a standard European French accent, two had a *français québécois standard* accent, and one spoke with a more pronounced working-class Québec French or *franco-québécois* accent.⁵ (*Le franco-québécois* is another term which will be used in this and in the following chapter. This variety of Québec French is often associated with the working class and, of the varieties of Québec French, is least similar to standard European French. *Le franco-québécois* is generally described as containing stigmatized pronunciations [see section 2.3] and anglicisms. Non-linguists have often referred to this variety as *joual*.)

Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum noted that the French guises of these four bilingual speakers received different ratings from the study's francophone participants. Compared to ratings for all of the Québec French guises (*français québécois standard* and *franco-québécois* speakers), the speaker with the standard European French accent was rated the most favorably on all traits except for religiousness, kindness, and ability to entertain.⁶ At the opposite end of the rating scales was the bilingual speaker who used *franco-québécois*. He received the lowest ratings of all the French varieties on leadership skills, intelligence,

⁵ Lambert and his colleagues actually referred to these accents respectively as “an accent that was judged as indistinguishable from that used in France” or “Parisian French” (Lambert *et al.* 1960: 46), a “French Canadian accent,” and a “marked French Canadian accent characteristic of those who work ‘in the bush’” (45). Méar-Crine and Leclerc, in their 1976 article, identified these latter two varieties as *le français académique* (or *le français québécois standard* [see section 2.3]) and *le franco-québécois* (Méar-Crine & Leclerc 1976: 156). *Le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois* will therefore be used to refer to these two varieties.

⁶ This speaker's French guise also solicited higher ratings on his sense of humor, self-confidence, and ambition than his English guise did.

self-confidence, ambition, dependability, sociability, character, and likeability. (He was, if any consolation, rated the highest on ability to entertain.)

The results from Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum's study suggested that, of the varieties presented to them, francophone participants held the most favorable attitudes towards standard European French and the least favorable attitudes towards *franco-qubécois*. As standard European French had long been promoted as the standard throughout the francophone world (Bourhis 1982: 35), and given that *franco-qubécois* differed most from European French, it is not surprising that the participants responded in this manner.

3.3.2 D'Anglejan and Tucker, 1973

To further study the effects of accent and dialect on language attitudes towards different varieties of French, d'Anglejan and Tucker conducted a study in the early 1970s in which they asked participants in Montréal, Québec, and Alma⁷ to fill out a questionnaire and to listen to and evaluate 12 French speakers featured in the recordings which the researchers presented. The participants were divided into three groups: teachers, students, and workers.

Participants completed the questionnaire first. The questions were designed to measure Québécois francophones' awareness of variation in speech according to social status and geographic region, their perceptions of their own speech and evaluations of others', their attitudes towards Québec French versus European French, language change, and language policy.

D'Anglejan and Tucker recorded twelve francophone men: four standard European French speakers from France, four upper class Québécois speakers, and four lower class Québécois speakers. The researchers chose to include Québécois speakers from two different

⁷ Alma is a town in northeastern Québec, within the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region.

socioeconomic groups based on findings from research on the relation between social class and speech.

“Speakers from different social levels are characterized by distinctive features which are easily identified by linguistically naïve judges and which may be used by these judges as a basis for evaluating the speaker.” (D’Anglejan & Tucker 1973: 4)

(Based on the descriptions given above of *le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois*, we might assume that the upper class Québécois speakers recorded in this study spoke *français québécois standard* or a similar variety, while the lower class Québécois speakers spoke *franco-québécois* or something close to it.)

All recordings were samples of free speech on the same topic (a recent blizzard), which allowed for variation in pronunciation as well as lexical and syntactic variation (7). Participants were asked to rate the perceived intelligence, level of education, ambition, likeability, and toughness of each speaker. They were also asked whether the speaker’s language was an asset or a liability to him, and finally they were to indicate what kind of job each speaker would likely hold. Participants indicated their responses on seven-point scales. After evaluating the free speech samples, participants listened to recordings of the same twelve speakers counting from one to twenty and indicated whether the speaker belonged to the upper- or lower-class.

Results from the questionnaire showed that most participants were aware of social variation in speech. The majority of participants also indicated that they were aware of regional variation and of language change over time. Regarding their own language use, the subjects indicated that they were “moderately, but not entirely, satisfied with their own speech style” (11). While they disagreed with the statements that Québec French was not as nice as European French and that the best French is that of Paris, many participants answered

affirmatively when asked if Québec French “needed improvement.”⁸ Participants also identified Québec French’s areas of weakness as being its vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, and intonation (17).⁹

Although participants had indicated that they believed Québec French to be as nice as European French, their responses on the speaker evaluation section exhibited a preference for the latter. The standard European French speakers were rated as the most intelligent, educated, ambitious, and likeable; the *français québécois standard* speakers were rated second on those traits. (The *franco-québécois* speakers were rated highly only on “toughness.”) Standard European French was considered an asset, while *franco-québécois* was downgraded. Additionally, the highest occupations were assigned to the European French speakers and the lowest to the *franco-québécois* speakers. Based on these results, participants clearly ranked standard European French highest on both status and solidarity. Preferences for this variety as the most prestigious and most favored coincided with the results of Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum’s study.

3.3.3 Rémillard, Tucker, and Bruck, 1973

A study of attitudes towards standard European French and Québec French phrases and lexical items was conducted in the early 1970s by Rémillard, Tucker, and Bruck. The researchers compiled a list of ten lexical items from Québec French and the corresponding standard European French lexical items as well as a list of ten Québec French phrases along

⁸ D’Anglejan and Tucker did not specify what was meant by the phrase “needed improvement.” However, as language planners at the time presented the standard European French as the ideal, one might assume that participants viewed deviations in Québec French from the standard as undesirable. Participants might have equated “improving” Québec French with ridding it of anglicisms and making it conform to standard European French in pronunciation, grammar, and intonation, as these were the areas of “weakness” which participants associated with Québec French (D’Anglejan & Tucker 1973: 17).

⁹ There were some differences in responses for certain questions based on the occupational and/or regional groupings of participants. Only the general results are presented here.

with the standard European French equivalents. Participants were randomly divided into three groups.

The first group was given a questionnaire with a randomized list of the Québec French and standard European French phrases and lexical items. Subjects were asked whether the phrases and items were correct or incorrect; and they were to indicate, on a scale from one to seven, the probability of their using each phrase and lexical item in the following situations: at home, at school, at work, in public (such as on television), and in writing. Thus the situations ranged from the least to the most formal.

Groups 2 and 3 also filled out a questionnaire, but the lexical items and phrases were not written out on the pages. Instead, participants listened to the list of items and phrases read once by a Québec French speaker and once by a European French speaker. The difference between groups 2 and 3 was the ordering of the recordings. By having three different modes/orders of presentation, the researchers hoped to ascertain if subjects' responses were affected by method of presentation.

The results from all three groups indicated that, overall, standard European French lexical items were perceived to be more correct than those of Québec French, but either type of lexical item would be used at home or in school if it was perceived as being "correct." The more formal the situation, however, the more participants tended to favor the use of standard European French items. Reactions towards the phrases were different: participants significantly rated standard European French phrases as more correct than their Québec French counterparts and favored the use of the European phrases in all situations. Participants in groups 2 and 3 also rated standard European French phrases as being more

correct when they were read by the European French speaker. Once again, preferences for standard European French over Québec French were exhibited by francophone participants.

3.3.4 Méar-Crine and Leclerc, 1976

Méar-Crine and Leclerc conducted a matched guise test in the mid-1970s to compare attitudes towards two varieties of Québec French: *le français académique* and *le franco-québécois*. Méar-Crine and Leclerc defined *le français académique* as the form used by educated Québécois in formal situations and taught in French schools (Méar-Crine & Leclerc 1976: 156). (Basically, this is the variety which has emerged as the standard and which is referred to in this paper as *le français québécois standard*.) Méar-Crine and Leclerc's definition of *le franco-québécois* was as follows:

“...le “franco-québécois” désignera le code linguistique généralement associé à la couche socio-économique inférieure de la population québécoise. Tant qu'on n'aura pas abouti à une description linguistique exhaustive du franco-québécois, il semble dangereux de vouloir le caractériser, soit sur le plan linguistique ou sociolinguistique...” (156)

Their definition of this colloquial variety was as general as others' definitions of *le français québécois standard*. One reason for the careful characterizations of these two varieties of Québec French, which Méar-Crine and Leclerc took care to point out, is that *le français académique* (*le français québécois standard*) and *le franco-québécois* are not completely separated but are at the extremities of a continuum with intermediate forms in between. Additionally, some Québécois use both varieties:

“...Il convient cependant de souligner que bon nombre de canadiens instruits passent facilement du français académique au franco-québécois, selon les circonstances, alors que dans les classes inférieures de la population québécoise, on s'exprime presque exclusivement en franco-québécois. Ces faits ne devraient toutefois pas suggérer que le français académique et le franco-québécois sont deux entités linguistiques absolument distinctes. Il serait plus exact de considérer ces dialectes dans l'optique d'un continuum allant du franco-québécois au français académique de l'élite intellectuelle québécoise...” (156-7)

Méar-Crine and Leclerc had noticed that many of the Québec elite had chosen to use *le franco-québécois* in the 1960s to express support and appreciation of their culture. As the middle and lower classes tend to emulate the elite, the researchers wanted to see if attitudes towards *le franco-québécois* had changed because of this trend (157).

Méar-Crine and Leclerc recorded nine bidialectal speakers reading a passage from *Gommes*, by Robbe-Grillet, after they had “translated” it from the original *français académique* (*français québécois standard*) to *franco-québécois*. With the help of Québec students, the researchers then chose 30 pairs of adjectives¹⁰ on which participants were to rate the nine speakers on scales of 7 points. Study participants were also asked, based on their perceptions, whether speakers held jobs which earned lots of money and required many years of study or if they held jobs which paid little and required little education.

According to the results that the researchers obtained, speakers were perceived as being nicer and more kind, honest, agreeable, sociable, friendly, polite, reliable, cooperative, courteous, self-confident, logical, methodical, smart/resourceful, intelligent, calm, conscientious, and prompt in their *français académique* (*français québécois standard*) guises than in their *franco-québécois* guises. In the *académique* guises, speakers were also rated as being less narrow-minded, lazy, ignorant, gullible, easily influenced, sluggish, negligent, stubborn, instable, careless, and coarse (166). The higher status jobs were also associated with *le français académique* (167).

Méar-Crine and Leclerc concluded that *le français académique* (*le français québécois standard*), in the minds of their Québécois participants, had more value than the ordinary,

¹⁰ According to more recent studies, the list of adjectives used in the Lambert study was believed to reflect the stereotypes that anglophones held concerning francophones. Méar-Crine and Leclerc wanted to use adjectives which were pertinent to the Québec culture (Méar-Crine & Leclerc 1976: 158).

everyday *franco-qubécois* and that it was to this prestigious form that the Québécois aspired (170). These results followed the general patterns found in other studies which compared attitudes towards standard and non-standard speech varieties.

3.3.5 Genesee and Holobow, 1989, part II

Mentioned previously in section 3.2.4, Genesee and Holobow's 1989 study also compared attitudes towards Québec French with those towards standard European French. They found that their francophone participants rated Québec and European French the same on solidarity traits, but subjects rated standard European French more favorably on the following status traits: intelligence, education, ambition, and leadership skills (Genesee & Holobow 1989: 31). Compared to the results of d'Anglejan and Tucker from 1973, status ratings for the two varieties of French did not change. However, Genesee and Holobow's Québécois participants exhibited more solidarity with their language group and rated Québec French speakers more favorably on solidarity traits than did d'Anglejan and Tucker's participants.

3.3.6 Tremblay, 1990

Tremblay's study of 1990 addressed attitudes towards France French and different types of Québec French¹¹ through the use of a questionnaire. Her participants were divided into three separate groups based on their level of education and occupation (or occupation of their parents if the participants were students). Responses to her survey showed that 58% of the participants believed the French from France to be better than that of Québec, while 61% said that the Québécois speak badly. However, 72% also said that Québec French was as valuable as France French. Tremblay explained these mixed results as a consequence of a

¹¹ Tremblay left it up to participants to decide for themselves what was meant by "le français parlé en France" and by "le français parlé au Québec." In spite of this ambiguity, Tremblay found that there were still patterns which were evident in the results.

“double allegiance” to the standard European French and the standard Québécois French, *le français québécois standard* (Tremblay 1990: 215).

Tremblay also asked her participants to indicate their satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with Québec French with regards to vocabulary and pronunciation. She found that the majority of participants in the fairly low and fairly high socio-economic status groups indicated that they were satisfied with Québec French vocabulary (63% and 60%) and with Québec French pronunciation (69% and 55%). The middle socio-economic status group indicated higher degrees of dissatisfaction with the lexicon of Québec French (57%) and with its pronunciation (76%), which supports Labov’s hypothesis that the middle class is the most linguistically insecure and the most aware of social speech differences as they try to emulate the speech of the higher classes (Labov 1973: 132-3).

Tremblay also played short recordings of eight speakers who had been broadcasted over Radio-Canada. Based on the feedback from study participants, Tremblay was able to identify phonetic features characterizing Québec French which participants perceived as prestigious, neutral, or stigmatized (see section 2.3).

3.3.7 Evans, 1999

In a study conducted in the late 1990s, Evans asked Québécois students from Montréal to rate, on a scale of 1 to 5, the correctness and pleasantness of several varieties of French from Canada, Europe, Africa, Asia, and the United States. Participants were also asked to indicate on a four-point scale the degree of difference between the French they spoke and these other varieties.

European and Québec varieties of French were rated most favorably for correctness and pleasantness. The Île-de-France¹² and Provence varieties were rated the most correct, but 2 Québec varieties, those of the Laurentides region and New Québec, were rated as the third and fourth most correct varieties. Belgian French was rated 5th on the correctness scale, while the third variety of Québec French listed, that of Gaspésie, was rated sixth. All other varieties of French were ranked lower on correctness (Evans 1999: 83). As Kuiper found in his study of language attitudes in France, correctness does not always equal pleasantness (Kuiper 2005: 42): all three regional varieties of Québec French were at the very top of the list when subjects rated varieties for pleasantness, so all European varieties were ranked below Québec varieties (Evans 1999: 86-7).

Evans' study proved that Québécois' language attitudes towards Québec French have indeed changed. Study participants ranked Québec varieties higher than standard European French on pleasantness (the solidarity dimension), although varieties from France still retained the highest status and prestige.

3.4 Summary

Language attitude studies conducted in Québec over the past five decades have revealed that the linguistic attitudes of the Québécois have shifted significantly. The value of Québec French has risen significantly, although English and standard European French are still associated with high status. With continued language legislation and language planning, there is a possibility that attitudes will, if they have not already done so, shift again.

The last study to measure the Québécois' attitudes towards the standard Québec French, *le français québécois standard*, and *le franco-québécois*, a colloquial variety of Québec French,

¹² The Île-de-France (or Parisian) variety of French was the variety of French which was promoted as the standard.

was conducted in the mid-1970s by Méar-Crine and Leclerc. The goal of the present study was to measure the *current* attitudes towards these two varieties, and this is the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

THE CURRENT STUDY, ITS METHODS AND RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

It was decided that the best way to measure current language attitudes towards standard Québec French and *le franco-québécois* from outside the province was to design a survey and post it on the internet. Although this method would limit who could access the survey, there was still a greater chance of being able to include more participants.

University students were selected as the target population in this study. As these students will most likely occupy leadership roles and possibly even become language planners in Québec's near future, their language opinions are, or will be, influential. Second, it was assumed that students would have more access to computers and the internet than some of the other demographic groups.

4.2 The current study

4.2.1 *The survey*

The survey was modeled after previous language attitude studies in Québec. Additions and revisions were made to the survey thanks to the suggestions of Dr. David Mora-Marin, Teresa Edwards and Michelle Temple from the Odum Institute, and Vincent Lagace, a Québécois student attending UNC. After the survey was posted online and opened to participants, a few of the Québécois students indicated that the set-up of the survey had caused them some confusion. The survey was therefore slightly modified during the week

that it was open. These minor changes and their effects will be discussed in section 4.4.2.5 of this chapter.

The survey was divided into 5 sections. Section 1 included 34 multiple choice or open-ended response questions. Participants were asked to supply information about their entertainment habits and preferences in the first 11 questions. No specific variety of French was mentioned until the fourth section of the survey, but participants were asked to rate the French spoken in their neighborhood in section 1. They were also asked if there were varieties of French which were better than others, whether certain varieties were associated with different media, literature, and music genres, and if there were different varieties of French spoken within Québec. A few questions pertained to participants' previous experience talking to someone from Québec or France who spoke French differently than they. The remaining questions queried students' use and opinions of anglicisms and their awareness of language change.

The second section utilized the 'analysis of the societal treatment of language' method. Participants were to self-report which of two lexical items they would use in a particular situation, given a word associated with *le franco-québécois* and a word which would be used in *le français québécois standard*.¹ The purpose of this section was to obtain participants' self-reports of adjusting their speech according to the formality of the situation.

The survey's third section was a verbal guise test, an indirect measure of language attitudes. Participants listened to two very short recordings and rated the speaker in each recording on ten sets of traits. They were also given a list of six professions and were asked which of the six each speaker sounded most like.

¹ Participants actually had three options for each question in this section: they could indicate the use of the *franco-québécois* word, the *français québécois standard* word, or the equal use of both terms.

The fourth section introduced specific questions dealing with *le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois*. These terms and their definitions were presented at the beginning of this section. This section included 11 statements about *le français québécois standard*, *le franco-québécois*, or both; and participants were asked to express their agreement or disagreement with each of the 11 statements. They completed the section by indicating which words they associated with *le franco-québécois* from a list of 12 lexical items.

The fifth section was comprised of demographic questions and concluded the survey.

4.2.2 Recruiting

An e-mail with information about the study was sent to numerous departments of several francophone universities in Québec. The e-mail included an attached message, also with information about the survey, which was directed towards possible participants. The e-mail sent to the departments contained a request that the department forward the attached message to students who were on their list serves. This message included the researcher's e-mail address so that any students who were interested in participating might request the online address for the survey. After obtaining the address, participants were able to take the survey anytime during the week of May 7th, 2006, from any computer with internet access. The survey was available for one week, beginning the evening of the 7th and closing the evening of the 14th. Participants submitted their survey responses in complete anonymity.

4.2.3 Participants

Of the 126 students who completed the survey, 112 responses were analyzed.² Sixty-seven of these participants were female and 45 were male. Ages ranged from around 19 to

² Because the study was to focus on Québécois francophones' attitudes, responses from students who were not native French speakers or who had not spent most of their life in Québec were not counted in this analysis.

49 years of age, with the average age being around 26 years of age.³ All participants whose responses were counted in the analysis were native French speakers who had spent most, if not all, of their life in Québec.

4.2.4 Survey set-up

The survey was created in and hosted by Zoomerang's ZPro program (<http://info.zoomerang.com/index.htm>). Because extemporaneous responses were desired, the survey was set up so that participants were not able to return to questions after proceeding to the next page of the survey.⁴ There were some mandatory questions which participants had to answer before moving to another question, but most items were optional.⁵

The recordings for the speaker rating section were recorded onto a Compaq Presario PC from online radio websites with the use of a Cyber Acoustics CVL-1064 desktop microphone. Sound segments of 6 to 8 seconds were selected and cut from the longer recordings with the use of the Praat program, version 4.2.14. The sound segments were not included in the survey itself, but participants could click on a link within the survey to open a new window which featured the selected sound clip.

³ The ages of the participants are approximate as they were only asked to indicate the year of their birth instead of their age. As participants did not give their birthdays, there was no way to tell if those born in 1986 were 19 or 20. If it was assumed that none of the participants' birthdays were before May 14th (so that those born in 1986 were 19 and those born in 1957 were 48), then the average age was 25.73. On the other hand, if one merely subtracted every participant's birth year from the present year 2006 (those born in 1986 assumed to be 20 and those born in 1957 assumed to be 49), then the average age was 26.73.

⁴ There was one question per page on average.

⁵ Mandatory questions were demographic questions and 'skip' questions. Based on participants' responses, skip questions directed respondents to the next pertinent question. Questions 13, 16, 19, 21, 24, and 27 were skip questions (see Appendix A or B). For example, if a participant answered 'yes' on question 13, he or she would then be directed to question 14. If the participant answered negatively on question 13, he or she would be directed to question 16.

4.3 General Results

The responses from the survey were entered into the SPSS program (version 14.0 for Windows) which was used to obtain the descriptive statistics and the chi-square test results presented in this chapter.

4.3.1 Section 1

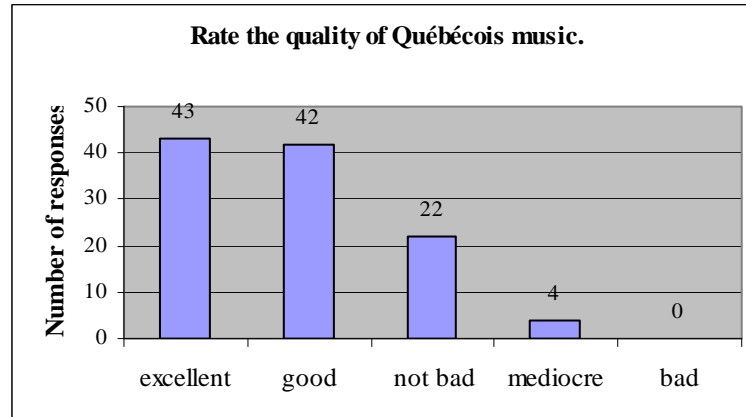
4.3.1.1 Entertainment preferences

Participants were asked questions pertaining to Québécois music, film, and to their favorite TV/radio personality and sports team. These questions were designed to measure, in general, participants' feelings towards the Québécois culture. As language is a part of one's culture, it was predicted that those participants who displayed positive attitudes towards their culture would also have a more positive view of their language or language variety.

Of the music that they normally listened to, participants were asked to indicate the percentage which was Québécois (and francophone). Around 49% of respondents indicated that at least half of it was Québécois, while 50.9% claimed that they listened to Québécois music less than half of the time. These results alone might imply that Québécois music is favored by less than half of the study's participants, but there are other factors to consider when interpreting these answers. First, it was left up to participants to decide what 'Québécois music' meant. This could have been interpreted as music performed by Québécois artists, music written by someone from Québec, or songs with (Québécois) French words. It is also important to keep in mind the prevalence of anglophone (especially American) music on radio and television stations across the world. In spite of the fact that the majority of participants did not listen to Québécois music most of the time, the majority, 91.9%, indicated that they liked Québécois music, and 76.6% rated the quality of Québec's

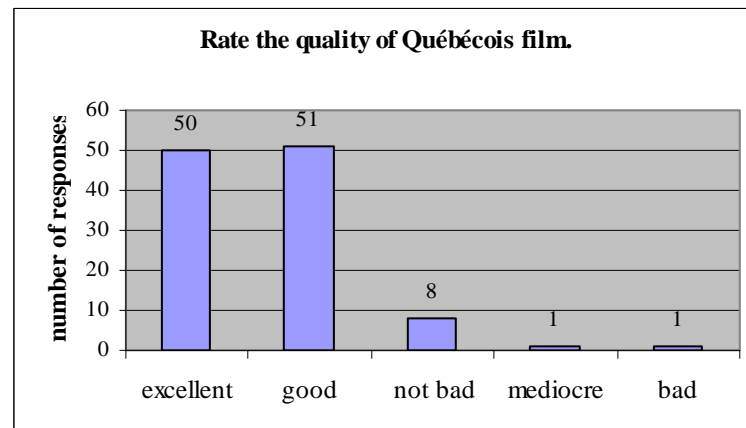
music as ‘good’ or ‘excellent.’ These results imply that Québécois music might be more favorably perceived by participants than responses to the first question might suggest.

Figure 2: Quality of Québécois music



Regarding films, 33.3% of participants indicated that at least half of the movies they watched were Québécois. Again, it is important to note that Québec films are few in number compared to anglophone films and movies from France.⁶ The majority, 96.4%, said that they liked Québécois films, and 91% rated them as having ‘good’ or ‘excellent’ quality.

Figure 3: Quality of Québécois film



Of the 102 responses given for favorite radio or television personalities, 100 students named a francophone personality, 99 of those responses listing a personality from Québec.

⁶ Thanks to Professor Natalia Dankova for pointing out that the rarity of Québécois films would affect these results (Natalia Dankova, electronic mail, May 8, 2006).

Additionally, participants were asked to explain why the person they listed was their favorite. Five participants mentioned that their favorite personality was a good representative of Québec culture or showed a love or appreciation of Québec, and six participants stated that their favorite personality's proper use of French was one reason for their liking that person. Eleven others mentioned that their favorite personality expressed him-/herself well, was articulate, or was a good communicator, but they did not explicitly mention the French language.

Of the 67 participants who listed a favorite sports team, 64 listed a team from (or originally from⁷) Québec.

All in all, it seemed that participants expressed a positive attitude towards Québec and their culture based on these results.

4.3.1.2 *Media, literature, and music genres*

The majority of participants answered affirmatively when asked if certain media, literature, and music genres were associated with different varieties of French (82%, 76%, and 77% respectively for each of these questions). Responses detailing which varieties were associated with genres were open-ended and thus varied greatly among participants, but there were some patterns that were apparent. Around 26% of the responses which affirmed associations between media genres and varieties of French stated that public media stations (radio and television) were associated with a standard, international⁸, or 'correct' French.

⁷ The Nordiques hockey team, originally from Québec but now in Colorado, was still a favorite for some.

⁸ International French is very similar to the standard European French. By 'international French,' students could have been referring to the speech variety spoken in many countries across the world which is based on standard European French. However, some in Québec use the term *français international* to refer to *le français québécois standard* (Natalia Dankova, electronic mail, May 8, 2006), so some of the participants might have been referring to Québec's standard French in this section. Participants' use of this term is therefore ambiguous, but in either case, students were referring to a variety of French which is similar to standard European French.

Private and commercial stations, on the other hand, were associated with a ‘popular’⁹ French. A few participants commented that the use of international French in a news broadcast denoted the source as a credible one, while unreliable sources used ‘bad French.’ Sixteen percent of participants claimed that their favorite media genres were those that used good language or careful speech, good vocabulary, or international French.

Answers pertaining to literature genres were more mixed, but there was some consensus here as well. Classical French literature was associated with international French. A few participants contrasted literature from France with that of Québec, mostly expressing a preference for the latter. Sometimes popular Québec French or *joual*¹⁰ was mentioned in conjunction with Québécois literature, and it was almost always mentioned in conjunction with Québécois theatre. While some participants claimed that Québec’s literature was less ‘pretentious’ and more understandable, other comments implied that such literature did not respect the quality of the language enough. For some, poetry was associated with regional or vernacular speech; but more standard French was used in this genre according to other participants. (This obviously depended on the genre of poetry which people had in mind.) Those that made any mention of translated materials, textbooks, reference books, or research articles all associated these with international French or an ‘excellent French.’ Here again, a respondent noted that the use of ‘formal French’ (more standard French) gave these genres more credibility.

There was consensus that popular or working class varieties of French were associated with folk and traditional Québécois music. The same varieties of French were usually

⁹ As participants contrasted ‘popular’ French with ‘standard’ French, one might assume that ‘popular’ French refers to more colloquial varieties of French.

¹⁰ *Le joual* is a term that many use to refer to *le franco-québécois* even though *joual* is not a term which would be used by linguists.

mentioned in conjunction with rap, rock, ska, punk, and hip-hop as well, while classical music was associated with international French. There was disagreement regarding popular music: some associated it with popular French and some with more standard French. Music directed towards younger audiences was sometimes associated with a popular variety of French or a 'poor' (quality) French.

Other common responses which were applicable to all questions included statements which noted that the variety of French used in a genre depended on the genre's purpose or on the audience that it was intended to reach. Participant responses indicated a high level of language awareness, and the most forceful comments were usually ones which lamented the 'massacring' of the language.

In general, there was a trend to associate prestigious genres or credible sources with standard or international French. The regional or vernacular varieties were more often associated with 'the masses.'

4.3.1.3 Awareness of different varieties of French

All but one participant claimed to have spoken with another Québécois (francophone) who spoke differently than he or she did. When asked to give a reason for this difference in speech, 75% of participants attributed it to the region from which the other person came. Those who described the regional differences they encountered usually mentioned the accent and/or the differences in regional vocabulary or expressions. About 13% attributed the difference in speech to the level of education that the other speaker had, and around 8% mentioned a difference in socio-economic status. Only a few participants ascribed the language difference to the age of the speaker, and only a few others mentioned ethnic background. Most of the participants stated that their reactions to these differences were

either positive (interesting, a learning experience) or neutral. Negative responses were reported by a few participants who perceived the other speaker as having had less education, no knowledge of the rules of French, or too much exposure to English (therefore using many anglicisms).

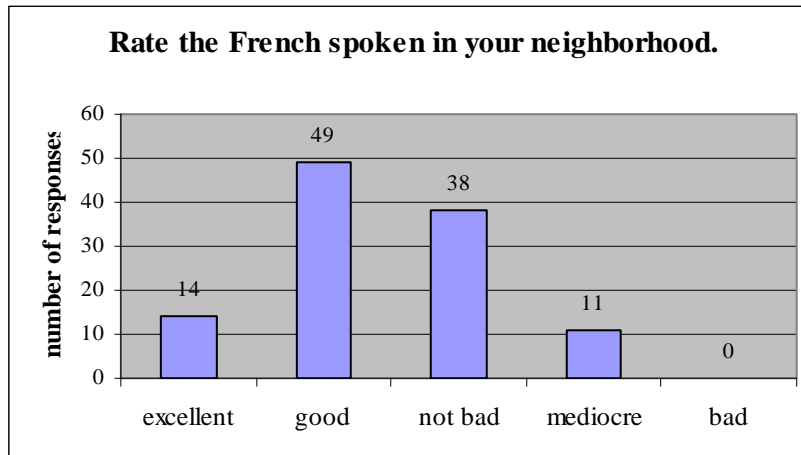
Given these results, it was not surprising that 104 of the 112 participants stated that they believed there were different varieties of French spoken within the province of Québec. When asked if there were varieties of French that were better than others, around 65% said no. Of the 39 who believed some varieties of French to be better than others, 3 listed European or France French as the best varieties, and eight students listed international or academic¹¹ French as the best French. The majority of the remaining responses did not list a variety from any particular region; instead, participants listed at least one of the following traits as characteristics of ‘good French’: French which is well articulated, follows grammar rules, uses few or no anglicisms or other foreign words (and especially if there is a French equivalent), has a concise vocabulary, and is understandable to the majority of francophones.

The survey question which asked participants to rate the French spoken in their neighborhood was based on a question used in Bilaniuk’s study in Ukraine. By asking her subjects to rate the Ukrainian spoken in their area, Bilaniuk was seeking to measure attitudes not towards an idealized language but towards the actual language in use. The question was designed to assess “how critical or supportive respondents [were] of the language used around them” (Bilaniuk 2003: 59). If the language in question was linked to the identity of

¹¹ Once again, with ‘international French,’ students could have been referring to the speech variety spoken in many countries across the world which is based on standard European French, or they could have been referring to *le français québécois standard* (see footnote 8 on page 56). Also, academic French could also refer to *le français québécois standard* as some, such as Méar-Crine and Leclerc, have used *le français académique* to refer to the province’s standard variety. In all possible cases, it is safe to assume that students were referring to a variety of French that is like standard European French.

the participants, higher ratings would indicate greater self-confidence and linguistic security. Negative ratings will indicate the opposite: lower self-esteem and more linguistic insecurity (59). Figure 4 presents the responses of the Québécois students.

Figure 4: Neighborhood French ratings

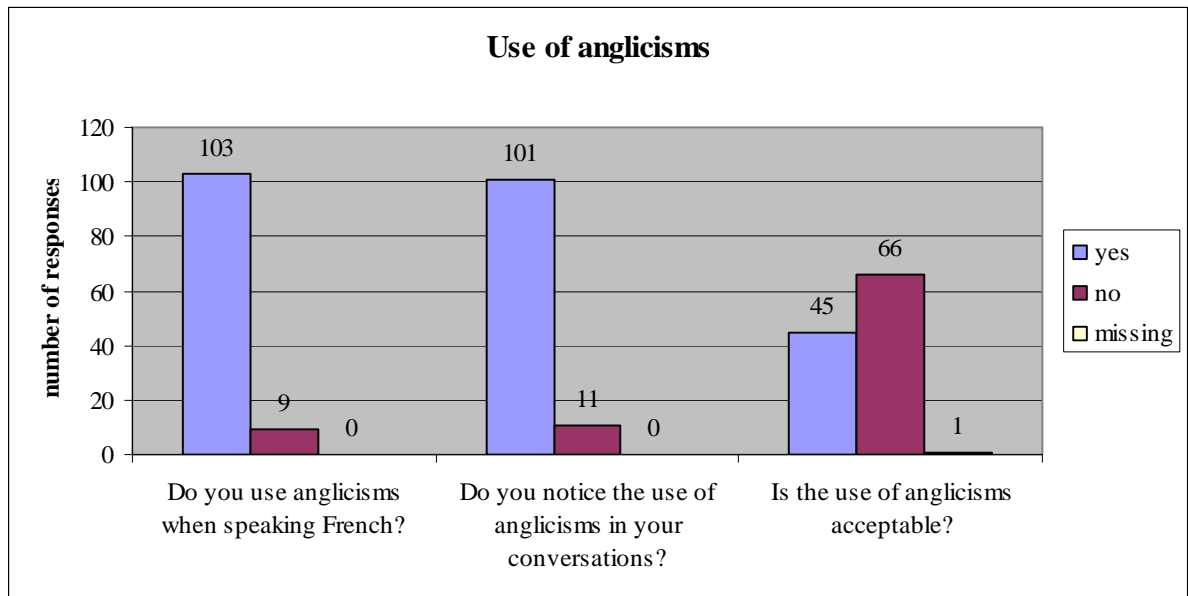


As Figure 4 indicates, around 43% of participants chose the adjective ‘good’ to describe the French spoken in their neighborhood, while close to 34% chose ‘not bad.’ On a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being excellent and 5 representing bad, the median and mode were 2. The mean was 2.41, somewhere between ‘good’ and ‘not bad.’ Almost 78% of students rated their neighborhood’s French as one of these. Based on their previous comments concerning varieties of French, these results imply that participants believed there was room for improvement regarding the quality of the language spoken in their area.

One of the characteristics of ‘good French’ that was mentioned by participants was the absence of anglicisms. Indeed, it is hardly surprising that Québécois are aware of these borrowings from English as language programs in Québec, such as the *Office de la langue française*, have made considerable efforts to discourage the use of anglicisms, even anglicisms that are used in standard European French, and to promote the use of French phrases wherever possible.

When asked if they themselves used anglicisms when speaking French, close to 92% of participants responded affirmatively; and 90% affirmed that they noticed the use of anglicisms when in conversation with others.¹² These responses displayed a definite awareness of the usage of anglicisms, but not all agreed that the use of anglicisms was bad. When asked if the use of anglicisms should be acceptable or discouraged, around 40% of students indicated that it should be acceptable. The majority, however, acted in accordance with the *Office de la langue français* and answered that the use of anglicisms in French should be discouraged. Figure 5 shows the number of responses for each of the questions concerning the use of anglicisms.

Figure 5: Anglicism usage



One of the last questions of section 1 asked participants if they believed language, in general, changed over time. Close to 93% of the students answered affirmatively. As only 3

¹² It is important to note here that participants might be unconscious of some anglicisms. Professor Natalia Dankova has pointed out:

“Il y a beaucoup de gens qui ne sont pas conscients que certains mots qu'ils utilisent viennent de l'anglais. Pire encore, la syntaxe est aussi influencée par l'anglais: par exemple: C'est une bonne personne à parler avec. Je suis responsable pour ce travail, etc. Là, les gens sont conscients encore moins.” (Natalia Dankova, electronic mail, May 8, 2006)

of the 112 students claimed to be majoring in linguistics, it seems that language planning programs and the work of linguists' seeking to explain the origins of Québec French have been successful in reaching the public in general.¹³

4.3.1.4 Summary of results from section 1

Participants exhibited an awareness of their language and of the different varieties of French spoken in Québec and elsewhere. International, standard, or 'correct' French was rated highly and associated with prestigious genres and credibility, while more colloquial varieties were generally associated with popular, more casual aspects of Québec culture. Most participants rated their own French as being 'good' or 'not bad,' indicating a positive attitude towards their speech but allowing for improvements at the same time.

4.3.2 Section 2

4.3.2.1 Predictions

Section 2 was designed to determine if participants used words associated with colloquial varieties of French (such as *le franco-québécois*) or words more common in standard Québec French. This section comprised self-reported language use questions, an approach included within the analysis of societal treatment of language varieties method. Previous self-reported language use studies indicated that people sometimes tended to over-report the use of desirable features in their speech, while under-reporting undesirable speech characteristics. Even if actual performance did not match reported language use, how people chose to describe their language still revealed much about their language attitudes and their perception of linguistic hierarchies. For example, in his study of the social stratification of /r/ in New

¹³ Most of the participants, therefore, majored in subjects other than linguistics. The linguistics students, though, didn't always exhibit different attitudes than the majority. For example, all 3 linguistics students said that the use of anglicisms should be discouraged, and one of those three students didn't think that there were different varieties of French spoken in Québec. All 3 linguistics students agreed that language changes over time, as did the majority of students who were not studying linguistics.

York speech, Labov found that speakers whose casual speech was characterized by non-standard features were likely to use more standard features in emphatic speech (Labov 1972: 49). In such situations, speakers spoke more carefully and used features which were associated with the prestigious speech variety. Labov proposed that speakers who adjusted their speech the most in this manner were the most linguistically insecure (52). The emphatic, more standard pronunciation, he concluded, was the “norm at which [they] aim, yet not the one they use most often” (51-2).

If speakers in the New York context adjusted their speech when their attention was focused on their linguistic performance, one might conclude that people adjust their speech in formal situations. It is true that different speech registers come into play here as well. A casual register is often used in informal contexts, and a more formal register is generally used in formal situations. For those who are linguistically insecure, however, performing in a formal situation might involve more than shifting to a more formal register. The more formal a situation, the more likely that people will make an effort to speak ‘properly’ or ‘correctly’ if they feel that their everyday language is not appropriate. Rémillard, Tucker, and Bruck’s study results, for example, indicated that participants used ‘correct’ Québec French and European French lexical items at home and at school but tended to use European French items more as the situation became more formal (Rémillard, Tucker, & Bruck 1973: 389).

To see how the formality of a situation might affect linguistic performance, section 2 asked participants to indicate which lexical items they would use in 12 different scenarios which varied regarding the level of formality. The 12 scenarios were divided into 4 groups of 3 scenarios each. The three scenarios of each group were presented in order from least to most formal. Participants were given the same answer choices for all questions within a

group: a word associated with a colloquial variety of Québec French (such as *le franco-québécois*), a word associated with *le français québécois standard*, or the equal use of both terms. In all questions in section 2, the scenarios were short paragraphs with a blank space where the word in question would be. The prediction for section 2 results was that participants would report more use of the perceived ‘correct’ or standard Québec French (*le français québécois standard*) form in more formal situations.

The first group of scenarios within section 2, ranging from informal to very formal, asked participants to indicate whether they used *assir* (a colloquial form of ‘to sit down’), *asseoir* (standard form), or both terms equally. The first situation was one in which the speaker was addressing a friend’s little sister. The second scenario was speaking to a stranger on a public bus, and the third was speaking to a doctor. Addressing a doctor in a medical setting was considered to be the most formal of the three situations by those designing the survey. However, whether or not this is perceived as a formal situation seems to depend on the culture and/or the individual, as members of the UNC faculty pointed out after the survey had been posted online.

The second set of 3 scenarios asked participants to indicate their use of *écarté(e)* (colloquial of ‘lost’), *perdu(e)* (standard form), or both in the following situations: speaking to a brother, talking to a waiter in a restaurant, and addressing a postman (a government worker). The third situation was chosen as the most formal situation by those designing the survey because of a postman’s association with official business and the government; but discussion with other faculty members indicates that this situation might not be considered by all to be the most formal of the three situations presented.¹⁴

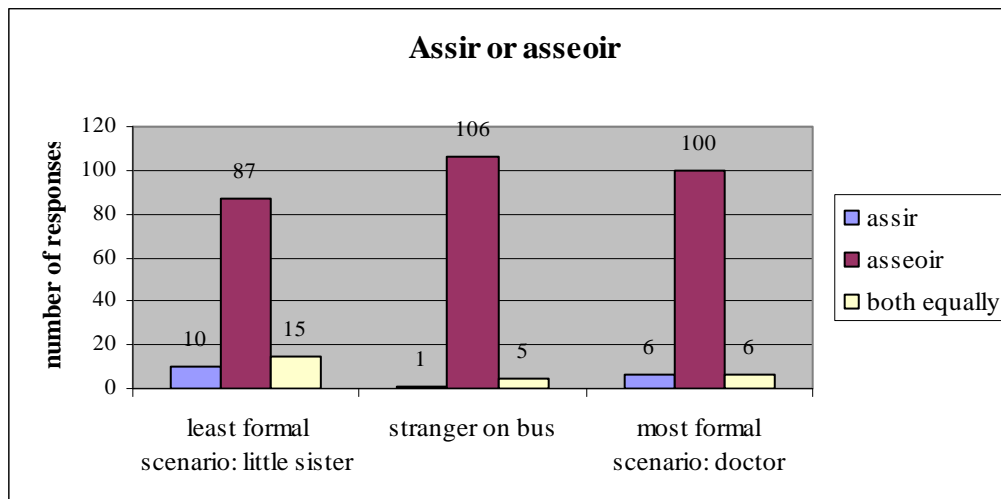
¹⁴ The results from the second group of scenarios, discussed on pages 66-67, seem to indicate that the study participants might have considered speaking to a waiter in a restaurant as the most formal situation.

The third group offered students a choice of *gang* (colloquial for ‘group’), *groupe* (standard form), or both when speaking to parents, police officers, and a professor; and the fourth group pertained to the use of *cassé(e)* (colloquial for ‘broke, penniless’) and *fauché(e)* (standard form) when addressing a friend, a travel agent, and a professor. In both of these groups, speaking to a professor was considered the most formal scenario as the Québécois student attending UNC indicated that, in Québec, addressing a professor was considered a formal situation.

4.3.2.2 Results for section 2

In the first group of scenarios, the *assir-asseoir* group, results indicated that participants do indeed use the colloquial item the most in the least formal situation. The self-reported usage of the colloquial form is lower in the other two (more formal) scenarios in group 1, and the use of the standard form is higher in these two scenarios as well. The results, however, did not follow predictions, for the self-reported usage of the colloquial is lowest and usage of the standard is highest in the middle scenario. (See Figure 6.)

Figure 6: Responses for self-reported language use, group 1

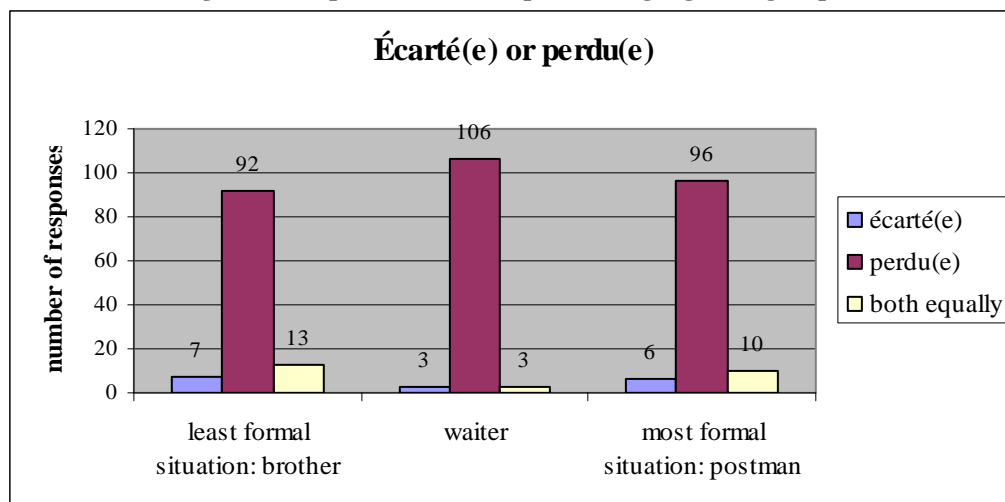


An explanation for these results might be the way the questions were phrased. As all scenarios in section 2 were short paragraphs with a blank space where the word in question

would be, the choices offered to participants were already framed in a sentence. Some of these sentences were direct quotes (see appendix A or B). This was the case for the intermediate and most formal scenarios in group 1, the *assir-asseoir* group. For example, participants were given “Puis-je ____ maintenant?” to fill in with the appropriate word when addressing a doctor. One participant, after he had completed the survey, indicated that the sentence structure around the blank affected his responses. According to his comments, the construction “Puis-je _____?” is a very polite way of asking permission to do something and therefore had directed him to select the standard word to fill in the blank. The more colloquial way of asking permission to do something would have been “J’peux-tu _____?” The results for the *assir-asseoir* group probably would have been different had two different sentence structures been offered in addition to the choice between the two lexical items.

The results for the second group of scenarios, presented in Figure 7, did not follow the predicted pattern, either. The sentence phrasing in the least formal situation, speaking to a brother on the phone, was likely to have influenced results as the frame sentence was again a direct quotation and a question phrased in standard style. The frame sentences in the other two situations were not, however, direct quotations.

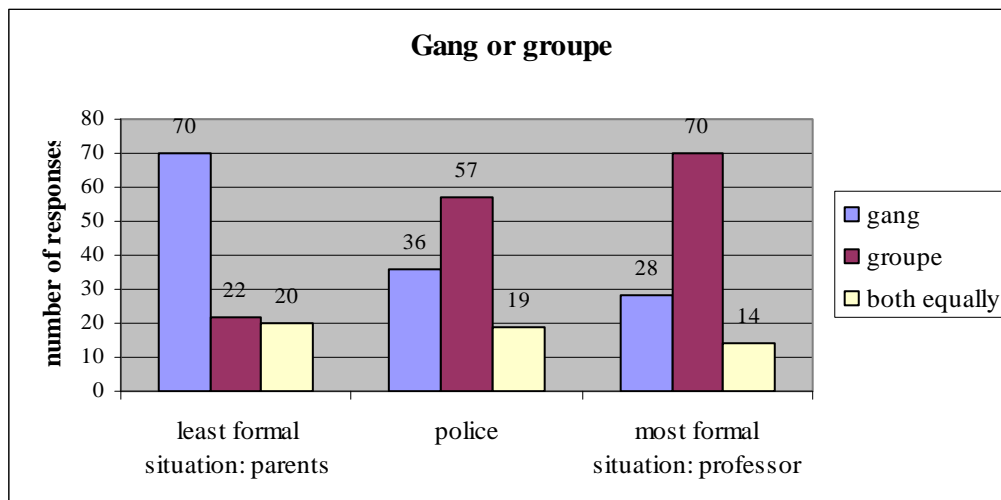
Figure 7: Responses for self-reported language use, group 2



The results for the second and third scenarios seemed to have been switched. The original assumption was that speaking with government employees, associated with official business, would add formality to a situation; but there is the possibility that, for some participants, speaking to a waiter in a restaurant constituted a more formal situation than addressing a mail carrier in the street, even though the latter is associated with the government. (It should be noted that the scenario of speaking with a police officer, also a government worker, did not necessarily constitute a situation which would warrant a change of register, according to the Québécois student at UNC.) Perhaps more attention should have been paid to the setting of the conversation as well.

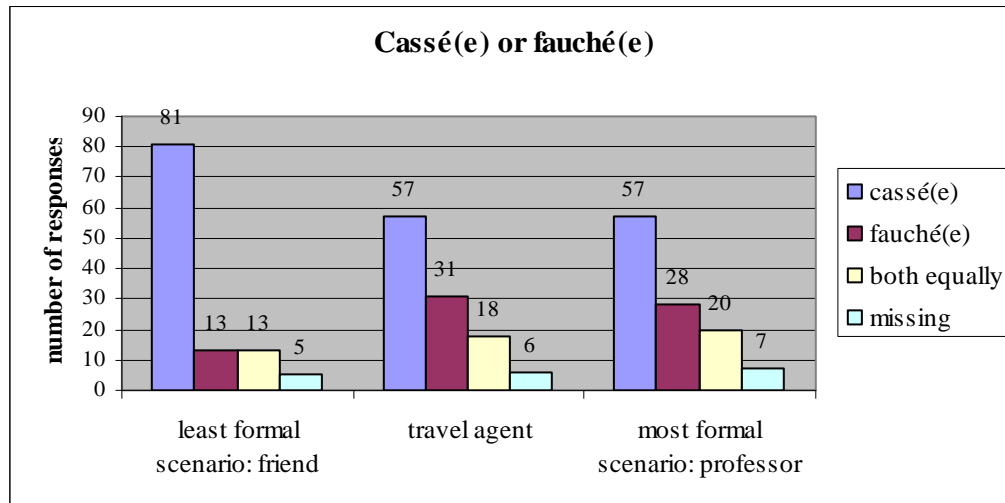
The results for the third group of scenarios, which are presented in Figure 8, followed predictions. The sentence frames for all three situations were similar: they all ended with *...avec _____ d'amis...* 'with a _____ of friends,' a preposition preceding the word blank, followed by another prepositional phrase. The formality of the situations was also in the correct order: talking to parents at home, delivering an eye witness account of a crime to policemen, and speaking to a professor.

Figure 8: Responses for self-reported language use, group 3



The fourth group of scenarios, the *cassé(e)-fauché(e)* group, produced results which did not coincide with predictions. The least formal scenario was speaking to a friend about going to a movie, and the use of the colloquial form, *cassé(e)*, was highest in this situation; but the results for the middle and most formal situations (speaking to a travel agent on the phone and speaking with your favorite professor) indicated that more participants would use either term equally in the most formal situation. Use of *fauché(e)*, the standard form, also decreased in the most formal scenario. These results are presented in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Responses for self-reported language use, group 4



While the Québécois student who assisted in the wording of the survey did not find the use of *fauché(e)* unusual, two participants remarked that *fauché(e)* was not a common word used in Québec French. This might possibly be explained by the fact that participants were from various regions of Québec: participants came from New Richmond and regions bordering the St. Lawrence River from just west of Sainte-Anne-des-Monts to the Montréal area, from

areas around Gatineau and Sherbrooke, from cities near the Canada-U.S. border, from the Lac St-Jean area, and from Radisson (near Hudson Bay) (see Figure 10).¹⁵

Figure 10: Map of Québec



Original map data provided by The Atlas of Canada <http://atlas.gc.ca/>
 © 2006. Produced under licence from Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, with permission of Natural Resources Canada.

¹⁵ At the same time, it was sometimes hard to categorize participants according to where they lived (or had lived), because many of the students had moved from one region of the province to another (and sometimes several times).

If certain terms are used only in specific regions, this might have caused some confusion and affected the results. Some participants chose not to respond to this group of questions within section 2, which might indicate that the answer choices offered were not sufficient for some of the students.

4.3.2.3 Summary of section 2 results

Overall, the words associated with standard Québec French were chosen for the more formal situations, which would imply that they were perceived as being more correct if comparing this section to Rémillard *et al.*'s study. The use of *fauché(e)* in this survey was questionable, but the other standard words (*asseoir*, *perdu[e]*, and *groupe*) were evidently considered to be more appropriate for these scenarios.

More consistent results might have been obtained had words familiar to all participants been offered as answer choices. Additionally, it is likely that results would have also been more uniform across the four groups if alternate sentence frames had been included for certain questions and if the settings of the conversations had been given more weight in determining the formality of the situation.

4.3.3 Section 3

4.3.3.1 Methods

Six- to eight-second segments of two radio broadcasts were chosen for the speaker evaluation paradigm. The radio hosts featured in the broadcasts were both male, and both were discussing the Canadiens, Montréal's hockey team. The first speaker was predicting the Canadiens' place in the playoffs based on another team's victory, while the second speaker was summarizing a Canadian player's performance. The first speaker was chosen as a representative speaker of *le français québécois standard*, or standard Québec French, as his

speech more closely resembled international French¹⁶. He was also an announcer on Radio-Canada¹⁷, known for the ‘good quality’ of its broadcasters’ French. For convenience, this speaker will be referred to as the standard¹⁸ speaker. The second speaker was pointed out by the Québécois student at UNC as a good representative of colloquial speech. (See appendix C.) This second colloquial speaker will be referred to as the FQ speaker throughout this chapter.

For the speaker evaluation section, responses from only 77 of the participants were counted. Links to the sound clips were not functioning properly for some participants who accessed the survey through Firefox or Linux, so these students were not able to listen to the recordings. A number of other participants noted in the speaker comments box that they had recognized one or both of the speakers. Since these participants were familiar with the speakers in the recordings, they would already have formed an opinion of them which would have affected their responses on the speaker ratings. Responses from these participants were therefore not counted in the data analysis.

Participants were to indicate their perceptions of each speaker on ten six-point scales. The ten scales were the same for both speakers, each scale listing either a positive solidarity or status trait on one end of the scale and its antonym on the other end. For all scales, the endpoint at the positive trait end of the scale was assigned a value of 1. The following four points along the scale, moving toward the other end of the scale, were assigned the values of 2, 3, 4, and 5 respectively. The endpoint at the opposite end of the scale, where the negative

¹⁶ Here, ‘international French’ is meant to refer to the speech variety spoken in many countries across the world which is based on standard European French and not to standard Québec French.

¹⁷ Radio-Canada is the francophone branch of the CBC, the Canadian Broadcasting Company, a national media company.

¹⁸ Please note that this abbreviation does not refer to standard European French but to the variety of Québec French which is the standard within the province.

trait was listed, was assigned a value of 6. Therefore, on these scales, a rating of 1, 2, or 3 signified a positive characteristic and a rating of 4, 5, or 6 indicated a negative trait.

The traits used in this study were taken from the list of traits used in Méar-Crine and Leclerc's mid-1970's study. The Québécois student who aided with the survey design picked out ten of the thirty pairs which he thought would be most meaningful to contemporary Québec students. The pairs of traits were as follows: *amical* or *hostile*, *sympathique* or *antipathique*, *aimable* or *détestable*, *sociable* or *pas sociable*, *poli* or *impoli*, *distingué* or *vulgaire*, *instruit* or *ignorant*, *sûr de lui* or *pas sûr de lui*, *ferme* or *influençable*, and *honnête* or *malhonnête*.¹⁹ The traits measuring the how distinguished, educated, self-assured, and firm the speakers were were categorized as status traits, as they measured a speaker's competence or socio-economic status (Hewstone and Giles 1986: 14). Traits measuring speakers' friendliness, pleasantness, kindness, sociability, politeness, and honesty were grouped together as solidarity traits, some of the more 'human' characteristics (14). (See section 1.4.2 for the discussion of status and solidarity.)

4.3.3.2 Results

The average results rated the standard speaker over the FQ speaker on all solidarity and status traits except for two, self-assuredness and firmness. Table 2 lists the mean rating for each speaker.

¹⁹ The English equivalents of these traits are 'friendly' or 'hostile,' 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant,' 'kind' or 'dreadful,' 'sociable' or 'unsociable,' 'polite' or 'rude,' 'distinguished' or 'vulgar,' 'educated' or 'ignorant,' 'self-assured' or 'not self-assured,' 'firm' or 'easily influenced,' and 'honest' or 'dishonest.'

Table 2: Speaker rating means

	Traits	Means for standard speaker	Means for FQ speaker
1	<i>amical – hostile</i>	1.74	2.53
2	<i>sympathique – antipathique</i>	1.68	2.57
3	<i>aimable – détestable</i>	1.99	2.87
4	<i>sociable – pas sociable</i>	1.74	2.31
5	<i>poli – impoli</i>	1.93	3.18
6	<i>distingué – vulgaire</i>	2.61	3.75
7	<i>instruit – ignorant</i>	2.48	3.52
8	<i>sûr de lui – pas sûr de lui</i>	1.74	1.72
9	<i>ferme – influençable</i>	2.41	2.2
10	<i>honnête – malhonnête</i>	2.01	2.43

Answer choices ranged from 1 to 6, with 1 being the most positive rating and 6 being the most negative rating. When comparing the ratings of the two speakers on any pair of traits, the mean closest to 1 indicates the higher rating. For each pair of traits, the more positive rating between the two speakers has been highlighted. The standard speaker was rated more highly than the FQ speaker on 8 of the 10 pairs of character traits.

Results from other attitude studies indicate that the standard language variety is most often rated the highest on status; but in this case, the FQ speaker was rated more highly on self-assuredness, a status trait, and on firmness, which is also related to a speaker’s self-assuredness. Figures 11 and 12 present the ratings for the two speakers on these two pairs of status traits.

Figure 11: Speaker ratings for self-assuredness

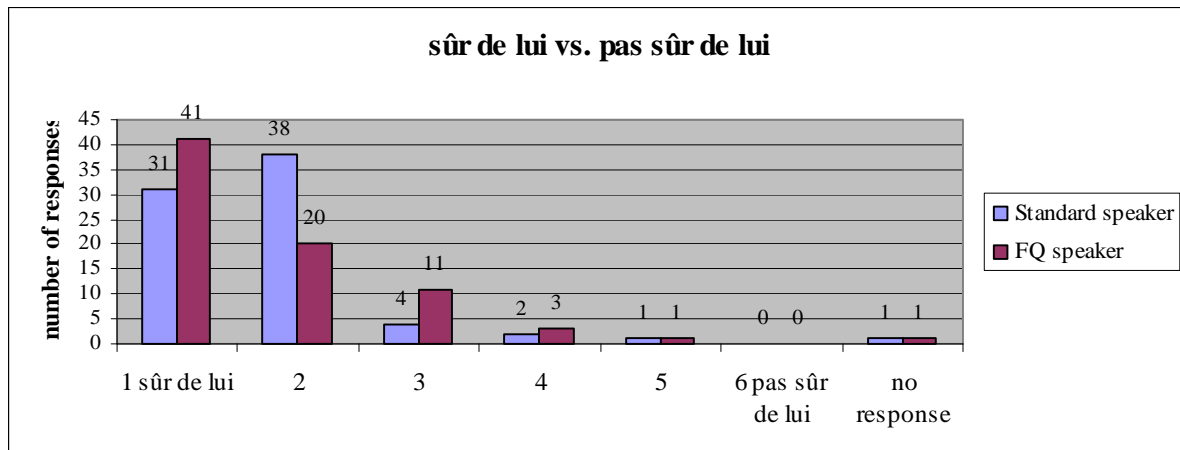
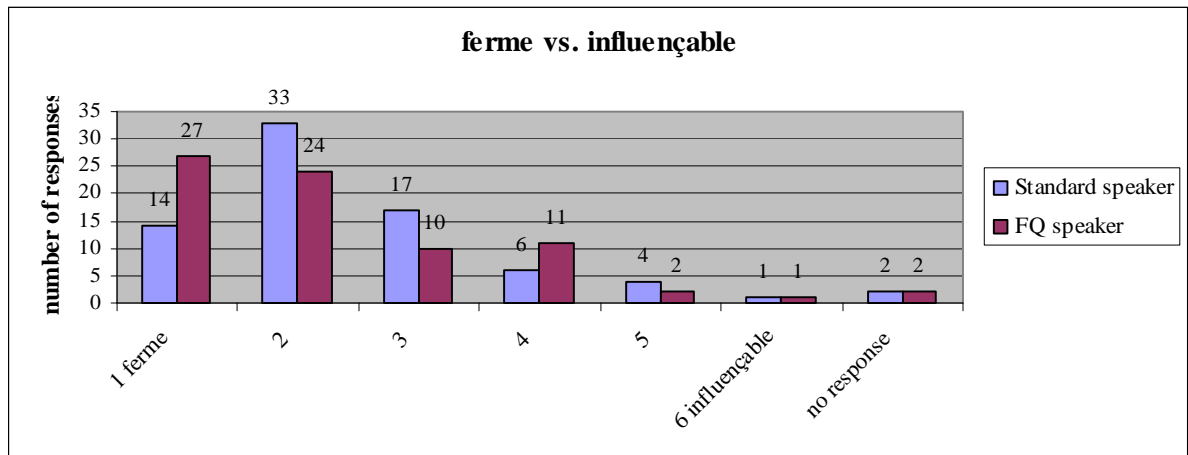


Figure 12: Speaker ratings for firmness



As Figures 11 and 12 show, the standard speaker was rated positively on these status traits, but a good number of participants gave the FQ speaker ratings of 1, indicating that they perceived him as being very self-assured and very firm. The FQ speaker received more ratings of 1 than the standard speaker; and this trend caused the FQ speaker's mean rating to be higher than the standard speaker's on these two status traits.

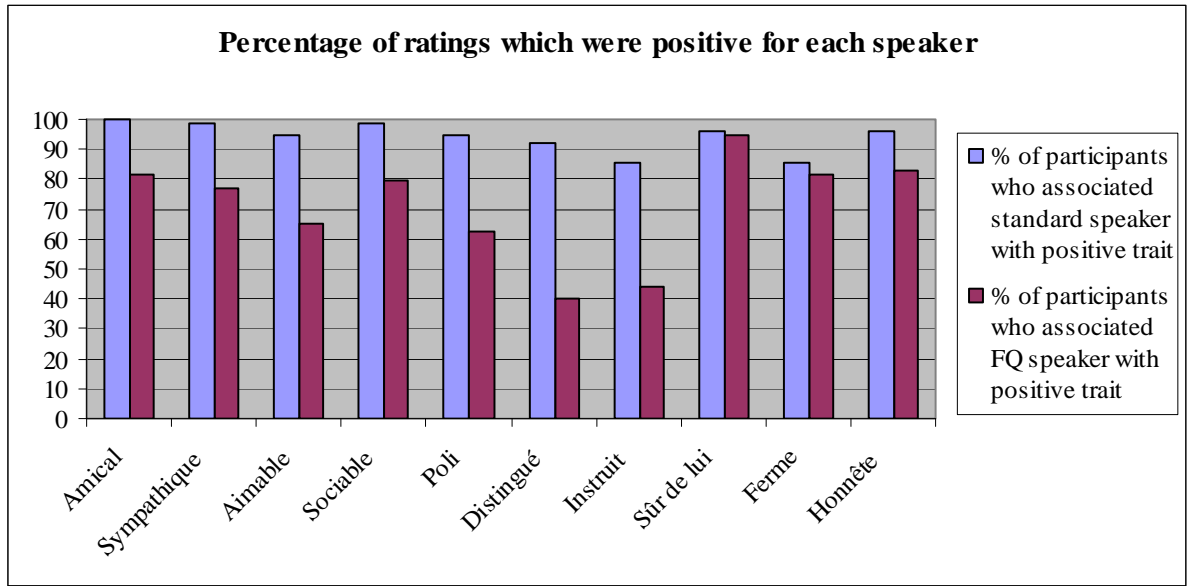
Taking a look at the ratings for the other traits, the standard speaker was still rated higher on the remaining status traits, level of education and how distinguished speakers were perceived to be. He also received the highest rating on all solidarity traits (friendliness, pleasantness, kindness, sociability, politeness, and honesty). According to previous studies, if colloquial speakers were rated higher than standard speakers, it was usually on solidarity traits. This tendency, however, was not evident in the results for this verbal guise test.

These results might be explained on closer examination of the sound recordings. In the broadcast from which the first segment was taken, the standard speaker spoke about hockey for close to a minute without stopping before he was interrupted by another broadcaster. There was therefore no complete phrase which he uttered that ended with a falling intonation. The segment chosen for the survey matched the desired length for a sound clip, expressed a

complete thought, and matched the theme of the recording of the FQ speaker; but the sound clip of the standard speaker ended with rising voice intonation. Rising voice intonation, in many cases, can give listeners the impression that the speaker is not really sure about what he or she is saying; and this suprasegmental feature in the first recording might have led the majority of participants to give the standard speaker a rating of 2 on self-assuredness and firmness instead of a rating of 1, which was the most positive rating. The sound clip for the FQ speaker, on the other hand, featured a falling voice intonation at the end of the recording. One participant, in the available speaker comments question, also noted that the FQ speaker's tone sounded aggressive. This was the only comment of that nature, but not all participants chose to make use of the speaker comments section. Together, final falling intonation and voice quality might have led some participants to give the FQ speaker the highest rating with regards to self-assuredness and firmness.

Even in the two cases where the FQ speaker was rated more highly, the standard speaker still received positive ratings (as opposed to negative ratings) from the majority of participants on all pairs of character traits. This was not always the case for the FQ speaker. These differences were more apparent when the six answer categories for the speaker rating section were combined into two categories: positive ratings (scores of 1-3) and negative ratings (4-6). Figure 13 shows the percentages of students who assigned each speaker positive ratings.

Figure 13: Positive rating percentage for speaker ratings



The greatest differences between the speakers' ratings were found on the *distingué – vulgaire* and the *instruit – ignorant* scales. The standard speaker was perceived by 92.1% of participants as being distinguished while only 40% of participants said the same of the FQ speaker. The standard speaker also received a positive rating on his level of education from 85.3% of the students. The FQ speaker, on the other hand, received a negative rating (*ignorant*) from 56% of the participants.²⁰ This coincides with comments from section 1 in which participants viewed the public stations, such as Radio Canada, which used standard Québec French, as more intellectual and linguistically prestigious, while the popular stations and their language use were considered common.

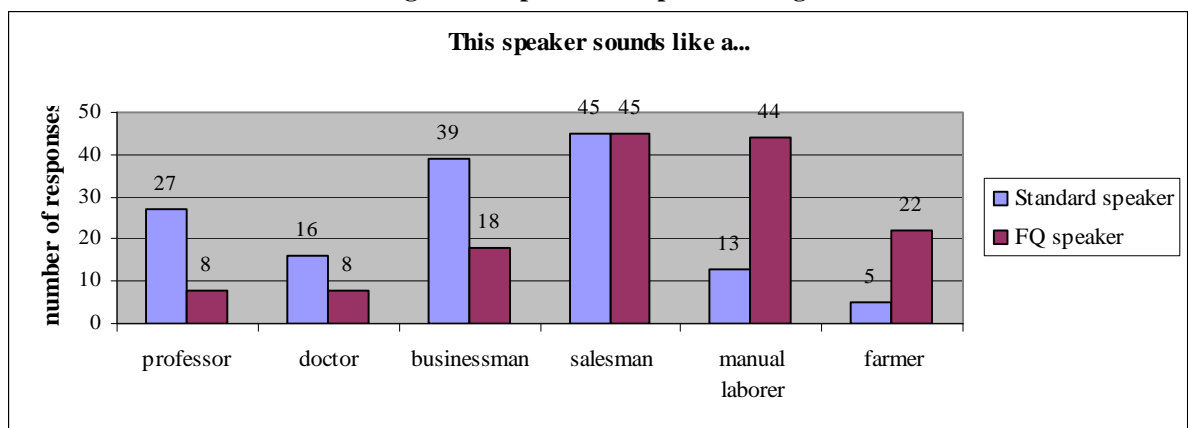
Ratings on the *aimable – détestable* and *poli – impoli* scales were also noticeably different from the ratings on other solidarity traits. Close to 95% of participants rated the standard speaker favorably on these two scales. In contrast, the FQ speaker received an *aimable* rating from 65.3% of participants and a *poli* rating from only 62.2%. These results might

²⁰ The topic of the recordings might have affected the ratings for both speakers, as well. Some participants indicated a total lack of interest in sports, and one individual even complained about the “omnipresence” of sports.

have been influenced by the difference in voice quality between the two speakers, however, if the FQ speaker's tone was perceived as aggressive.

After rating the speakers on the ten traits, participants were asked to indicate who the speakers sounded like from a list of six professions. The students were allowed to check all answers that were applicable. The combined results for the standard speaker and the FQ speaker are shown in Figure 14.

Figure 14: Speaker occupation ratings



As the graph illustrates, around 58% of the 77 participants who were included in this analysis indicated that both speakers sounded like a salesman. This similarity, at first glance, seems to question the different ratings given to the speakers in the previous questions, but this might be explained by the observations offered in the speaker comments section. Several students indicated that they would identify the speakers as radio or television announcers based on the segments that they heard. A couple participants said that they would guess that both of the speakers were sports analysts, so speakers were perceived to have the same kind of occupation by some participants. This might serve as an explanation for the results in Figure 14, and 'salesman' might have been the closest option to radio broadcaster for most subjects. Aside from this similarity, however, more people assigned the standard speaker to the higher

status occupations than to occupations ranked below ‘salesman.’ The FQ speaker, on the other hand, was perceived as speaking like a manual laborer by 57% of participants.

The participants’ comments identifying the speakers as sports analysts and/or radio/television announcers helped to explain the results of the speaker occupation question, but the fact that the students were able to identify the register used by the speakers (sports analyst, radio/television broadcaster) most likely influenced their perceptions of the speakers. Therefore, the results obtained from this section of the survey are most likely invalid.²¹ Nevertheless, it was decided that the discussion of section 3 and its summary, which follows, should still be included in this write-up.

4.3.3.3 Summary of section 3 results

The results from section 3’s speaker evaluation paradigm indicated that participants rated the standard speaker more highly than the FQ speaker on all traits excepting two status traits. As these exceptions did not follow the general patterns of attitudes towards standard vs. non-standard speech varieties, and as the standard speaker was rated more highly on all other traits, including all solidarity traits, it was likely that the suprasegmental features of intonation in the two recordings influenced these results. Responses might have been more consistent had intonation as well as voice quality been better matched in the sound recordings used for the verbal guise test. However, more care should have been taken in making sure that the register used by the speakers was not so apparent. Additionally, it would have been beneficial to have had participants rate more than two speakers for this section, as at least one of the speakers was recognized by a number of the students. For future verbal guise tests, it would be important that speakers be as little-known as possible.

²¹ There is also the possibility that some of the students recognized the identity of one or both of the speakers but did not indicate this in the speaker comments section. If this was the case, those participants’ responses have been included in section 3’s analysis and would also be invalid.

4.3.4 Section 4

4.3.4.1 Two terms for two varieties of Québec French

No specific variety of Québec French was mentioned until section 4 as the goal of the previous three sections was to obtain responses which were as spontaneous as possible, without having participants start out by concentrating on standard vs. colloquial dialects too much. The 4th section began by presenting participants with two terms for two varieties of Québec French. Definitions and examples of the two varieties were also provided.

Le français québécois standard was defined as the variety of French which is taught in schools and universities in Québec as well as the speech variety that many Radio-Canada announcers use. *Le franco-québécois* was described as a less formal Québec French and the variety which is least like international French²². Excerpts from the *Gommes* passages used in Méar-Crine and Leclerc's study were provided as written examples of the two varieties.

The term *le franco-québécois*, used for the colloquial variety in question, was possibly new for the majority of participants. Based on responses to previous questions, some participants would have referred to this variety as *le joul*. While this term might have been more familiar with students and therefore easier to remember, the main concern was that the term *joul* might already have connotations associated with it which would affect responses right from the beginning. Because linguists use *le français québécois* or *le franco-québécois* (instead of *joul*) to refer to this working class speech variety, and as *le français québécois* is

²² Here, again, 'international French' was meant to refer to the variety of French spoken in many countries across the world and which is based on standard European French. It was not meant as a synonym for *le français québécois standard*.

very similar to the term used for standard Québec French, *le franco-québécois* was chosen to refer to the colloquial variety in this study.²³

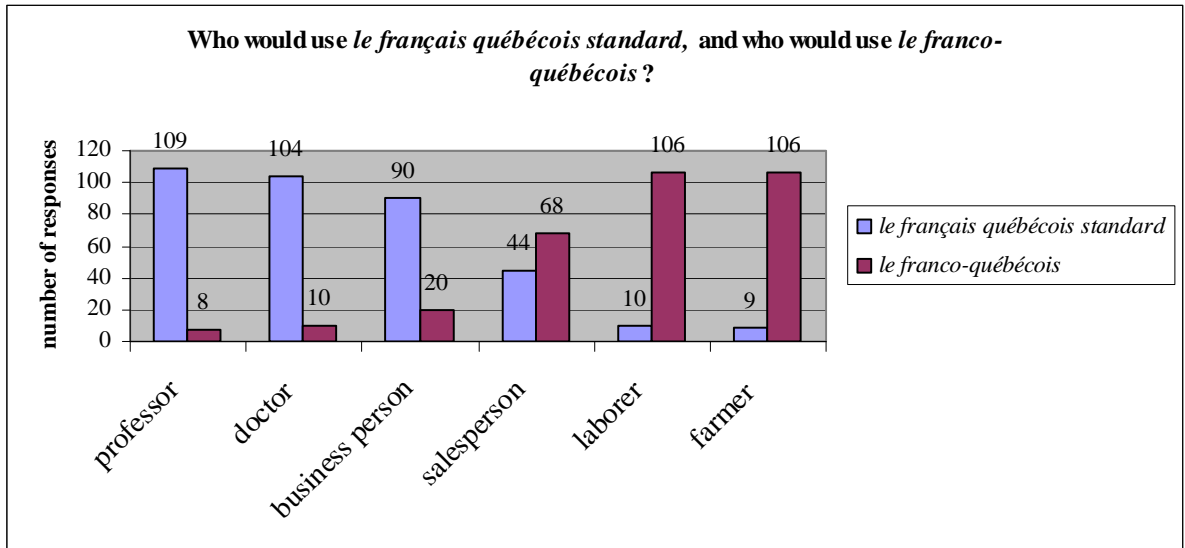
These two terms, *le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois*, however, still presented some problems for participants who were not familiar with them. One student reported that it was easy to confuse the two terms, and another participant said that he couldn't remember which variety of Québec French was associated with which term. Obviously, there was a discrepancy between how the Québécois students talked about language varieties and how linguists refer to these varieties. Additional research regarding how participants themselves actually talk about these language varieties would be beneficial to any similar language attitude studies in the future.

4.3.4.2 Results

The first questions of section 4 asked participants to indicate which professions they associated with *le français québécois standard* and which they associated with *le franco-québécois*. They were given the same list of professions that was presented in the speaker evaluation section. Results from both questions have been combined in the following chart.

²³ Special thanks to Professor Karim Larose for information and suggestions on which terms to use (Karim Larose, electronic mail, February 27, 2006).

Figure 15: Language use and occupations



The majority of participants associated *le français québécois standard* with prestigious occupations while *le franco-québécois* was associated with the lower or working class occupations. This would indicate that participants associated higher status with the standard and lower status with the colloquial speech varieties. This pattern is common in language attitude studies which compare standard and non-standard speech forms.

Eleven statements pertaining to *le français québécois standard*, *le franco-québécois*, or both followed, and participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement (or disagreement) with each. These were the most direct measurements of language attitudes regarding *le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois* in the survey, and the results were similar to general patterns found in all studies involving a standard language: a majority preference for *le français québécois standard* was exhibited in responses to most of the statements. The results for the agree-disagree section are presented in Table 3 in the order that they appeared on the survey, although the results are discussed in a different order below.

Table 3: Results for agree-disagree statements

	Number of responses in each group as well as the cumulative percentage (which does not count the participants who did not respond)				
Statement:	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No response
Standard is more correct than FQ	28 (25.5%)	37 (33.6%)	31 (28.2%)	14 (12.7%)	2
Standard is more agreeable than FQ	31 (27.7%)	31 (27.7%)	39 (34.8%)	11 (9.8%)	
FQ is more popular than standard	19 (17.1%)	45 (40.6%)	41 (36.9%)	6 (5.4%)	1
FQ has as much valor as standard	36 (32.1%)	44 (39.3%)	26 (23.3%)	6 (5.4%)	
Standard is more expressive than FQ	6 (5.4%)	13 (11.6%)	59 (52.6%)	34 (30.4%)	
Speaking French correctly when speaking FQ	7 (6.4%)	22 (20%)	62 (56.3%)	19 (17.3%)	2
Speaking FQ important to maintaining culture	2 (1.8%)	26 (23.4%)	57 (51.4%)	26 (23.4%)	1
The more educated, the less one speaks FQ	9 (8.1%)	60 (54.1%)	35 (31.5%)	7 (6.3%)	1
Important to learn standard	58 (52.3%)	48 (43.2%)	4 (3.6%)	1 (.9%)	1
Need to improve FQ	11 (10.1%)	42 (38.5%)	47 (43.1%)	9 (8.3%)	3
Need to improve standard	16 (14.5%)	48 (43.7%)	35 (31.8%)	11 (10%)	2

In this table, ‘FQ’ designates *le franco-qubécois* and ‘standard’ designates *le français qubécois standard*.

The majority of participants (59.1%) agreed with the statement that *le français qubécois standard* was more correct than *le franco-qubécois*; and a slightly smaller majority (55.4%) also agreed that the standard was more agreeable than the colloquial variety. The slight difference between these two ratings might be due to tendencies to rate a non-standard variety higher on solidarity traits, such as agreeableness. *Le franco-qubécois* was associated with the lower class or the non-dominant group, and these subordinate groups are sometimes “stereotyped in terms of the more ‘human’ traits of solidarity, integrity, social attractiveness, and so on” (Hewstone & Giles 1986: 14). If this is the case, those stereotypes have influenced the responses given by participants. However, the majority of students still rated *le français qubécois standard* more highly on this question.

A greater majority (62.2%) agreed that the more educated a person is the less likely he or she is to use *le franco-qubécois*. This coincided with the results from section 3, where the standard speaker was rated as more educated than the speaker who used more colloquial speech.

Only 26.4% of participants agreed that speaking *le franco-qubécois* was speaking French correctly. Thus, a great majority (73.6%) considered speaking *le franco-qubécois* to be an ‘incorrect’ way of speaking French, but only 59.1% of participants had agreed that *le français québécois standard* was the more correct of the two varieties. (It would seem that about 16 participants indicated that *le franco-qubécois* was not ‘correct’ and yet had disagreed that standard Québec French was more correct.) Perhaps unfamiliarity with both of the terms caused some confusion, or perhaps some participants changed their mind about the colloquial variety by the time they reached the question concerning speaking French correctly. If neither of these possibilities were the case, these results would imply that some participants were not entirely satisfied with the quality of *le français québécois standard* either. Laforest has noted that “although people are increasingly talking about a standard Québec French, the international French considered ideal is still European French” (Laforest 1999: 277-8). Consulting the responses to the statement that there is a need to improve *le français québécois standard* showed that 58.2% of the participants agreed. However, even if participants looked to standard European French as the model, these participants would still most likely perceive *le français québécois standard* to be more correct than *le franco-qubécois* as the former is more similar to standard European French than the latter is. It is possible that the wording of the two statements or the order of the questions affected responses in some way.

At any rate, a cumulative 95.5% of participants later agreed that it was important to learn *le français québécois standard*, no matter how they had ranked its correctness with respect to the colloquial variety. *Le français québécois standard* is the most prestigious of Québec French, but there is another reason why participants might find it so important. As *le français québécois standard* is similar to international French, knowing how to speak it would facilitate mutual comprehension when speaking with francophones from other parts of the world.

Compared to the importance given to learning *le français québécois standard*, only 25.2% of the given responses affirmed that speaking *le franco-québécois* was important in maintaining Québec's culture. *Le franco-québécois* is a variety that is distinctly Québécois, however, and the colloquial varieties of Québec French had played a role in the province's history when various members of the Québécois elite chose to use vernacular dialects to express their support of Québec and its language in the 1960s (Méar-Crine, Assimopoulos, & Leòn 1976: 5). Perhaps *le français québécois standard* is now more strongly associated with the Québécois identity than the colloquial varieties for some Québécois francophones.

Participants indicated more favorable attitudes towards *le franco-québécois* in response to three of the statements: 57.7% agreed that *le franco-québécois* was more popular in Québec than the standard, although this does not necessarily mean that *le franco-québécois* has more popularity among the participants themselves. They may only be reporting what they believe to be true of the society as a whole. (This would coincide with earlier comments associating most popular and private stations with the use of 'popular French.')

Eighty-three percent also disagreed with the statement that *le français québécois standard* is more expressive than *le franco-québécois*. A question which asked participants to define 'expressive' might have

been helpful in interpreting results. Based on earlier comments which associated expressing oneself well with ‘good French’ and not with vernacular varieties which were often stereotyped as having many anglicisms and a more limited vocabulary, it would seem that participants would not have defined ‘expressive’ as the ability to express oneself well. A couple students had indicated that Québec French was colorful in previous open-ended responses. Perhaps ‘colorful’ was what participants associated with ‘expressive’ in this statement.

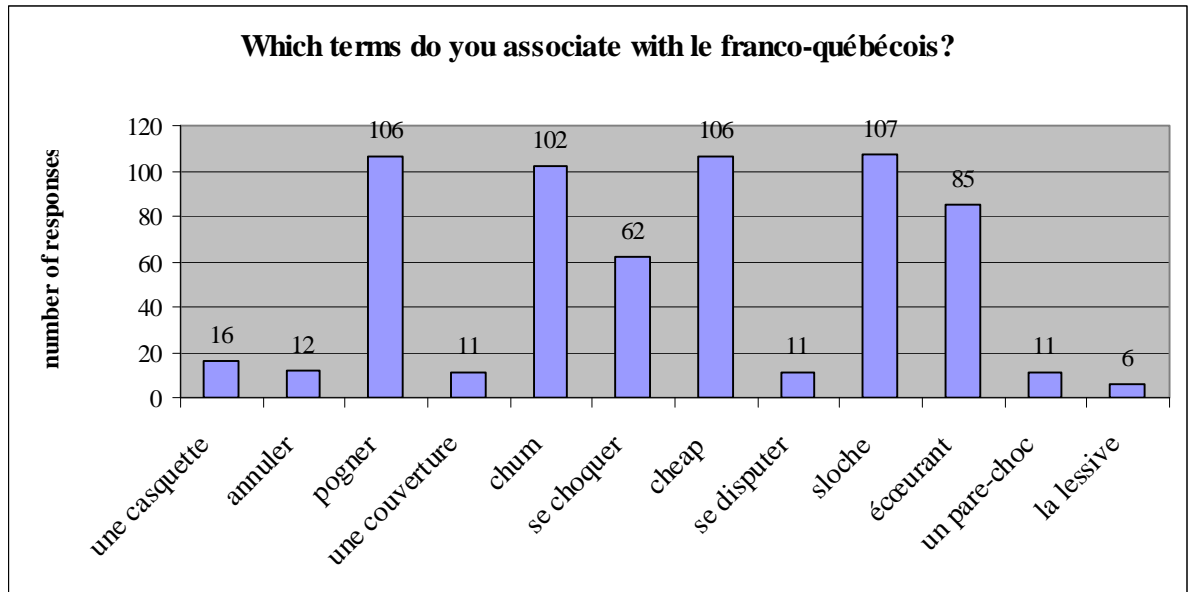
The most surprising result, given the responses to the other statements, was that 71.4% agreed that *le franco-qubécois* had as much value as *le français québécois standard*. Compared to the majority of responses on previous questions, this might have been a case where the direct questioning of language attitudes influenced students’ responses. If students felt that belittling the value of one of Québec’s speech varieties was devaluing part of Québécois culture, their responses to this question probably would have been affected by what they perceived to be “socially desirable responses” (Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone 1988: 1071). However, more evidence would be needed to support this hypothesis.

Results for the last statement in section 4 indicated that 48.6% of participants believed that *le franco-qubécois* needed improvement. Apparently, these participants believed it could be improved and/or that it would be beneficial to improve it.

The final question in section 4 presented a list of twelve words. Participants were asked to indicate which words they associated with *le franco-qubécois*. Based on discussions with the Québécois student who helped with the survey set-up, participants were expected to check the following six terms: *pogner*, *chum*, *se choquer*, *cheap*, *sloche*, and *écœurant*. The results, however, showed more variation (see Figure 16). As participants were from different

regions of Québec, their perceptions of the local colloquial variety might have differed. The six words that were chosen the most did, however, correspond to the six which participants were expected to choose.

Figure 16: Franco-québécois terms



4.3.4.3 Summary of section 4 results

The results for section 4 indicated that participants associated Québec's standard variety with high status and correctness. The opinions stated in the agree-disagree section generally revealed more favorable attitudes towards *le français québécois standard*, but there were some results which did not seem to be consistent with the general pattern. Using different terms for the two varieties of French might have made a difference if participants had difficulty with the current terms. Randomizing the agree-disagree statements might have obtained more consistent responses as well, if the order of presentation affected these results.

4.4 Results according to groups

4.4.1 Methods

To see if any results were dependent on variables such as age, gender, socioeconomic status, college studies, or modifications made to the survey during the week that it was open, chi-square tests for independence were performed on all multiple-choice questions, excluding the 5 questions which allowed participants to select more than one answer and the questions concerning conversation experience with other francophones²⁴. The chi-square tests indicated whether two categorical variables such as age and whether participants liked Québec music, for example, were related by comparing the number of responses in the possible answer categories of one variable with those of the other variable. Significant differences between groups were indicated by a Pearson Chi-Square associated significance level of .05 or less.

Before performing the tests, the three possible answer categories for all questions within section 2, the self-reported language use section, were combined into two answer categories so that there would be fewer categories containing less than five responses, the minimum expected cell frequency of the chi-square tests. The two answer categories for the chi-square tests became 1) usage of the standard word vs. 2) usage of the colloquial word or equal usage of both terms. The important distinction for this section was whether or not a participant would use the colloquial form, so those who said that they would use either form equally were thus grouped with those who claimed use of the colloquial lexical item.

²⁴ On both questions concerning conversation experience with other francophones, only one participant answered negatively.

Similarly, the six possible answer categories for the speaker rating questions in section 3 were combined into two categories, positive trait vs. negative trait²⁵; and the same was done with the four possible answer categories for the agree-disagree questions in section 4 which became simply ‘agree’ and ‘disagree’ for the chi-square tests.

4.4.2 Significant Results

4.4.2.1 Gender

Chi-square tests were performed which measured the relation between the multiple-choice questions (except the afore-mentioned 7) and the gender of the participant. There were 67 females and 45 males counted within the gender groups.²⁶ The results for two of the survey questions turned out to be significant. The question querying participants’ like or dislike of Québécois music had an associated significance of .018. Of the female participants, 97% said that they liked Québec music, while 84.4% of males said the same. The other significant test concerned the question regarding media genres and varieties of French. Of the male participants, 95.6% said that different genres were associated with different varieties of French, and 73.1% of females agreed. The associated significance was .002.

4.4.2.2 Age

Of the 112 participants, 101 were divided into 3 groups according to their year of birth. The groups were made up of those born in 1983-1986, 1978-1982, and 1973-1977. Eleven participants, born 1957-1972, were not included in these chi-square tests because the size of their age groups would have been too small for significance. The 1983-1986 group was

²⁵ These tests were performed before it was determined that section 3 results were most likely invalid.

²⁶ For section 3, only 49 females and 28 males were counted in the gender groups. These were the 77 participants who did not experience problems when trying to access the sound recordings and who did not recognize the identity of one or both of the speakers.

comprised of 26 participants, the 1978-1982 group of 59, and the 1973-1977 group of 16 participants.²⁷

Four questions proved significant according to age. The middle age group, 1978-1982, indicated the highest use of anglicisms when speaking French (98.3%). Of the youngest group, 84.6% claimed to use anglicisms, and 81.3% of the 1973-1977 group also said the same. The associated significance was .021.

In the self-evaluated language use section, the least and the most formal situations of the *gang* vs. *groupe* group had associated significance values of .038 and .040 respectively. In the least formal situation, the youngest group claimed the highest use of the colloquial form or both forms equally (92.3%). Of the middle age group, 84.7% reported use of the colloquial form or both forms; and the oldest group reported the lowest use of the same (62.5% of participants). In the most formal situation, the oldest group again reported the lowest use of the colloquial form or both forms (12.5%), while the 1978-1982 and 1983-1986 groups had 47.5% and 42.3% of participants using the colloquial *gang* or both. The youngest group therefore used *gang* or either lexical item the most of all the groups, while the oldest group used them least. However, there was no significant difference in the intermediate *gang-groupe* situation.

The final question that was significant according to age was whether participants agreed or disagreed with the statement that speaking *le franco-qubécois* was speaking French correctly. For all age groups, the majority disagreed, but the middle age group indicated the highest level of agreement of all the groups at 36.2%. (This was also the group indicating the highest usage of anglicisms, which many associate with *le franco-qubécois*.) Twenty

²⁷ For the speaker evaluation section, 23, 39, and 9 participants were counted in the youngest, middle, and oldest groups.

percent of the 1973-1977 group agreed that speaking *le franco-qubécois* was speaking French correctly, while only 11.5% of the youngest group agreed. The associated significance for these results was at .050.

4.4.2.3 Socioeconomic Status

Participants indicated the occupations of their parents or guardians in section 5, the demographic questions section. Using the *Standard Occupational Classification 1980*, the professions listed were assigned a code which was then used to determine the socioeconomic (SES) status of the participants based on Blishen's "1981 socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada." (If a participant listed the professions of both parents, the profession with the higher SES score was chosen of the two.) A list was made with participants arranged in order of socioeconomic status, and the list was then divided into four roughly equal groups.

The first group, Group 1, numbered 28 participants²⁸ and included students who listed the following as professions of one of their parents: janitor, 'worker,' farmer, cabinetmaker, cook/butcher, trucker, office clerk, orderly, mechanic or garageman, bus driver, emergency medical technician, lorry driver, music teacher, tire salesman, secretary, magnetic particle technician, factory task planner, sawmill foreman, train conductor, construction worker (builder, foreman, or contractor), and dental hygienist.²⁹

The second group, Group 2, numbered 26³⁰ and was composed of students who listed the following as the profession of one of their parents: surveyor, auxiliary nurse, industrial

²⁸ For the speaker evaluation section, 20 of the 28 participants were able to be counted because they either did not have difficulty with the sound recordings or because they did not recognize the identity of one or both of the speakers.

²⁹ According to Blishen's index, these occupations received SES ratings ranging from 26.36 to 45.02.

³⁰ Eighteen participants from this group were counted for the speaker evaluation section.

mechanic, millwright, Hydro-Québec inspector, water treatment plant employee, electrical contractor, soil technician, editor, registered nurse, medical archivist, ship pilot, purser, insurance broker, electrical technician, civil engineering technician, translator, businessman/woman, production supervisor, professor for special needs students, and policeman/woman.³¹

Group 3 included 30 participants³² who indicated that one of their parents held one of the following positions: dietician, accountant, financial planner, municipal officer, psychoeducator, computer specialist or technician, program analyst, airline company supervisor, speech language pathologist, ethnologist, teacher (elementary and child-care), town planner, ornithologist, CEGEP professor, nursing instructor, or architect.³³

The fourth group, Group 4, numbered 28³⁴ and was comprised of those who listed one of the following as the profession of one of their parents: high school teacher, government official, accounting vice president, CEO, engineer, veterinarian, lawyer, notary, university professor, middle school director, optometrist, judge, and doctor.³⁵

Chi-square test results were significant on two questions. The associated significance was .038 for the question regarding the acceptability of anglicisms. The data for SES groups is presented in the following chart (Table 4).

³¹ These professions ranged from 46.22 to 58.78 on Blishen's socioeconomic index.

³² Twenty-one participants were counted in the speaker evaluation section from this group.

³³ The occupations within Group 3 received SES ratings of 59.31 to 68.12.

³⁴ Eighteen people from Group 4 were counted in the results for the speaker evaluation section.

³⁵ These occupations SES score ranged from 70.19 to 101.32 on Blishen's index.

Table 4: Anglicism responses according to SES group

Is the use of anglicisms in French acceptable, or should it be discouraged?		
SES group	Use of anglicisms acceptable	Use of anglicisms should be discouraged
Group 1	39.3%	60.7%
Group 2	26.9%	73.1%
Group 3	62.1%	37.9%
Group 4	32.1%	67.9%
Pearson Chi-square associated significance:		.038

Interestingly, one of the middle SES groups, Group 3, claimed the highest tolerance of anglicisms. With language planning programs constantly discouraging the use of anglicisms in Québec French and with supposedly fewer anglicisms in the standard Québec French, language attitude studies focusing on separate classes within society would predict that the middle class would suffer most from linguistic insecurity and would strive to emulate the speech of the elite. In this case, however, it is a middle SES group which seems to maintain an opinion separate from that of language planners and of the majority of participants.

The results from the least formal situation featuring the choice of *perdu(e)* and *écarté(e)* in the self-reported language use section are also significant at .012. The data is presented below.

Table 5: *Perdu(e)* and *écarté(e)* scenario (least formal) responses according to SES group

Lost brother scenario		
SES group	<i>perdu(e)</i>	<i>écarté(e)</i> or both equally
Group 1	71.4%	28.6%
Group 2	92.3%	7.7%
Group 3	70%	30%
Group 4	96.4%	3.6%
Pearson Chi-square associated significance:		.012

Again, it is the SES Group 3 which claimed the highest usage of the colloquial term or both terms, while this group would be expected to report one of the lowest usages. The majority of participants in this group, however, still reported usage of the standard form.

While the results of these two tests are interesting, there are unfortunately no other significant differences which distinguish SES Group 3 from the others.

4.4.2.4 *Field of study*

Participants were also divided into two groups based on their major in college. One participant was not included in this analysis because she indicated the degree she was completing instead of the field of study and therefore could not be classified according to major. Consequently, the analysis included 111 participants, 19 of which were included in the linguistics, anthropology, and literature group. The other 92 participants were grouped in an ‘other’ category.³⁶ The linguistics, anthropology, and literature students were designated as a group because of the possibility that their studies had affected their language attitudes. The number of students majoring in each of these fields was too small to be statistically significant, so all students majoring in these three fields were combined into one group, ‘LAL.’

Once again, few results turned out to be significant based on the Chi-square tests. LAL participants indicated a higher usage of the colloquial *assir* or both terms in the most formal situation of *assir-asseoir* group in section 2, but the majority of LAL students (73.7%) still claimed to use the standard form *asseoir*. A higher percentage of participants (93.5%) in the ‘other’ group claimed to use the standard, and the associated significance was .009.

The middle scenario for the *cassé(e)-fauché(e)* group also turned up significant results at .036. In this situation, however, the LAL group indicated a higher usage of the standard form (50%) than the ‘other’ group (25.3%). Results regarding the *cassé(e)-fauché(e)* group, however, are questionable if all the participants were not familiar with the use of *fauché(e)*.

³⁶ For the speaker evaluation section, 13 students were counted in the linguistics, anthropology, and literature group; and 63 students were included in the ‘other’ category.

4.4.2.5 Before and after modifications

The survey was modified during the week it was open in response to feedback from some of the participants. The modifications affected section 1 and section 4. In section 1, questions 17, 20, 22-23, 25-26, and 28 originally contained pronouns which referred to noun phrases mentioned in preceding questions 16, 19, 21, 24, and 27. In the modifications, these pronouns were replaced with the full noun phrases. These changes were made in response to a participant's report that he could not remember the topic of a question after passing on to the next page. Another participant who completed the survey early in the week reported difficulty with remembering what the terms in section 4 (*le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois*) stood for after he had passed from the definitions page to the questions themselves. Modifications were made so that the definitions of the two terms were repeated under each pertinent question in section 4.

Chi-square tests were run to see if changes made to the survey had significantly influenced survey results. The number of participants who had completed the survey before the modifications outnumbered the participants who took it after the changes were made. The SPSS program was set up so that it randomly selected 37 participants from the pre-modifications group to match the number of post-modifications participants for the chi-square tests. The tests were only performed for the multiple-choice questions which had been modified, and none of the tests produced significant results. The modifications, therefore, did not seem to significantly influence results.

4.4.3 Summary of results according to groups

While there were some significant differences between groups based on gender, age, socioeconomic status, and major, there were only a handful of significant cases in each of

those groupings. Furthermore, the significant differences within groupings either seemed to be unrelated or were too few in number to base any conclusions on them. The language attitudes expressed by participants therefore did not seem to be influenced by any of these variables.

4.5 Summary

Overall, the results obtained in this survey indicated that the majority of participants held more positive attitudes towards *le français québécois standard* than towards *le franco-québécois*. The standard was associated with prestige, high status, and correctness; and the colloquial variety was associated with lower prestige and lower levels of education. These results confirm the hypothesis presented at the beginning and are consistent with general patterns prevalent in other cultures and societies with respect to standard and non-standard varieties.

CONCLUSION

Although language attitudes towards Québec French have improved considerably since the late 1950s, opinions have not changed much with respect to certain speech varieties spoken in *la belle province*. Results from this study have indicated that the standard in Québec, *le français québécois standard*, which is the most similar to standard European French, is still the variety that is associated with prestige and with ‘speaking correctly.’ Attitudes towards the colloquial *franco-québécois* are less favorable, basically remaining unchanged since the 1970s when the latest study comparing these two varieties was conducted. However, responses to certain questions seemed to conflict with the general language attitudes expressed in the rest of the survey, and these particular results were also inconsistent with the results of other standard vs. nonstandard language attitude studies. Some of these instances could be explained due to the wording of the questions or the structure of the survey, but further research would be needed to explain the responses regarding specific agree-disagree statements presented at the end of the survey. Of particular interest is the reason why a majority of participants agreed that *le franco-québécois* had the same worth as the standard when most of the other responses indicated a preference for *le français québécois standard*.

This study’s participants were all university students, people who had most likely spent a lot of time in academic settings which overtly promote *le français québécois standard*. To obtain data on the linguistic attitudes of the Québécois in general, it would be necessary to conduct studies with other groups within Québec society (workers, older people, etc.).

Future studies, of course, should be designed in such a way that they avoid the problems which were encountered in this study: the wording or framing of questions should be checked by several native speakers, and items might be randomized to minimize any influence that the ordering of questions might have on results. For verbal guise tests, more care should be taken to match speakers' voice quality, and appropriate programs or equipment should be used so that tests function properly for all participants. To avoid obtaining invalid results (as in section 3), the speakers recorded for such tests should be relatively unknown to participants, and the register used by the speakers should be less apparent. In spite of these impediments, this study was successful to some degree in determining and recording current language attitudes of Québécois university students towards *le français québécois standard* and *le franco-québécois* and thus fulfilled its purpose.

APPENDIX A: Language Attitudes Survey (French Version)

Section 1.

Répondez à ces questions en cochant la réponse décrivant le mieux vos préférences / habitudes.

1. Parmi la musique que vous écoutez, quelle proportion de cette musique est québécoise (francophone)?

- Toute la musique que j'écoute est québécoise.
- Plus de la moitié de la musique que j'écoute est québécoise.
- La moitié de la musique que j'écoute est québécoise.
- Moins de la moitié de la musique que j'écoute est québécoise.
- Je n'écoute pas de musique québécoise.

2. Aimez-vous la musique québécoise? Oui

Non

3. À votre avis, la qualité de la musique québécoise est _____.

- excellente
- bonne
- pas mal
- médiocre
- mauvaise

4. Parmi tous les films que vous regardez, combien sont des films québécois (francophones)?

- Tous les films que je regarde sont des films québécois.
- Plus de la moitié des films que je regarde sont des films québécois.

- pas mal
- médiocre
- mauvaise

13. Avez-vous déjà parlé avec un(e) québécois(e) (Francophone) qui parlait d'une manière différente de vous? Oui

Non

14. Quelle était la cause de cette différence, selon vous? _____

15. Quelle était votre réaction? _____

16. Avez-vous déjà parlé avec un(e) français(e) de France? Oui

Non

17. Est-ce que cette personne française parlait d'une manière différente de vous?

Oui

Non

18. Quelle était votre réaction? _____

19. À votre avis, est-ce qu'il y a des variétés de français qui sont meilleures que d'autres?

Oui

Non

20. Quelles variétés de français sont les meilleures? _____

21. Y a-t-il des genres de média qui sont associés avec certaines variétés de français?

Oui

Non

22. Quels genres de média sont associés avec quelles variétés de français? _____

23. Quels sont vos genres de média préférés, et pourquoi? _____

24. Y a-t-il des genres de littérature qui sont associés avec certaines variétés de français?

Oui

Non

25. Quels genres de littérature sont associés avec quelles variétés de français? _____

26. Quels sont vos genres de littérature préférés, et pourquoi? _____

27. Y a-t-il des genres de musique qui sont associés avec certaines variétés de français?

Oui

Non

28. Quels genres de musique sont associés avec quelles variétés de français? _____

29. Quels genres de musique est-ce que vous préférez? _____

30. Est-ce que vous utilisez des anglicismes en parlant français? Oui

Non

31. Remarquez-vous habituellement l'utilisation d'anglicismes dans vos conversations?

Oui

Non

32. Est-ce que l'utilisation d'anglicismes en français est acceptable, ou est-ce quelque chose qu'on doit décourager?

C'est acceptable.

On doit le décourager.

33. À votre avis, est-ce qu'il y a différentes variétés de français parlées au Québec?

Oui

Non

34. À votre avis, est-ce que toute langue change avec le temps, en règle générale?

Oui

Non

Section 2 : Votre langage

Indiquez l'expression que vous utiliseriez dans les situations suivantes. Il n'y a pas de mauvaises réponses!

35. Vous essayez de prendre une photo de la sœur cadette d'un de vos amis, mais elle n'arrête pas de bouger. Il y a une chaise tout près, et vous lui dites, « Va _____! »

t'assir

t'asseoir

J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.

36. Un homme avec une jambe dans le plâtre monte dans le bus que vous prenez.

Vous êtes assis(e), et comme il n'y a plus de sièges, vous lui offrez le vôtre.

«Voulez-vous vous _____?»

assir

asseoir

J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.

37. Ça fait cinq jours que vous ne vous sentez pas bien, alors vous allez chez le médecin.

Au début, le médecin veut savoir combien vous pesez, alors il faut que vous vous teniez debout sur la balance. Vous êtes pris(e) de vertige alors vous lui demandez,

« Puis-je _____ maintenant? »

m'assir

m'asseoir

J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.

38. Votre frère vous téléphone quand il est sur la route pour vous demander s'il a laissé sa

carte routière à la maison. Vous lui demandez, « Tu t'es _____ sur la route ? »

écarté

perdu

J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.

39. Votre voisin a perdu son chien et il le cherche. Vous lui rendez service en distribuant

des affiches partout dans le voisinage. Vous entrez dans un restaurant du quartier.

Vous expliquez au serveur que le chien de votre voisin s'est _____ avant de

lui demander la permission d'afficher l'annonce dans son établissement.

écarté

perdu

J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.

40. Vous êtes dans une ville que vous ne connaissez pas et vous avez perdu votre chemin. Vous voyez un facteur et lui demandez des directions, après avoir expliqué que vous vous êtes _____ dans la ville.
- écarté(e)
 - perdu(e)
 - J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.
41. Vous dites à vos parents que vous allez voir un film ce soir, et votre mère voudrait savoir avec qui vous sortez. Vous lui dites que vous allez sortir avec _____ d'amis.
- une gang
 - un groupe
 - J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.
42. Vous êtes témoin d'un vol, et les policiers vous demandent de raconter ce qui s'est passé. Vous commencez en décrivant le lieu du crime: « J'étais avec _____ d'amis quand...»
- une gang
 - un groupe
 - J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.
43. Dans un de vos cours, la professeure vous demande ce que vous avez fait pendant les vacances. Comme vous avez voyagé en France avec vos amis, vous lui dites, « Je suis allé(e) en France avec _____ d'amis... »
- une gang
 - un groupe
 - J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.
44. Un de vos amis vous propose d'aller au cinéma. Comme vous n'avez pas d'argent en ce moment, vous lui dites, « Je ne peux pas; je suis _____ . »
- cassé(e)

fauché(e)

J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.

45. Un agent de voyage vous téléphone et vous offre trois semaines en Europe pour \$1.000. C'est très bon marché, mais vous lui dites la vérité : « Non, merci. Je suis _____ . »

cassé(e)

fauché(e)

J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.

46. Vous suivez un cours enseigné par votre professeur préféré. Il vous suggère de suivre un autre cours qu'il enseigne ce semestre, mais ça vous coûterait trop. Il faut lui dire, « J'aimerais bien le suivre, mais je suis _____ . »

cassé(e)

fauché(e)

J'utiliserais l'un ou l'autre.

Section 3 : Évaluation de locuteur

Écoutez les deux enregistrements suivants de 10 secondes. Quelles sont vos perceptions de ces locuteurs? En utilisant les tableaux suivants, indiquez vos impressions.

Chaque tableau montre une ligne : la ligne commence à gauche dans le tableau et l'antonyme de cette ligne se trouve à droite. Les cases de gauche à droite représentent différentes possibilités. Vous pouvez sélectionner une réponse à une des extrémités du tableau ou une réponse qui est entre les deux extrémités et cochez la case correspondante.

Locuteur 1

Cliquez ici pour écouter le premier locuteur.

47. Ce locuteur est...

amical					hostile
--------	--	--	--	--	---------

48.

sympathique					antipathique
-------------	--	--	--	--	--------------

49.

détestable					aimable
------------	--	--	--	--	---------

50.

sociable					pas sociable
----------	--	--	--	--	--------------

51.

impoli					poli
--------	--	--	--	--	------

52. Ce locuteur est...

distingué					vulgaire
-----------	--	--	--	--	----------

53.

ignorant					instruit
----------	--	--	--	--	----------

54.

sûr de lui					pas sûr de lui
------------	--	--	--	--	----------------

55.

influençable					ferme
--------------	--	--	--	--	-------

56.

honnête					malhonnête
---------	--	--	--	--	------------

57. À entendre ce locuteur parler, qui serait-il dans la liste suivante? Cochez toutes les

réponses qui sont applicables.

professeur d'université

médecin

homme d'affaires

vendeur

ouvrier

fermier

58. Autres remarques: _____

Locuteur 2

Cliquez ici pour écouter le deuxième locuteur.

59. Ce locuteur est...

amical					hostile
--------	--	--	--	--	---------

60.

sympathique					antipathique
-------------	--	--	--	--	--------------

61.

détestable					aimable
------------	--	--	--	--	---------

62.

sociable					pas sociable
----------	--	--	--	--	--------------

63.

impoli					poli
--------	--	--	--	--	------

64. Ce locuteur est...

distingué					vulgaire
-----------	--	--	--	--	----------

65.

ignorant					instruit
----------	--	--	--	--	----------

66.

sûr de lui					pas sûr de lui
------------	--	--	--	--	----------------

67.

influençable					ferme
--------------	--	--	--	--	-------

68.

honnête					malhonnête
---------	--	--	--	--	------------

69. À entendre ce locuteur parler, qui serait-il dans la liste suivante? Cochez toutes les réponses qui sont applicables.

- professeur d'université
- médecin
- homme d'affaires
- vendeur
- ouvrier
- fermier

70. Autres remarques: _____

Section 4

Il y a deux termes qui apparaissent dans cette enquête à partir de maintenant :

1. « Le français québécois standard » est le terme désignant la variété de français qui est enseignée dans les écoles et les universités du Québec. De nombreuses personnalités de Radio-Canada utilisent couramment ce type de français.

Voici un extrait¹ des *Gommes* (de Robbe-Grillet) écrit en français québécois standard :

« Alors c'est très simple : vous continuez jusqu'au premier carrefour, où vous tournez à droite, et, tout de suite après, vous tournez à gauche ; ensuite c'est tout droit. Vous n'en avez pas pour longtemps. »

2. « Le franco-québécois » est le terme désignant la variété de français moins formelle et qui est la plus éloignée dans le français international. Michel Tremblay et La Chicane, par exemple, utilisent cette variété de français.

Le même extrait des *Gommes* en franco-québécois :

« C'é ben facile, vous allez jusqu'au premier coin, pis là vous tournez à drouette, pis tu'suite après, vous tournez sus votre gauche, pis là, c'é tou drouette. C'é pas ben loin. »

71. Lesquels des professionnels suivants sont les plus susceptibles d'utiliser le français québécois standard? Cochez toutes les réponses qui sont applicables.

- professeur(e) d'université
- médecin/femme médecin
- homme/femme d'affaires
- vendeur/vendeuse
- ouvrier/ouvrière
- fermier

¹ Examples taken from Méar-Crine and Leclerc, « Attitudes des adolescents canadiens-français vis-à-vis du franco-québécois et du français académique, » of a passage of *Les Gommes* by Robbe-Grillet (1953).

72. Lesquels des professionnels suivants sont les plus susceptibles d'utiliser le franco-québécois? Cochez toutes les réponses qui sont applicables.

- professeur(e) d'université
- médecin/femme médecin
- homme/femme d'affaires
- vendeur/vendeuse
- ouvrier/ouvrière
- fermier

Questions d'opinion

Êtes-vous d'accord avec les affirmations suivantes? Indiquez votre réaction en cochant la case appropriée.

73. Le français québécois standard est plus correct que le franco-québécois.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

74. Le français québécois standard est plus agréable à écouter que le franco-québécois.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

75. Le franco-québécois est plus populaire au Québec que le français québécois standard.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

76. Le franco-québécois a autant de valeur que le français québécois standard.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

77. Le français québécois standard est plus expressif que le franco-québécois.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

78. Quant on parle le franco-québécois, on parle le français correctement.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

79. Afin de protéger la culture québécoise (francophone), il est important de parler le franco- québécois.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

80. Plus on est instruit, moins on utilise le franco-québécois.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

81. Bien maîtriser le français québécois standard est important.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

82. Il faut améliorer le franco-québécois.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

83. Il faut améliorer le français québécois standard.

Je suis tout à fait d'accord.	Je suis d'accord.	Je ne suis pas d'accord.	Je ne suis pas du tout d'accord
-------------------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

84. Quels sont les termes que vous associez avec le franco-qubécois? Indiquez votre rponse en cochant la case à coté de ces termes.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> une casquette | <input type="radio"/> cheap |
| <input type="radio"/> annuler | <input type="radio"/> se disputer |
| <input type="radio"/> pogner | <input type="radio"/> sloche |
| <input type="radio"/> une couverture | <input type="radio"/> écœurant |
| <input type="radio"/> chum | <input type="radio"/> un pare-choc |
| <input type="radio"/> se choquer | <input type="radio"/> la lessive |

Section 5 : Conclusion

Il ne vous reste que quelques questions démographiques. Veuillez répondre à toutes ces questions, car ces renseignements sont nécessaires à l'analyse statistique. (Personne ne peut être identifié avec ces renseignements.)

85. En quelle année êtes-vous né(e)? _____

86. Quel est votre sexe? féminin
 masculin

87. Quelle est votre langue maternelle (langue apprise à la maison)/Quelles sont vos langues maternelles? _____

88. Est-ce que vous parlez d'autres langues? Oui
 Non

89. Si oui, lesquelles? _____

90. Combien d'années avez-vous vécu au Québec? _____

91. Quels sont les 3 premiers caractères du code postal du lieu (des lieux) où vous avez vécu au Québec? _____

92. En quelle(s) matière(s) est-ce que vous vous spécialisez à l'université? _____

93. Quelle est la profession de votre mère/tutrice? _____

94. Quelle est la profession de votre père/tuteur? _____

APPENDIX B: Language Attitudes Survey (English translation)

Section 1.

Answer the following questions by choosing the response that best describes your preferences/habits.

1. Of the music that you listen to, how much of it is Québécois (francophone Québécois) music?
 all
 more than half
 half
 less than half
 none
2. Do you enjoy Québécois music? yes
 no
3. How would you rate the quality of Québécois music? great
 good
 ok
 poor
 awful
4. Of the movies that you watch, what percentage of them are Québécois (francophone Québécois) movies? all of them
 more than half
 half
 less than half
 none

13. Have you ever talked with another Québécois (francophone) who spoke differently than you? yes

no

14. What do you think was the cause of this difference? _____

15. What was your reaction? _____

16. Have you ever spoken with someone from France? yes

no

17. Did this French person speak differently than you? yes

no

18. What was your reaction? _____

19. Are some varieties of French better than others? yes

no

20. Which varieties of French are better? _____

21. Are different genres of media associated with different varieties of French?

yes

no

22. Which genres of media are associated with which varieties of French? _____

23. What is your favorite genre of media and why? _____

24. Are different genres of literature associated with different varieties of French?

yes

no

25. Which genres of literature are associated with which varieties of French? _____

26. What is your favorite genre of literature and why? _____

27. Are different kinds of music associated with different varieties of French? yes

no

28. Which kinds of music are associated with which varieties of French? _____

29. What kinds of music do you like? _____

30. Do you use anglicisms when you speak French? yes

no

31. Do you notice when other people use anglicisms when they speak French?

yes

no

32. Is using anglicisms when speaking French ok, or is it something that should be

discouraged? It is ok.

It should be discouraged.

33. In your opinion, are there different varieties of French that are spoken within Québec?

yes

no

34. Do you think that, as a rule, languages change over time?

yes

no

Section 2: Self-reported use

Indicate which word or phrase you would use in the following situations. **There is no right or wrong answer!**

35. You are trying to take a photograph of your friend's younger sister. She keeps running around, however. As there is a chair nearby, you tell her, "Go _____!"

t'assir¹

t'asseoir

I use both equally.

36. A man wearing a leg cast boards the bus you are riding. You are seated, but there are no more available seats, so you offer him yours. "Would you like to ____?"

assir²

asseoir

I use both equally.

¹ *T'assir* and *t'asseoir* are both infinitives of 'sit yourself (informal) down.' In all the options listed in the self-reported language use section, the form more associated with *franco-québécois* is given first, followed by the form associated with *français québécois standard*.

² *Assir* and *asseoir* are the infinitive form 'to sit.'

37. You haven't been feeling well the last five days, so you go to see the doctor.

The doctor wants to know how much you weigh, so you have to stand on the scales. You're still dizzy, so you ask him, "May I _____ down now?"

- m'assir³
- m'asseoir
- I use both equally.

38. Your brother calls while he is on the road to ask if he has left his roadmap at home.

You ask him, "Did you get _____ along the way?"

- écarté⁴
- perdu
- I use both equally.

39. Your neighbor has lost his dog and is looking for it, and you are helping him by posting signs around the neighborhood. You enter a nearby restaurant. You explain to one of the waiters that your neighbor's dog _____ before asking if you can post a sign at their establishment.

- s'est écarté⁵
- s'est perdu
- I use both equally.

40. You are in an unfamiliar city and cannot find your way. You see a postman and ask him for directions, explaining that you are _____ in the city.

- écarté(e)
- perdu(e)
- I use both equally.

³ *M'assir* and *m'asseoir* mean 'to sit (myself) down.'

⁴ *Écarté* and *perdu* mean 'lost.'

⁵ *S'est écarté* and *s'est perdu* mean "has gotten lost" in this sentence.

41. You tell your parents that you're going to a movie, and your mother is curious to know with whom you are going. You tell her that you're going with a _____ of friends.
- gang⁶
 - groupe
 - I use both equally.
42. You are a witness to a robbery, and the police ask you to recount what happened. You begin by describing the scene. "I was with a _____ of friends when..."
- gang
 - groupe
 - I use both equally.
43. In one of your classes, the professor asks you what you did during spring break. As you were traveling throughout France with some of your friends, you tell her, "I went to France with a _____ of friends."
- gang
 - groupe
 - I use both equally.
44. One of your friends invites you to go out to a movie. As you have no money to spend at the moment, you tell him, "I can't; I'm _____."
- cassé(e)⁷
 - fauché(e)
 - I use both equally

⁶ *Gang* and *group* both mean 'group.'

⁷ *Cassé(e)* and *fauché(e)* can be translated as meaning 'broke.'

45. A travel agent calls you on the phone and offers you a three-week excursion in Europe for \$1,000. It's a good deal, but you tell him the truth: "I'm _____."

cassé(e)

fauché(e)

I use both equally.

46. You're currently taking one class which is taught by your favorite professor. He suggests that you also take another of his classes this semester. That, however, would be too expensive for you. You respond by saying, "I'd like to take your class, but I'm _____."

cassé(e)

fauché(e)

I use both equally.

Section 3: Speaker rating

Listen to the following recordings, each lasting about 10 seconds. What are your impressions of the two speakers? Use the following tables to indicate your response.

Each table includes a pair of character traits⁸: there is one trait that is listed on the left side of the scale, and its antonym is listed on the right. The boxes in between the traits represent a scale between the two. You may indicate an answer at either end of the scale or somewhere in between.

Speaker 1

[Click here to listen to the first speaker.](#)⁹

⁸ These character traits were from Méar-Crine and Leclerc's study, "Attitudes des adolescents canadiens-français vis-à-vis du franco-qubécois et du français académique."

⁹ A link was provided here which participants could open to listen to the first speaker.

57. This speaker is...

friendly					hostile
----------	--	--	--	--	---------

58.

pleasant					unpleasant
----------	--	--	--	--	------------

59.

dreadful					kind
----------	--	--	--	--	------

60.

sociable					unsociable
----------	--	--	--	--	------------

61.

rude					polite
------	--	--	--	--	--------

62. This speaker is...

distinguished					vulgar
---------------	--	--	--	--	--------

63.

ignorant					educated
----------	--	--	--	--	----------

64.

self-assured					not self-assured
--------------	--	--	--	--	------------------

65.

easily influenced					firm
-------------------	--	--	--	--	------

66.

honest					dishonest
--------	--	--	--	--	-----------

57. Which of the following does this speaker sound most like? Check all that apply.

university professor

doctor

- businessman
- salesperson
- factory worker
- farmer

58. Other comments: _____

Speaker 2

Click here to listen to the second speaker.¹⁰

60. This speaker is...

friendly					hostile
----------	--	--	--	--	---------

60.

pleasant					unpleasant
----------	--	--	--	--	------------

61.

dreadful					kind
----------	--	--	--	--	------

62.

sociable					unsociable
----------	--	--	--	--	------------

63.

rude					polite
------	--	--	--	--	--------

65. This speaker is...

distinguished					vulgar
---------------	--	--	--	--	--------

65.

ignorant					educated
----------	--	--	--	--	----------

¹⁰ A link was inserted here which directed participants to the second recording.

66.

self-assured					not self-assured
--------------	--	--	--	--	------------------

67.

easily influenced					firm
----------------------	--	--	--	--	------

68.

honest					dishonest
--------	--	--	--	--	-----------

69. Which of the following does this speaker sound most like? Check all that apply.

- university professor
- doctor
- businessman
- salesperson
- factory worker
- farmer

70. Other comments: _____

Section 4

Two terms are used throughout the rest of this survey:

1. “*Le français québécois standard*” is used to designate the variety of French which is taught in the schools and in the universities in Québec. Many radio broadcasters on Radio Canada use *le français québécois standard*.

An excerpt¹¹ of a text in *le français québécois standard*:

« Alors c'est très simple : vous continuez jusqu'au premier carrefour, où vous tournez à droite, et, tout de suite après, vous tournez à gauche ; ensuite c'est tout droit. Vous n'en avez pas pour longtemps. »

2. “**Le franco-québécois**” is the term used to designate the more informal variety of French spoken in Québec or the variety that is less like an international French. (Someone who speaks like Michel Tremblay or members of La Chicane uses *le franco-québécois*.)

Excerpt of the same text in *le franco-québécois*:

« C'é ben facile, vous allez jusqu'au premier coin, pis là vous tournez à drouette, pis tu'suite après, vous tournez sus votre gauche, pis là, c'é tou drouette. C'é pas ben loin. »

71. In terms of occupation, who usually speaks *le français québécois standard*? Check

- all that apply.
- university professor
 - doctor
 - businessman/woman
 - salesperson
 - factory worker
 - farmer

72. In terms of occupation, who usually speaks *le franco-québécois*? Check all that

- apply.
- university professor

¹¹ Examples taken from Méar-Crine and Leclerc, « Attitudes des adolescents canadiens-français vis-à-vis du franco-québécois et du français académique, » of a passage of *Gommes* by Robbe-Grillet (1953).

- doctor
- businessman/woman
- salesperson
- factory worker
- farmer

Opinion questions

Indicate whether you would agree or disagree with the statements listed below by checking one of the boxes along the continuum.

73. *Le français québécois standard* is more correct than *le franco-québécois*.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

74. *Le français québécois standard* is more pleasant than *le franco-québécois*.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

75. *Le franco-québécois* is more popular than *le français québécois standard*.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

76. *Le franco-québécois* is as valuable as *le français québécois standard*.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

77. *Le français québécois standard* is more expressive than *le franco-québécois*.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

78. When one is speaking *le franco-québécois*, one is speaking French correctly.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

79. Speaking *le franco-qubécois* is important to maintaining the francophone culture of Québec.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

80. The higher the level of education a person attains, the less he/she will speak *le franco-qubécois*.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

81. It is advantageous for a person to learn to speak *le français qubécois standard*.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

82. *Le franco-qubécois* needs improvement.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

83. *Le français qubécois standard* needs improvement.

strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

84. Indicate which terms you would associate with *le franco-qubécois* by placing a check in the circle next to those terms.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> une casquette | <input type="radio"/> cheap |
| <input type="radio"/> annuler | <input type="radio"/> se disputer |
| <input type="radio"/> pogner | <input type="radio"/> sloche |
| <input type="radio"/> une couverture | <input type="radio"/> écœurant |
| <input type="radio"/> chum | <input type="radio"/> un pare-choc |
| <input type="radio"/> se choquer | <input type="radio"/> la lessive |

Section 5: Conclusion

There are some demographic questions to be answered before the end of the survey. Please answer these questions, as this information is needed for the statistical analysis of the data.

No one will be identified by this information.

85. In what year were you born? _____

86. What is your gender?

male

female

87. What is your native language(s) (learned at home)? _____

88. Do you speak other languages?

yes

no

89. Which ones? _____

90. How many years have you lived in Québec? _____

91. What are the first three digits of the postal code for the area(s) where you have lived?

92. What subject(s) are you currently majoring in at the university? _____

93. What is the occupation of your mother/guardian? _____

94. What is the occupation of your father/guardian? _____

APPENDIX C: Transcript of sound clips

Speaker 1 (standard speaker):

Même sans jouer, les Canadiens ou l'Canadien s'est assuré une place en séries éliminatoires et... euh... c'est en raison d'la victoire des Capitals de Washington dans un match de fou...

Translation:

Even without playing, the Canadiens or the Canadien have secured a place in the playoffs and ... uh... it's because of the Washington Capital's victory in a fantastic game...

Speaker 2 (FQ speaker):

Markov, c'est l'**aubaine**, parce qu'il est offensif i'y a une bonne saison ; **là** il s'est blessé i'y a peu près **trois** semaines, mais Markov est très bon.

Translation:

Markov, he's a stroke of luck, because he's been offense for a good season; then he got injured about three weeks ago, but Markov is very good.

Distinguishing features in the FQ speaker recording:

The differences which distinguish the standard from the non-standard speech recordings used in the survey are due to pronunciation or phonetic features and are not due to lexical items.

The word initial vowel in *aubaine* is diphthongized ([ow]), which is a stigmatized feature in Québec French. The standard [wa] is pronounced more like [wɔ] in *trois*, the use of the [ɔ] variant of [a] also being a stigmatized feature (Tremblay 1990: 212). The FQ speaker deletes the /l/ in *il y a* twice in this short recording (*i'y a*), which is a feature associated with colloquial speech but which is also found in the casual speech of middle-class Québécois

who are educated (Auger & Valdman 1999: 407). The FQ speaker's pronunciation is also more relaxed or more open, which prompted a couple participants to comment that he was not being careful enough with his French.

Appendix D: Notice of IRB Approval



THE UNIVERSITY
of NORTH CAROLINA
at CHAPEL HILL

OFFICE OF HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS

TO: Amie Kraus
Linguistics
CB# 3155 Dey Hall

FROM: Behavioral IRB

APPROVAL DATE: 4/20/2006

EXPIRATION DATE OF APPROVAL: 4/19/2007

RE: Notice of IRB Approval by Expedited Review

Submission Type: Initial

Expedited Category: 7. Survey/group chrs

Study #: 06-0093

Study Title: Language Attitudes towards Varieties of French Spoken in Quebec

Description:

Purpose: To examine the current attitudes of Quebecois francophones towards what has emerged as the standard Quebec French and also towards 'Franco-Quebecois,' a vernacular variety also spoken in the province.

Procedures: Survey subjects online about their own use of these two varieties.

Participants: 20 francophone students currently enrolled in Quebec universities.

Details:

The following Federal regulation is applicable to this research study:

45 CFR 46.117(c)(2) - Waiver of the requirement for documentation of written (signed) consent.

If you have any questions or concerns about your study's approval, please contact the Behavioral IRB Office at 962-7761 or e-mail the office at aa-irb-chair@unc.edu.

This submission has been approved by the above IRB for the period indicated.

Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to submit for renewal and obtain approval before the expiration date. You may not continue any research activity beyond the expiration date without IRB approval. Failure to receive approval for continuation before the expiration date will result in automatic termination of the approval for this study on the expiration date.

Good luck with your very interesting study!

Lawrence

.....
Lawrence B. Rosenfeld, Ph.D.
Office of Human Research Ethics
Co-Chair, Behavioral Institutional Review Board
CB# 3378, 6th floor, Bank of America Center
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3378
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.....

CC: David Mora-Marin, Linguistics, CB# 3155 325 Dey Hall, Faculty Advisor

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