

## 19 Language contraction and linguistic change: The case of Welland French

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### 1. Community profile

#### 1.1. French settlement

The city of Welland, Ontario is located in the heart of the Niagara Peninsula close to the famous falls of the same name. The story of its French community is that of practically all communities of the French-Canadian diaspora.<sup>1</sup> The exodus of French Canadians beyond the borders of the province of Quebec (the principal stronghold of the French language in North America) was essentially touched off by rural overpopulation, forcing many to leave their old settled parishes in search of manual work in the developing urban industrial centers of Ontario to the west and New England to the south. Although the initial migration of French Canadians from Quebec to Ontario dates back to the early nineteenth century, the origins of Welland's French-speaking minority are more recent, since they can only be traced back to the turn of this century. Welland's industries (chiefly textile mills, iron and steel factories, and rubber plants) were spurred by the outbreak of World War I, creating many new, well-paid jobs which were to attract, by 1919, around forty French-Canadian families from Quebec. These families may be considered the historical kernel of the French-speaking community of Welland.<sup>2</sup> They settled in the eastern half of the city where the industrial plants were located, an area which was soon to be known as "Frenchtown". By the end of the 1940s, however, social mobility had brought about some residential dispersion.

As an industrial center, Welland was hit hard by the great Depression, which saw the departure of numerous francophone families. Still, by 1931 the number of residents of French ethnic origin had increased to 911 out of 10,709 (8.5 percent), confirming the existence of an influx of French Canadians after the turn of the century. With the rekindling of industrial

activity triggered by the outbreak of World War II, a major wave of French-Canadian immigration to Welland (again primarily from Quebec) began which was to last throughout the wartime period and continue into the economic boom of the '50s. There was at the same time significant immigration from European countries (mostly Italians, Hungarians, and various Slavic peoples), just as there had been during the industrial labor shortage occasioned by World War I. Thus, by 1961 the size of the community had increased considerably, the number of French mother tongue (FMT) individuals standing at 5,976 or 16.6 percent of the city's population.<sup>3</sup> Although French-Canadian immigration to Welland had by then ceased, the tailend of the postwar "baby boom" saw the FMT population continue to climb to 7,590 in 1971, more than holding its own at 17.1 percent of the local population. Today, according to the 1981 Census of Canada, Welland is a multi-ethnic city of close to 45,000 people with an anglophone majority of 65 percent, francophones forming the largest linguistic minority (15.5 percent), ahead of Italians (7 percent), Hungarians (3 percent), and several Slavic minorities (Ukrainians, Poles, Slovaks, etc.). In sum, in spite of notable growth over the last seventy years or so, francophones are and always have been in the minority locally.

### *1.2. The French Catholic church*

As devout Catholics, the first French-Canadian families to settle in Welland had no alternative but to attend the English parish. This affiliation was soon judged unsatisfactory because of the language difference. The budding French community was quick to found a parish of its own, ministered by a French-Canadian priest from Quebec, who became the community spokesperson, especially when it came to voicing the educational concerns of his parishioners (see further).

Although the French Catholic parish was initially founded to serve the religious needs of basically unilingual francophones, over the years it has had to adapt to the growing proportion of parishioners who have become fully proficient in English (for some at the expense of their French) and have married anglophones. As a result, the current parish priest has had to take on a bilingual assistant to handle the various requests for religious ceremonies in English or in both languages (funerals, baptisms, masses, weddings, etc.). The assistant priest offered the following comments on the response of the Church to requests for bilingual weddings due to the rise of exogamy: "Somebody has got to do them [the mixed marriages], you see. If we say no then they [the parishioners] go away and don't come back. But now we marry them in English and they come back to have the kids baptized and maybe then send the kids to the French schools."

The above is indicative of the fact that the Church has been reduced to a passive role in defending the French language. It can no longer afford to

militate actively and overtly in favor of French as it once did, for fear of turning away its (anglicized) faithful. Religion and language, once inseparable, have had to be dissociated, a common evolution within linguistic minorities in North America (Fishman, Nahirni, Hofman and Hayden 1966; Haugen, this volume).

### *1.3. French language education*

Upon arriving in Welland, the first French-Canadian families were forced to send their children to the English public (i.e. nondenominational) schools for lack of French language schools or even English separate (i.e. Catholic) schools. The parish priest's official request that the French students be taught in their language was refused by the Ontario Ministry of Education on the grounds that it was contrary to Regulation XVII, a 1912 act of the Legislature proclaiming English as the sole language of instruction in the province's elementary schools. Following the abrogation of Regulation XVII in 1927, permission was granted by the Minister of Education to teach one hour of French a day. French students were grouped into "bilingual" classes, a situation which remained unchanged until the 1960s, when the number of bilingual classes was sufficient to justify their groupings into entirely bilingual schools, that is, schools not shared with the anglophone majority. Although in theory the amount of French instruction was still legally limited to the daily one-hour French period, in practice other subjects were also taught in French. In other words, the bilingual schools already functioned to some extent as French language schools and foreshadowed the new legislation which was to be introduced in 1968. That year the Ontario government finally legalized French as a language of instruction in the province's primary and secondary public school system. Previously there were no public French-language high schools for the French student to attend following the primary level. As a result, the French-Canadian minority in Ontario had established a few private high schools in major urban communities like Ottawa and Sudbury. Only the wealthiest could afford to send their children to these private institutions. Most French students in Welland simply either did not attend the English language high schools or dropped out after grade 10. Thus unlike previous francophones growing up in Welland, today's young French people can be schooled entirely in French from kindergarten to the end of high school. A similar development has taken place in most of Ontario's francophone communities.

Welland francophones are divided as to whether the language of instruction in the city's French-language schools should be French only or both French and English. Overall, 46.5 percent of the respondents to Mougeon's (1977a) survey expressed the desire that their children receive a bilingual education. More were in favor of bilingual education in high school (59

percent) than in primary school (32 percent). Most supportive of the concept of bilingual schooling are the working-class parents, who have obtained from the school authorities a partial bilingualization of the curriculum, that is, the availability of instruction in English or French for those subject matters which they see as important for the socio-economic improvement of their children (technical, scientific, and commercial subjects) and which were originally taught only in French. Working-class parents often point out that when they arrived in Welland they experienced the frustrations of insufficient bilingualism (especially at work). Even today there are proportionally fewer fluent bilinguals among the working-class adults than among the professional (Mougeon 1977a). Their fight to partly bilingualize the curriculum may therefore be motivated by a desire to spare their children the same experience. In fact, many of the working-class parents have openly come out in support of a return to the pre-1968 system of bilingual schools. As one of the more radical working-class parents put it:

We have to remember that if our children want to become, say, a lawyer and have to learn the terms in French, it'll make it twice as hard for them when they go to an English university. It's pretty bad when a grade 7 student cannot describe the parts of a flower in English because she only learned them in French. I refuse to let my children get stuck like this. At this point I'm planning to send my children to an English high school unless our system changes to a fully bilingual school.

Schneiderman (1975) has perceptively pointed out that the professional class has a greater stake in French language maintenance in Welland, as the livelihood of many of its members (e.g. French language educators, the administrators of the French-Canadian Credit Union) consists in or involves providing services to the French-speaking minority. This may explain why the professional-class parents tend to place a higher value on the acquisition of fluency in French by their children than the working-class parents, who by and large do not and cannot use French at work (see further).

The professional-class parents are also particularly sensitive to the crucial role that the French language schools have come to play in connection with French language maintenance in Welland given the inroads that English has made in francophone households (see further). According to them, French children have more than ample opportunities to learn English outside the school and so allowing English too much place in the curriculum would defeat the purpose of French-language schooling. But as we have seen, the working-class parents were successful in partially bilingualizing the curriculum. To somewhat counterbalance this, the professional-class parents have in turn succeeded in delaying the teaching of English language arts until the latest permissible grade level (grade 3).

Ironically, while the parents are divided as to the role of the school (promotion of bilingualism vs. maintenance of French), the students overwhelmingly use English for peer-group communication on the school

premises (corridors, playground, and classrooms). They will even try to use English with school personnel if they can get away with it. The president of the French high school's Student Council testifies to this: "In elementary school the teachers force the students to speak French but here at Confédération [the French high school] there is no restriction so we speak English, it's easier. I myself am more fluent in English."

It is apparent that the French-language schools have not escaped penetration by the majority language in spite of the fact that they were precisely established to play what has proven to be an increasingly important role in the maintenance of French. That the French-language schools have become a focal point of class conflict is not unique to Welland, however, since in other Franco-Ontarian communities similar class-related divisions in parental attitudes toward French language schooling have been observed, as has widespread use of English by the students on the school premises (Mougeon and Heller 1986).

#### *1.4. The home*

The home does not seem to have fared any better than the Church and the schools in resisting the intrusion of English. One teacher at the local French high school explained that "Those [students] who speak French with their parents have probably not been here long (four or five years). Those who were born here, unless they have parents who have insisted on French at home, don't speak French at home anymore." The first category of home language maintainers (the recent arrivals) cannot be very important since significant French-Canadian immigration to Welland dried up at the end of the 1950s. As to the second category (the locally born), one would think that they are more likely to be the children of professional than of working-class parents, given the more favorable attitudes of the former toward French language maintenance. Yet this doesn't seem to be the case, since Mougeon and Hébrard (1975) failed to detect any significant differences between working-class and professional-class parents' frequency of use of French with their children. That the attitudinal differences between the classes do not translate into differences in home language use is probably due to the poorer English language skills of the working class (see above).

The principal of the French high school echoed the teacher's opinion while expressing dismay at the failure to secure French language maintenance via domain separation (English at work/French at home): "I don't want the students graduating from Confédération to be weak in English, because they'll have to live in Ontario. But one can work in English and at home continue to speak French . . . yet there are many who speak English at home to their children."

Last but not least, exogamy is another phenomenon detracting from French language maintenance at home (see next section). One who has

firsthand knowledge of the very poor or nil French language skills of the offspring of mixed marriages is the kindergarten teacher at one of the primary French schools: "Most of the students who either don't understand French at all or who don't speak it very much come from families where one of the parents is English but sometimes also from families where both parents are French but speak English at home."

#### *1.5. The workplace*

Control of the local economy rests in the hands of the anglophone majority. This means that English is the language of the workplace, especially in the industrial sector, which still employs 69 percent of active francophones in Welland (Mougeon 1977a). Although francophones may make up between 20 and 25 percent of workers in a plant, French is given no special status; English remains the only language of communication on the job (signs and memos are written in English, foremen's instructions are given in English, etc.). Only when older French workers manage to form a crew do they speak in French together. Some stores and small businesses are owned and operated by francophones, but because their clientele is far from being exclusively French-speaking, the owners see no reason to promote the use of French in their establishments and consequently they as well as their francophone staff use English most of the time. It is only in those institutions controlled by francophones and serving exclusively their needs (e.g. the French language schools, the Credit Union, most sociocultural organizations) that francophones can work in French.

#### *1.6. French media and other public institutions*

Welland is without a French language daily (there is only an English language one). Up until recently there were no French TV or radio stations broadcasting in the area. However, there was no lack of English TV or radio stations broadcasting either locally or from across the border. Thus when it finally became possible (late 1970s) to pick up French TV and radio programs from the French CBC (the national television network) and the French programs of TVO (the provincial educational channel), the local francophones had already well established English viewing and listening habits. Thus by and large French language TV and radio programs have not had much of an impact on the francophone population and especially on the younger generation who find the contents of the programs unappealing and the type (the high variety) of French used on them difficult to understand as most of the programs emanate from Quebec or even Europe.

We touch here on a common problem in linguistic minority settings where a nonstandard variety of a standardized language is spoken and where the difference between the two varieties is sizeable, a situation which does little

to promote minority language maintenance (see Dorian 1987). The problem is not as acute in Ontario's French language schools (the key institution for the promotion of French), as these schools are staffed by Franco-Ontarians who use a standardized variety of French which is less divergent from the local vernacular than the French used in the media. Furthermore, a communicative approach to the teaching of French recognizing the authenticity of Ontarian French is now gaining acceptance in the schools. In this respect Franco-Ontarians are much better off than most other French-Canadian minorities (cf. Chapter 9, this volume).

While French-language services have become increasingly available in local public institutions (e.g. branches of the Banque Canadienne Nationale, the post office, some federal government offices), francophones usually do not avail themselves of them, as one person who ought to know (the manager of the local unemployment insurance office) confirmed:

Generally speaking at the office bilingual services are relatively little used by francophones. It is hard to explain this; perhaps it is because most French people are bilingual and up until recently they were not used to receiving services in French. They had to speak English in order to survive. In other words, there isn't much demand for bilingual services.

## **2. Bilingualism and shift**

The above community profile has shown that after having successfully set up a number of important institutions for the maintenance of French (e.g. schools, church, sociocultural organizations), Welland francophones are now in a stage where these institutions are undergoing English language penetration to varying degrees. In other words, there is now little compartmentalization of English and French, a fact which ties in well with the existence of widespread bilingualism and shift in the community, two phenomena which we will now attempt to gauge more accurately.

Societal bilingualism is frequently mentioned as a prerequisite for language shift (Fasold 1984:216-17) and it is indeed difficult to imagine a linguistic group adopting a new language without going through a phase of bilingualism. This precondition would certainly seem to hold, since according to the most recent Census of Canada (1981) an estimated 87 percent of Welland's FMT population could conduct a conversation in either one of the nation's two official languages, French or English.<sup>4</sup> Yet this high average would seem to hide the fact that the current rate of bilingualism is higher still, as illustrated by Figure 1.

The adult portion of the graph suggests that the rate of bilingualism has increased over the past four decades or so, reaching a peak of 96 percent with today's young adults (25-34) who can be taken as reference group to evaluate the current rate of bilingualism. Doubtless the lower ratios of bilinguals among the older adults are due to the relative recency of the last

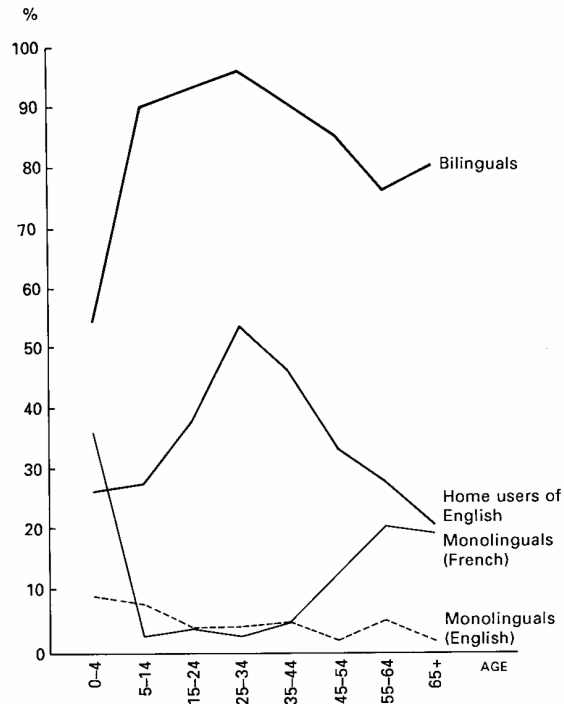


Figure 1. Rates of bilingualism, monolingualism, and home language shift for Welland FMT respondents  
Source: 1981 Census of Canada  
Tables SPC81B15 and SPC81B16



wave of French-Canadian immigration to Welland, a consequence of which is that many of the older adults were neither born nor raised locally and thus encountered English only relatively late in life.<sup>5</sup> As Figure 1 shows, some got by without ever learning to speak English.

As Fasold (1984:215) has warned, age grading can be a confounding factor when interpreting one-time survey results like those in Figure 1. If the adult portion of the graph depicts a real increase in societal bilingualism over the last forty years or so, by contrast the portion of the graph corresponding to the under-25 age groups provides an illustration of age grading in the acquisition of bilingualism. The much lower ratio of bilinguals in the youngest age group (0–4) merely reflects the fact that many of these infants and young children (36 percent to be exact) are still monolingual in French, in all likelihood for want of exposure to English at home. As these young monolinguals grow older and come into contact with English in the wider community, most if not all will become bilingual, a development which is prefigured by the linguistic abilities of the FMT speakers belonging to the immediately older age group (5–14), 90 percent of which is bilingual.

It remains nonetheless the case that bilingualism appears to be somewhat on the wane among the under-25 respondents. The dotted line in Figure 1 shows why: 9 percent of the 0–4-year-olds and 7 percent of the 5–14-year-olds have in effect lost the ability to converse in their mother tongue, French. Castonguay (1984: note 1) talks of “profound assimilation” when referring to such cases of precocious loss of the ability to speak one’s mother tongue.<sup>6</sup> Since the wider community will provide few opportunities to make up for the failure to acquire French at home, these youngsters are unlikely to reacquire French later in life (though some of these currently assimilated youngsters may eventually recover productive skills in French if they attend a French language school).

Ability to speak French does not mean that the language is actually still used by the respondent. Here is where the census question on home language<sup>7</sup> takes on all of its importance. By comparing the respondent’s mother tongue (the language s/he habitually used at home when a child) and the language s/he is now currently using at home, we are in a position to calculate in a straightforward manner a rate of home language shift, following the example of Castonguay (1979).

Figure 1 graphs the rate of home language shift by age group. It can be seen that as many as 54 percent of today’s francophone adults who are of prime child-rearing age (25–44) use English as their domestic language. It comes as no surprise, then, that significant proportions of the 0–24-year-olds (the replacement generation) no longer speak French at home. Their lower home language shift rates in comparison to the parent generation are probably to be attributed to the fact that language choice in the home is parentally imposed. As shown by Mougeon, Brent-Palmer, Bélanger and Cichocki (1982), Franco-Ontarian parents speak French less often to each

other than they do to their children (an indication that they are concerned about transmitting French to their offspring although they themselves are setting a "bad example") and the children respond by speaking French to their parents about as often as they are spoken to in French by their parents. This behavior is quite unlike the situation which obtains in the case of threatened languages and may be attributed to the fact that at least some Franco-Ontarian parents perceive French as a useful language to know not only in Ontario but in Canada in general. The tremendous popularity of French immersion programs among English Canadians is perhaps the best proof of the instrumental value of French in Canada.

It is not exactly clear what parental answers to the census question on the home language use of their children correspond to: an average? an assessment mostly focused on those situations of communication where parents are involved? In any case, had the home language question been more precise and for instance required of the family head that s/he indicate what language the child speaks in situations where parental pressure is not as high (as when the child is interacting with his/her siblings), it is expected that the rates of shift to English would have been considerably higher for the 0–24-year-olds (see Mougeon and Canale's 1978 survey of French elementary school children in Welland for supporting evidence).

The much lower home language shift rates for the adults aged 45+ are at first glance rather puzzling. After all, the ratio of bilinguals among the 45+ adults is consistently high (never lower than 77 percent). A likely explanation for this discrepancy is suggested by the age distribution of the random variable *degrees of bilingualism* in the stratified sample of speakers described in note 5. An important majority (75 percent) of the older speakers (55+) are French-dominant. Conversely, the majority (52 percent) of the younger adults (20–34) are English-dominant bilinguals, hence more likely to give up the use of French, their weaker language, at home. It would seem, therefore, that because it is too imprecise (i.e. does not take into account differences in degree of bilingualism), the Canadian census definition of bilingualism does not allow for a reliable correlation of bilingualism with language shift. Thus the claim of Lieberman (1970) and other students of language maintenance and shift (e.g. Fasold 1984) that bilingualism does not necessarily entail shift underscores the methodological problems posed by the oftentimes crude nature of census-based measures of bilingualism (see de Vries 1985).

An intertwining but perhaps more important cause of home language shift among francophones is to be seen in the rising incidence of linguistically mixed marriages (a francophone married to an anglophone). Figure 2 provides a graphic illustration of the evolution of the ratio of mixed to nonmixed marriages celebrated in the French Catholic parish between 1930 and 1975.<sup>8</sup>

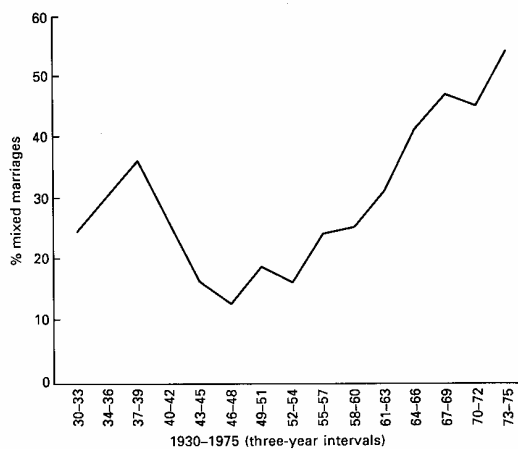


Figure 2. Evolution of linguistically mixed marriages between 1930 and 1975

The graph indicates that Welland francophones tended very early toward exogamy since the rate was already 24 percent for the period 1930-3 and rose to 36 percent by 1939. The 1930s were a period of demographic stability after the initial influx of immigrants during World War I. After 1939 we note a sharp decrease in the rate of exogamy, bottoming out around 1946-8 and more or less stagnating until 1954. This corresponds almost exactly to the period of the second wave of French-Canadian immigration to Welland. Thus it looks as if the inflow of new speakers from Quebec brought about a decrease in the proportion of mixed marriages between 1939 and 1954. By 1955, mixed marriages started to increase in proportion again, reaching a peak of 55 percent in 1975. In short, the francophone population has tended toward exogamy almost from its implantation in Welland but the rate of exogamy has fluctuated, progressing during times of demographic stability, receding during times of rapid demographic growth due to immigration (see Mougeon 1977b).

For the Welland francophone, linguistic exogamy quite likely means that English will be the language of the home, given the lower utilitarian value of French vs. English locally and provincially and the fact that Welland anglophones are massively unilingual (according to the 1981 Census of

Canada only 5.4 percent of Welland's EMT population is bilingual). This prediction receives confirming support from Castonguay's (1979) study of French-English mixed couples in Ontario, which revealed that 90.1 percent of the French partners use English as their habitual home language. It follows that English is the language that is handed down to the children of heterolingual couples, not French.<sup>9</sup> The augmentation of mixed marriages therefore bodes ill for the longterm survival of French in Welland, as does the tendency toward home language shift even among the children of homolingual couples.<sup>10</sup>

### 3. Linguistic aspects

The previous sections have served to establish that Welland French is "contracting", so to speak, not only in the strict sense that it is losing speakers (we saw that the community is not renewing itself adequately due chiefly to a high rate of exogamy), but also in the linguistically more interesting sense that fluent speakers are a declining lot, English-dominant bilingualism having become the rule rather than the exception among the younger generation.<sup>11</sup> It is precisely the appearance of such a category of less than fluent speakers of a minority language that is (or at least should be) of interest to linguists, for they typify language shift, and even more so, death.<sup>12</sup> What are the linguistic correlates of lack of fluency in a contracting or dying language? We will seek to answer this question as concerns specifically the English-dominant adolescents in our sample (see note 5). The 14-19-year-olds were all students at the local French high school and the offspring of nonmixed couples who still used French at home. Yet in spite of this, some of the students evaluated themselves as being English-dominant, a self-evaluation which ties in with the more or less pronounced disuse of French at home reported by the English-dominant adolescents. Thus it is clear that we are not investigating as extreme a case of English-dominant bilingualism as is exemplified by the new "breed" of speakers mentioned earlier (see note 9).

Most of the recent sociolinguistic research investigating the linguistic consequences of minority language restriction has not followed a traditional contrastivist approach but rather an intra-lingual one which has brought to light the existence of two major kinds of internal change occurring in contracting/dying languages: simplification and style reduction. The phenomenon of structural simplification has been investigated, notably by Karttunen (1977), Giacalone Ramat (1979), Mougeon and Beniak (1981), Trudgill (1983), but perhaps most extensively by Dorian (1981) in her work on the dying Gaelic of East Sutherland, Scotland (see also the other papers in this section). What the above researchers have established is that insufficient exposure to and use of a minority language brings about an increase in regularity in that language. For example, in our research on the

spoken French of Franco-Ontarian high school students living in Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke, we discovered that the English-dominant bilinguals tended to level the 3rd person singular/plural verb distinctions by generalizing the unmarked 3rd person singular verb forms to 3rd person plural contexts (e.g. *ils savent* > *ils sait*; *ils veulent* > *ils veut*; etc.), the end result of which would be loss of the marked 3rd person plural verb forms (see Mougeon and Beniak 1981).

If simplification is the result of disuse of a minority language, style reduction is the consequence of its *functional* restriction and usually involves the decline of stylistic options which are tied to those societal domains where use of the minority language is excluded. The "classic" case of style reduction is one where formal stylistic options are reduced as minority language use gradually becomes confined to informal situations (e.g. the home). For instance, in a Hungarian-speaking enclave in Austria, Gal (1984) observed a narrowing of the phonological style of young Hungarian/German bilinguals whose use of Hungarian was confined to the home. Similar examples of formal style reduction have been reported by among others Hill and Hill (1977), Giacalone Ramat (1979), and Dorian (1985). However, there are particular circumstances in which reduction can also apply to the informal register of a minority language, as when use of the minority language is chiefly restricted to a formal setting for some speakers (e.g. the school domain). We have studied the linguistic effects of the tendency to relegate minority language learning and use to the school context in previous research in other Franco-Ontarian settings. Each time we found the informal variants under study (nonstandard prepositional usages) to meet the same fate in the speech of the English-dominant adolescents: loss (Beniak and Mougeon 1984; Mougeon, Beniak and Valois 1985b).

### 3.1. Simplification and style reduction

The determinative pronoun system of Welland French displays a great deal of allomorphic variation, as can be seen in Table 1.<sup>13</sup> It is composed of no fewer than 16 forms when only four would suffice to mark the different possible combinations of gender (excluding neuter) and number! Each one of the four variables is actualized by a standard variant: *celui* (masc. sg.; see example 1a below), *celle* (fem. sg.), *ceux* (masc. pl.), *celles* (fem. pl.)<sup>14</sup> and by several nonstandard variants (marked with an asterisk) which may be subdivided into five categories: (i) the nominalized forms, i.e. forms preceded by an article: *le celui* (masc. sg.), *la celle* (fem. sg.; see example 1b), *les ceux* (masc. pl.), *les celles* (fem. pl.); (ii) the neutralized forms, i.e. forms which are the product of a generalization of the feminine form *celle(s)* to masculine contexts; *celle* (masc. sg.; see example 1c); (iii) the simultaneously nominalized and neutralized forms: *le celle* (masc. sg.; see

Table 1. *Determinative pronoun system of Welland French*<sup>†</sup>

Variation	Variants	N	% <sup>††</sup>
Masculine singular	celui	34	57
	*le celle	13	22
	*celui-ci/là	9	15
	*celle	3	5
	*le celui	1	2
Feminine singular	celle	20	59
	*la celle	10	29
	*celle-là	4	12
Masculine plural	ceux	123	74
	*les ceux	14	8
	*les celles	13	8
	*ceux-là	11	7
	*ceusses	5	3
Feminine plural	celles	8	62
	*les celles	4	31
	*celles-là	1	8

<sup>†</sup>The speaker sample for the determinative pronoun study (see Mougeon, Beniak, & Bélanger 1982) was augmented by a group of 6–13-year-olds at the lower reaches of the age continuum. These younger speakers were also students enrolled in a French language school.

<sup>††</sup>The columns may not add up to 100 percent, due to rounding.

example 1d) and *les celles* (masc. pl.); (iv) the demonstrative forms, i.e. the extension of deictic pronouns to determinative contexts: *celui-ci/là* (masc. sg.), *celle-là* (fem. sg.), *ceux-là* (masc. pl.; see example 1e), *celles-là* (fem. pl.); and (v) the masculine plural form *ceusses*, an archaic pronunciation of *ceux* (see example 1f).

- (1) a. C'était *celui* [le garçon] que j'trustais le plus dans 'a gang  
'He was the one [the boy] I trusted most in the gang'  
 b. *La celle* [la voiture] qu'on chauffe est un peu grosse  
'The one [the car] we drive is a bit big'  
 c. Heu . . . l'mien heu . . . *celle* [mon garçon] de 14 ans, j'ai encore  
contrôle sur lui  
'Uh . . . mine uh . . . the one [my son] who is 14, I still have control  
over him'  
 d. Mon français i' fait ben dur . . . *le celle* de mon mari est aussi pire  
'My French is really pitiful . . . that of my husband is just as bad'  
 e. Les vieux de mon âge, là, *ceux-là* qui sont arrivés à mon âge  
'The old people of my age, the ones/those who came [here] at my  
age'

- f. *Ceusses* [les prêtres] qui veulent se marier, j'serais pas contre ça  
'The ones/those [the priests] who want to marry, I wouldn't be against it'

Behind the variability depicted in Table 1 lies orderly heterogeneity reflecting both the social stratification of the French-speaking community of Welland (the nonstandard variants are typical features of working-class speech) and the alternative structurings of the system of determinative pronouns that emerged in earlier stages of the language's history and have survived to this day in nonstandard varieties of French (both regional and popular) on both sides of the Atlantic. The speech of the old working-class French-dominant adults can be taken to represent what vernacular Welland French was like at the beginning of French settlement in Welland, i.e. before the rise of bilingualism and language shift in the community. The system of determinative pronouns which these speakers exhibit is indeed still quite similar to that which has been recently reported for popular Québécois French (see Fournier 1981). Now let us look at the system as it is used by the young working-class adolescents who are most likely to experience informal style reduction, that is the English-dominant bilinguals. Informal style reduction was found to operate as concerns the archaic form *ceusses* and the demonstrative variants, since both were absent in their speech. However, informal style reduction failed to extend to the nominalized forms, especially those also involving generalization of *celle(s)* to masculine contexts. The young English-dominant working-class speakers used them about as frequently as did the old French-dominant working-class speakers.

Mougeon, Beniak, and Bélanger (1982) sought to explain this apparently aborted reduction of the nominalized forms not as the result of an unexpected and hard to explain retention of vernacular traits (given the loss of *ceusses* and the demonstrative variants) but rather as the result of the fossilization of the product of two interrelated processes of simplification triggered by the incomplete language acquisition histories of the English-dominant speakers. Both nominalization and extension of *celle(s)* to masculine contexts are ways of optimizing the system of determinative pronouns. Nominalization has the effect of formalizing the noun-like status of determinative pronouns, a characteristic which many other pronouns already have (e.g. possessive pronouns: *le mien, la sienne*, etc.; some relative pronouns: *lequel, laquelle*, etc; some indefinite pronouns: *les uns, les autres*, etc.). Generalization of *celle(s)* to masculine contexts represents a case of analogical leveling since *celle(s)* already occupies two of the four determinative contexts and so is a logical choice for extension to all contexts, especially if the gender distinction is kept via article preposing (the most popular solution according to the data displayed in Table 1). Evidence in support of the developmental origin of these processes of simplification can be found in

the acquisition literature. It has been reported that native children exposed to the standard article-less determinative pronouns nonetheless nominalize them in the early stages of acquisition. The first author has made similar observations as concerns the speech of his own daughter. Although generalization of *celle(s)* to masculine contexts has apparently not been reported in the acquisition literature, it is probably safe to assume that it is a feature of child language as well.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the nominalized forms were also present in the speech of the French-dominant 6–13-year-olds of professional-class backgrounds who presumably were only exposed to the standard determinative forms. That the article forms linger until puberty suggests that the standard system of determinative pronouns takes some time before it is mastered even by those professional-class children who have not suffered from reduced exposure to French. This makes the persistence of the nominalized forms into adolescence all the more understandable as concerns the English-dominant working-class speakers. Nor is it surprising that the nominalized forms surfaced in the speech of the professional-class English-dominant adolescents, since they too have experienced minority language restriction.

We must now consider the role, if any, that English language influence may have had in the development and fossilization of the nominalized forms in the speech of the young English-dominant speakers. This question is not just rhetorical, since in English one series of determinative pronouns takes the definite article: *the one, the ones* (see glosses of examples 1a–f). One has to rule out the possibility that interference is behind the actual formation of the nominalized forms in the speech of the English-dominant adolescents since, as has been amply demonstrated, these forms are certainly not lacking in the way of internal structural motivation. Viewed differently, the fact that the English language also features nominalized determinative pronouns is further indication of the noun-like status of these pronouns and of the logic of article preposing, at least as far as Indo-European languages are concerned. However, it is quite possible that English may be exerting a more subtle influence by favoring, through positive reinforcement, the fossilization of the nominalized forms in the speech of the English-dominant adolescents. This view of things is entirely consistent with Silva-Corvalán's (1986:6) recent account of the different causes of "convergence":

Transfer leads to, but is not the single cause of, *convergence*, defined as the achievement of structural similarity in a given aspect of the grammar of two or more languages assumed to be different at the onset of contact. Indeed, convergence may result as well from internally motivated changes in one of the languages, most likely accelerated by contact, rather than as a consequence of direct interlingual influence.

We can probably expect apparent exceptions to the principle of informal style reduction whenever innovations coinciding with nonstandard features



already extant in the vernacular form of a minority language (one showing at least a partial reversal of the classical home/school domain division) can be produced via processes of structural simplification.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.2. *Lexical borrowing*

Poplack and Sankoff (1984) pointed out that the phenomenon of lexical borrowing has been the object of numerous linguistically oriented studies but has received little attention from sociolinguists. According to these authors (p.105), this has meant among other things that basic assumptions about "The role of bilingual versus monolingual, or older versus younger speakers, in introducing and propagating loanwords has never been empirically investigated or established."

The study of the social distribution of English loanwords in Welland French requires a distinction to be made between those loanwords that were already present in the speech of the original Québécois settlers (i.e. integrated in the French they spoke) and those that have been borrowed following immigration. Given that French-English contact in Quebec dates back to the British conquest of 1760 but only to the turn of the century in Welland, the number of post-immigration loanwords, as would be expected, is small in comparison to the number of pre-immigration loanwords. Thus only 57 (or 20 percent) of the 281 different loanword types encountered in the speech corpus are peculiar to the local variety of French; the remainder are all attested in dictionaries or lexicographic works on Québécois French.

The pre-immigration loanwords can be subdivided into two categories. The first consists of loanwords which have been imported into Québécois French for lack of native lexical equivalents. These loanwords designate entities which were once (or are still) typical of the English-speaking world (e.g. *bacon*, *(blue) jeans*, *cowboy*, *football*, *gallon*, *hamburger*, *hockey*, etc.). Most of these culturally motivated loanwords are also found in European French and hence may be said to constitute a class of "international" loanwords. They are considered part of accepted usage. The second category consists of loanwords which have a native variant, which either already existed when the English word was first borrowed or came into use after the fact. They were borrowed due to the former dominance of English in certain key sectors of Quebec society such as industry, commerce, etc. (e.g. *truck*, variant of *camion*; *factory*, variant of *usine*; *plugger* < *to plug*, variant of *brancher*, etc.). Most of these loanwords are considered nonstandard. The second category of pre-immigration loanwords also includes some which cannot be so easily associated with specific domains of Quebec society where English had a dominant position, or with any specific societal domain for that matter. They correspond to basic and common entities or concepts for which there was no lack of viable native equivalents.

Examples of such loanwords are *smart* (variant of *intelligent*), *anyway* (variant of *en tout cas*), *badluck* (variant of *malchance*), etc. Because they alternate with common French equivalents, loanwords of this latter type strike one as being on the "gratuitous" side. They constitute a telling illustration of the fact that among French Quebecers there has long been a non-negligible number of proficient bilinguals. (See Scotton and Okeju 1973 on the link between widespread individual bilingualism and the emergence of gratuitous borrowings in contact languages.) The gratuitous pre-immigration loanwords are typical features of vernacular Québécois French.

The post-immigration loanwords continue the pre-immigration pattern of borrowing English words as variants of native ones. Thus most of the post-immigration loanwords have a French equivalent and again include some that were borrowed due to the dominance of English in certain societal domains (e.g. *fridge*, variant of *réfrigérateur*; *movie*, variant of *film*; *high school*, variant of *école secondaire*, etc.) but a greater number that cannot be associated with specific societal domains (e.g. *but*, variant of *mais*; *so*, variant of *ça fait que*; *dumb*, variant of *stupide*, etc.). The post-immigration loanwords underscore the fact that after it took root in Welland, French came into contact with English in domains which had remained under French control in Quebec such as education, entertainment, etc. The preponderance of gratuitous loanwords in the post-immigration category ties in well with the rapid and widespread rise of bilingualism among Welland francophones which was documented in the previous sections.

Given the nonstandard status of most of the pre-immigration loanwords possessing a French variant, it will come as no surprise that they were used proportionally more often by the working-class speakers (2.9 tokens per 1,000 words) than by the professional-class speakers (1.2 tokens per 1,000 words). It stands to reason that the professional-class speakers, concerned as they are about preserving (the integrity of) the French language in Welland, would make lesser use of *English-origin* vernacular features, especially if they are "unnecessary" additions to the native lexical stock. The pre-immigration loanwords with French variants were used most frequently by the old working-class French-dominant adults (3.5 tokens per 1,000 words). These findings suggest a picture which is reminiscent of the one which obtained for the determinative pronouns, in that these latter speakers, who best exemplify pre-immigration vernacular Québécois French, once more lead in nonstandard usage. It is therefore pertinent to ask again what fate these pre-immigration loanwords have met in the speech of the English-dominant working-class adolescents. Judging by the results obtained (1.9 tokens per 1,000 words) it seems that there has been a decline in the use of these English-origin vernacular features and therefore that they too are the object of informal style reduction. That informal style reduction is not more pronounced is not surprising since, as we have just seen, not all of these loanwords are avoided by the professional-class speakers.

Turning to the post-immigration borrowings, they were found to be used far more frequently by the adolescents (2.5 tokens per 1,000 words) than by the adults (the highest rate for the adult speakers being 0.6 tokens per 1,000 words). Furthermore, among the young speakers it was the balanced bilinguals who were by far the prime users of post-immigration loanwords (3.7 tokens per 1,000 words), the French-dominant bilinguals having a score of 1.1 tokens per 1,000 words and the English-dominant bilinguals a score of 0.4 tokens per 1,000 words. These findings suggest that post-immigration borrowings are a recent development in the local speech and that they are strongly correlated with balanced bilingualism. This is perhaps only the second time (see Mougeon and Beniak 1987 on the use of loanword *so*) that the role of fluent bilinguals as instigators of lexical borrowings has been empirically established (see Poplack and Sankoff's assertion quoted above). This does not mean that the speech of the English-dominant adolescents is void of English-origin lexical items or that they do not actively borrow from English. They certainly make use of international loanwords and of what Poplack and Sankoff (1984) refer to as "nonce" or idiosyncratic borrowings. In other words, the English-dominant adolescents use loanwords that are part of the standard language or resort to borrowing as a communicative strategy to fill lexical gaps.

A more specific aspect of lexical borrowing from English which has engaged our attention has to do with a recent controversy surrounding the phonological assimilation of loanwords. A traditional view among students of lexical borrowing is that loanword assimilation to the phonology of the recipient language is apt to vary according to the speaker's degree of bilingualism. Whereas it is within the capacity of a fluent bilingual to preserve the original donor-language phonology of a loanword, less fluent bilinguals and monolinguals are more likely to assimilate the loanword to the phonology of their native language. It is probably with the work of Haugen (1953 [1969]) that the thesis of variable phonological integration of loanwords is most closely associated. He found the phenomenon to be quite commonplace among immigrant groups in the United States. In fact, he even found that bilinguals could "touch up" the form of older nativized loanwords to bring them more in line with donor-language phonology.

The traditional position has been questioned by Poplack and Sankoff (1984). They believe that phonological vacillation is merely a transitory phenomenon occurring at the beginning of a loanword's incorporation into the host language, ultimately under a single, fixed guise. According to these authors, "once a term is accepted into the speech community, and adapted into a particular phonological form, it is that form which is transmitted across generations in much the same way as monolingual neologisms". They provided empirical support for their view in an experimental study of the phonological integration of English loanwords in New York City Puerto Rican Spanish.

Table 2. /h/-retention rate in 'hockey'

Age†	Degrees of bilingualism		
	French-dominant	Balanced	English-dominant
14-34	71% (N=17)††	100% (N=7)	95% (N=19)
35+	11% (N=18)	78% (N=9)	100% (N=11)

†Reduced to two groups due to limited number of tokens.

††The N's in the parentheses indicate the number of tokens of the word *hockey*.

*Hockey* was one of several loanwords in our list which proved well suited for the purpose of re-examining the issue of phonological integration: it was frequent enough, featured a clearcut English-like (/h/ sounded) vs. French-like pronunciation (/h/ not sounded) and predated immigration to Welland (first attested in a lexicographic work on Québécois French published in 1909). According to Picard and Nicol (1982), /h/ is always deleted in English loanwords in Québécois French. Extrapolating backwards in time we may therefore suppose that the pre-immigration pronunciation of *hockey* was /h/-less. /h/-retention was examined as a function of age and degree of bilingualism. The results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 provides clear-cut evidence of the phonological denativization that a well-established loanword may undergo as a minority language community becomes bilingual and experiences shift over successive generations. We see that the older French-dominant bilinguals' pronunciation of *hockey* is still quite close to the pronunciation which was prevalent during the pre-immigration period. In contrast, the bilinguals who are fluent in English, whether young or old, show very high or categorical retention of /h/. It could be that fluent bilinguals, as proposed by Haugen, have an enhanced awareness of the foreign origin of the loanword and possess the necessary skills to render it according to donor-language phonology. Another explanation, also borrowed from Haugen's account of denativization of old integrated loanwords, is that some speakers may have actually "reborrowed" *hockey* rather than "touched up" the phonological form of the old integrated word, an explanation which is not unreasonable given the dominant position of English in the sports domain.

Not only has denativization reached very high proportions as concerns the balanced and English-dominant bilinguals but it is also obviously spreading to the younger French-dominant bilinguals, who sounded the /h/ no less than 71 percent of the time. The changing composition of the French-speaking community of Welland over the years and its attendant consequences on the "direction of linguistic pressure within the community" (Haugen 1953 [1969]: 370-1) could be responsible for this dramatic increase in /h/-pronunciation. The relative strength of the balanced and English-dominant bilinguals has increased steadily to the point where they now represent the

dominant linguistic group in the community (see above). It could be, then, that the younger French-dominant bilinguals are conforming to the dominant pronunciation of *hockey* in Welland French today.

The results for *hockey* (and other variably integrated loanwords which were examined in Mougeon, Beniak and Valois 1984) speak conclusively in favor of the traditional view of loanword phonology. Yet there were others which were always pronounced according to French phonology, although they could display internal allophonic variation (e.g. Engl. *factory* > Fr. [faktRi] or [faktri]). These loanwords behave exactly in the manner predicted by Poplack and Sankoff and underline the fact that the existence of levels of bilingualism within a speech community does not mean that all loanwords will exhibit variably integrated forms correlated with these levels. A goal of our future research on borrowing in Welland French is to try to determine what it is about certain English loanwords that fosters variable phonological integration and what it is about others that prevents it. It is already clear from the example presented above that the answer is not as simple as Poplack and Sankoff's belief that only incipient loanwords are able to show variable phonological integration.

#### **4. Conclusion**

No one will express surprise at the fact that Welland francophones are shifting to English, given the conspiracy of causes pushing in the direction of shift: minority status, urban industrial setting, cessation of immigration, societal bilingualism, exogamy, etc. The high rate of exogamy is especially indicative of the lack of attachment of Welland francophones to their ethnic and cultural origins. Socioeconomic betterment is what matters most for the mainly working-class community, and that means knowing English above all. Now while language shift has reached advanced levels, many francophone parents have availed themselves of the opportunity of sending their children to the local French language schools with the result that for many children the responsibility of French language transmission tends to be transferred from parents to educators. This study has attempted to determine the linguistic consequences of this sociological development by focusing on the spoken French of the English-dominant adolescents. Such a focus is justified on the ground that these speakers are becoming a sociological reality to be reckoned with. The progression of linguistic assimilation among Ontario's francophone minority means that an ever increasing number of young Franco-Ontarians are learning the bulk of their French at school. The focus is further justified because of the unusualness of the phenomenon of school-inculcation of a minority language. That is not to say, however, that such school-based learning of minority languages will not become more commonplace, at least in Europe if not elsewhere, a possibility which Bourhis (1984) links to the adoption of the European Conven-

tion of the Rights of Man guaranteeing minorities the right to instruction in their own language. As sociolinguistic research on these minorities proceeds, it should prove interesting to see whether the linguistic effects identified in this study and which we have also attested in the speech of adolescents in other Franco-Ontarian minority communities – informal style reduction, morphological simplification, nonparticipation in borrowing processes observable in the wider community, denativization of loanword phonology – are also observable.<sup>17</sup> These linguistic developments suggest that minority language schooling on its own or as the primary setting for language learning and use is not sufficient to produce full-fledged speakers (all the more if, as in Welland, the curriculum is partly bilingualized). We think it unlikely – and the case of Irish would seem to justify our skepticism – that these nonfluent speakers will contribute to the maintenance of French in Ontario. It seems unrealistic indeed to expect them to transmit French, their weaker language, to their offspring. However, since this question has not been researched our skepticism remains guarded.

Finally, let us consider the bearing that the findings of this study have on some of the research questions proposed by the editor of this volume as guidelines for the contributors.

Are there constraints operating to reduce the language skills of minority language speakers? Two constraints identified in this study are type and quantity of minority language exposure and use. The first constraint – the tendency to relegate minority language learning to the formal setting of the school – has the effect of producing speakers who, to borrow a term from Dorian (1985), display an “asymmetry” in their command of the registers since they are losing the linguistic resources to style-shift in the direction of the informal registers. The second constraint – insufficient exposure to and use of the minority language, be it the high or low variety – has the effect of producing speakers who display obvious signs of incomplete mastery of the morphology of the minority language. Note, however, that the level of morphological simplification that such restricted linguistic input brings about is not very drastic when compared with the kind of morphological simplification French-based creoles display. For example, Chaudenson (1986:99) reports that the determinative pronoun system of Réunion Creole has been reduced to the unique form *sa* < French neuter *ça*. In fact the output of the simplification process (article + pronoun) is not even more advanced than an alternative structuring of the determinative pronoun system that had already developed diachronically in monolingual lower-class speech.<sup>18</sup> We can cite here Dorian’s (1978c:608) vivid metaphor of East Sutherland Gaelic “dying with its morphological boots on”. The metaphor – the allusion to language death aside – aptly applies to the system of determinative pronouns in Welland French as there is no wholesale breakdown of its morphology in English-dominant speech.

Is variability typically higher in terminal/contracting speech communities

than in “healthy” ones? Minority language contraction certainly triggers linguistic developments that simply do not arise in monolingual settings, such as morphological simplification due to insufficient linguistic input, gratuitous borrowings, nonce or idiosyncratic borrowings, phonological denativization of loanwords, interference-based innovations, etc. On the other hand, reduction of the less formal registers amounts to *loss* of linguistic variability. The answer to the above question would therefore appear to be a qualified yes.

Does variability carry the freight of social meaning in terminal/contracting speech communities that it does in (monolingual) urban communities where it has been most intensively studied? We saw that Welland francophones form a socially differentiated small urban community in which bilingualism is widespread and comes in varying degrees. If variability continues to be the vehicle of social meaning for the speakers who remain fluent in the minority language, no matter how small their group has become, it ceases to perform that function as far as the English-dominant speakers are concerned. This is because all of the processes operating in the French speech of the English-dominant adolescents cut across the social classes and thus have the effect of neutralizing sociolectal differences. Informal style reduction causes the French speech of the working-class English-dominant adolescents to become like that of the professional class. Conversely, simplification processes whose output coincides with vernacular features makes the French speech of the English-dominant adolescents of professional-class background more like that of working-class speakers. Finally, innovations due to simplification or to interference and nonce or idiosyncratic borrowings are once again not social class markers or indicators in English-dominant speech but simply tell-tale signs of imperfect mastery of the minority language.

#### Notes

We would like to take this opportunity of thanking the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its financial support of the Welland sociolinguistic research project.

1. The sociohistorical material presented here is drawn mainly from the following sources: Poulin (1969), Schneiderman (1975), Trudel (1982), Mougeon and Heller (1986). The demographic statistics come from the decennial censuses of Canada.
2. Prior to World War I there were just a few isolated French Canadians living in Welland. In 1871 there were only 18 persons of French ethnic origin out of a total population of 1,110 (1.6 percent). In 1901 the numbers were only slightly greater: 67 out of 1,863 (3.6 percent). In comparison, anglophone presence in the present-day area of Welland dates back to the period of the American Revolution, when Loyalists fleeing the United States came to settle in Canada (late eighteenth century).

3. The 1951 census was the first to include a question on mother tongue, which refers to the first language learned and still understood by an individual. An unfortunate shortcoming of this definition is that, as Castonguay (1981:7) has indicated, an individual may no longer be able to speak his or her mother tongue, hence the interest of the official languages question (see further). In spite of its imprecision, the concept of mother tongue provides a more accurate criterion for estimating the current size of a language group than does ethnic origin, which refers to the linguistic group to which the respondent or his paternal ancestor belonged upon arriving on the continent and thus may hide considerable "ancestral shift" (de Vries 1985:361). Henceforth we will only provide population statistics based on mother tongue.
4. The 1981 census marks the first time that statistics on official language by mother tongue were available in the public domain for the city of Welland. The official languages question, relying as it does on self-assessment, is admittedly a rather crude measure of oral comprehension and production skills in French and English, all the more as it fails to distinguish degrees of bilingualism (e.g. English-dominant, balanced, French-dominant) whose importance will become clear later. Be that as it may, the official languages question may be said to provide statistics on unilingual vs. at least functionally bilingual individuals.
5. We may mention in the way of confirming evidence that in a sample of 68 FMT speakers stratified according to age, sex and social class (but in which degree of bilingualism, place of birth and age of arrival were random variables), none of the speakers belonging to the 14–19 age group and only one of the speakers belonging to the 20–34 age group had not grown up in Welland whereas more than a third of those in the 35–54 age group and almost three-quarters of those in the 55+ age group had arrived in Welland after the age of 19 (Beniak, Mougeon and Valois 1985:68–71).
6. In theory, the observed mother tongue loss among the 0–14-year-olds is not attributable to parental failure to transmit French to their children, since the latter were declared by their parents to be of FMT. In practice, however, one may suspect the parents of having made only a token effort to pass on the language to their children. In fact, given the definition of mother tongue (see note 3), it is conceivable that the children in question never had more than passive knowledge of French. However, it will be simpler to assume that these children once could speak the language but have since lost the capacity to do so.
7. Home language refers to the specific language spoken at home by the respondent at the time of the census. If more than one language was spoken, the language spoken most often was to be reported. Canadian demographers (e.g. Castonguay 1979; Lachapelle and Henripin 1980) are agreed that the most direct measure of language shift available from the censuses is the calculation of the number of individuals who report one language as their mother tongue but who use another as the home language. Such a measure only became available with the 1971 census as previous censuses did not include a home language question.
8. The rates of exogamy are actually greater than those graphed in Figure 2 since some mixed marriages are also celebrated in the English parishes. The French parish priest is advised of all such English-parish mixed marriages although exact statistics do not seem to have been kept.
9. Somewhat surprisingly, Mougeon's (1977a) survey revealed that not far from



half the linguistically mixed couples who had school-age children chose to send them to French language schools. Evidence was provided earlier (see community profile) that there are also nonmixed couples who have shifted to English at home who enroll their children in French language schools. What this means is that for a growing number of parents in Welland (and other Franco-Ontarian minorities for that matter) inter-generational transmission of French is left almost entirely to the school. The offspring of these parents represent a new "breed" of speakers that have learned the bulk of their French at school and mostly confine their use of French to that formal setting.

10. It may be inferred from the results presented earlier in Figure 1 that home language shift is taking place in endogamous French couples as well. We saw that no fewer than 27 percent and as many as 38 percent of the 0-14-year-olds no longer speak French at home in spite of being born of what must be taken to be FMT parents (otherwise they would not have been declared as FMT individuals). Incidentally, this bears out the testimony of the French kindergarten teacher cited earlier.
11. For the first time in its history, Welland's FMT population decreased in terms of relative weight from 17.1 percent in 1971 to 15.5 percent in 1981. During that ten-year span the community actually had a negative growth rate (-8 percent), contracting by a total of 645 speakers. It appears as though the decade 1971-81 represented a watershed and that now the full impact of home language shift is making itself felt, whereas in the past it was mitigated by such factors as the arrival of new francophones from Quebec and a high birth rate.
12. The difference is one of degree; in situations of impending language death there are no fluent speakers of the dying language left at all among the younger replacement generation (Dorian 1981; King 1984a; Mertz, this volume).
13. By *determinative pronouns* we mean demonstrative pronouns used in a determinative fashion (see Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1972:217-18). The label *demonstrative* is misleading when the idea of deixis is obliterated as it is in determinative pronouns (e.g. *ceux qui parlent bien* 'those who speak well').
14. It may be noted that the standard system gets by with just three forms given the phonetic identity [sɛl] of feminine singular *celle* and feminine plural *celles*. Thus the feminine forms do not mark number as do the masculine forms *celui* and *ceux*.
15. In fact, children may well have been historically responsible for creating and introducing nominalized forms in adult language (see Mougeon, Beniak and Valois 1986 for an examination of the possible link between child language and linguistic change). Be that as it may, the important point to be made here is that the French child's spontaneous creation of nominalized forms during acquisition underscores the fact that the internal tendency of the determinative pronoun system to evolve nominalized forms in diachrony is still extant in synchrony.
16. The fact that the nominalized forms produced by the English-dominant adolescents are not true vernacular features raises the question of how they are sociostylistically perceived and used by these speakers. As we have already seen, the nominalized forms don't function as social indicators in the speech of the English-dominant adolescents since they are spread across the social classes. One can hypothesize furthermore that, unlike the French-dominant working-class speakers, the English-dominant adolescents (whatever their social back-

ground) are less aware of the informal stylistic value of the nominalized forms and therefore may be unable to use them appropriately to style-shift. Assuming this view of things is correct, then in a sense the English-dominant adolescents, in addition to experiencing strict style reduction via the loss of vernacular features like *ceusses* and the demonstrative variants, would experience a weaker form of style reduction involving loss of ability to style-shift, in spite of having at their disposal the forms which would allow them to do so.

While the process of simplification studied here (i.e. nominalization of determinative pronouns) was found to produce an output coinciding with vernacular forms and thus to blur the role of simplification as a source of innovation, in other studies we have looked at processes of simplification which were unambiguous in that they produced entirely innovative outputs, i.e. forms with no counterpart in the local vernacular (see e.g. Mougeon and Beniak 1981; Mougeon 1982).

17. Marilyn Martin-Jones (pers. comm) reports that speakers comparable to the English-dominant bilinguals examined here (i.e. speakers who have poor command of the casual vernacular style because of school-based learning of the minority language) are present within the Welsh-speaking community and that the "schoolish" Welsh they speak has not gone unnoticed in the community, witness the fact that it has actually been given a special name!
18. This structural coincidence constitutes evidence which supports Chaudenson's theory of change as linguistically determined by "auto-regulatory" processes that are liberated under certain sociolinguistic conditions such as the two investigated here: minimal prescriptive monitoring in lower-class milieus and restricted exposure to and use of a contracting language.