Communautés immigrantes et ethnicité

Immigrant communities and ethnicity

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Ethnic divergence in Montreal English

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1. Introduction: Montreal's English-speaking community

1.1 Settlement history: The roots of ethno-linguistic differences

Many people think of Montreal as the largest French-speaking city in North America (and one of the largest francophone cities in the world), yet this description leaves out much of what makes Montreal so distinctive as a city and as a place to study language. In addition to its importance as an urban center of Francophone culture, Montreal has long been home to one of Canada's largest English-speaking populations, for whom it retains considerable cultural importance. Today, moreover, like many other large North American cities, it is characterized by a rich diversity of world cultures and languages beyond French and English. This article will argue that what is most linguistically distinctive about Montreal is not its status as a Francophone city — a status better exemplified today by Quebec City — but its identity as a multicultural and bilingual city, and the effect that its large Francophone population has had on the local variety of English.

Many observers both in and outside academia have noted the presence of dozens of distinctive Gallicisms in Montreal English, such as *cinq-à-sept* for 'happy hour', *dépanneur* for 'convenience store', *garderie* for 'daycare', *stage* for 'internship', or *terrasse* for 'patio' (e.g., McArthur 1989, Russell 1997, Grant-Russell 1999, Fee 2008, Scott 2010, Boberg 2012a, Curran 2012). While this borrowed vocabulary plays an important role in coloring Montreal English, the influence of French also works in more subtle ways. In particular, the status of French as the majority and only official language of modern Quebec isolates Montreal's English-speaking communities from one another and from other Anglophone communities across Canada. This isolation has preserved a greater degree of diversity among the major ethnic components of the English-speaking community than is normally found in other North American cities with similar immigration histories. As will be seen below, Montreal's ethno-linguistic diversity extends to systematic phonetic variables of the

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type that have been used to establish major regional dialect divisions across English-speaking North America (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006). Before presenting data on these ethno-phonetic differences, this section will review the settlement pattern that produced Montreal's multicultural English-speaking community, as well as the recent political developments that have intensified its isolation, in order to explore the historical causes of these differences.

Montreal's English-speaking community was founded in 1760, when French forces surrendered the city to British forces during the Seven Years' War. In the Treaty of Paris of 1763, which formally ended the war, France ceded its Canadian possessions to Britain, thereby giving birth to British North America, the forerunner of modern Canada, with Montreal as one of its principal towns. The British established a military garrison and administrative population so that, by the 1770s, Montreal already had over one thousand British residents (Provost 1984). The Anglophone community is therefore over 250 years old, making it one of Canada's oldest, after those of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Montreal continued to be a French-speaking community as well, of course, having been founded as such by De Maisonneuve over a century earlier, in 1642, on the site of an Iroquois village called Hochelaga. But it has now been a bilingual city, home to both French- and English-speaking populations, for two thirds of its history.

Britain did not hang on to its North American supremacy for long: shortly after the Treaty of Paris, the political conflict that would lead to the American Revolution began. In the wake of the Revolutionary War, many American colonists who had been loyal to Britain fled to British North America. This influx provided the founding population of several places in English Canada, but most of the Loyalists who took up immediate refuge in Quebec were later resettled farther west, in what would become Upper Canada, later Ontario. The first major addition to the English-speaking population of Montreal therefore came in the early nineteenth century, following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, when economic problems and overpopulation in Britain encouraged hundreds of thousands of English, Scottish and Irish people to emigrate in search of better opportunities overseas. Many of these settled in Montreal, which was rapidly becoming the industrial, commercial, and cultural center of British North America, following the opening of the Lachine Canal in 1825. The new arrivals supplemented a relatively high rate of natural increase among the native population, so that Montreal became majority English-speaking by mid-century (Rudin 1985:36, Levine 1990:8). Particularly important in this period were the Scots, who were involved in the fur trade and played a crucial role in early Canada's industrial and commercial development (Price 1981, Shaw 2003, Marrelli et al. 2005, Campey 2006), and the Irish, who provided much of the labor in the growing industrial sector along the Canal (Grace 1993, Elliott 2004, Burns 2005).

In the late nineteenth century, following Canada's Confederation in 1867, immigration from Britain slowed and English-speakers left Quebec for better economic prospects in other regions of North America. Meanwhile, the city's Francophone population grew rapidly, through both natural increase and the migration of rural families to find work in factories, so that Montreal's English-speaking community returned to minority status. Anglophones would never again occupy such a prominent demographic position in Montreal or Quebec; over the following century, their proportion of the provincial population declined steadily, from 25 percent in the mid-nineteenth century to about eight percent today. Nevertheless, by Confederation, the British core of the community was well established as a fusion of English, Scottish, and Irish input dialects, along with some American influence from the Loyalists who did remain in Quebec. This had produced a variety of Canadian English very similar to that of Ontario, though with a few differences reflecting the relatively smaller role of Loyalist settlement and proportionately greater role of British settlement in Montreal. Most Anglophones, particularly the Irish, continued to inhabit working-class neighborhoods in southwest Montreal like Griffintown, Pointe Saint-Charles, Verdun, and Lasalle, near the Lachine Canal, or modest middle-class homes in Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, but a smaller number, mostly Scots and English, came to form the city's socio-economic elite (Westley 1990). They built themselves princely mansions northwest of downtown in a district adjacent to McGill University, which came to be called the Golden Square Mile, and further west in the city of Westmount (see Figure 1). From this position, and in their downtown offices along St. James Street (now *rue Saint-Jacques*), they directed much of the economic activity of Canada, including industries such as banking, manufacturing, mining, and transportation.

Figure 1: The Island of Montreal, showing modern municipal and borough locations (Source: City of Montreal, 2013; ville.montreal.qc.ca/)

Montreal's position as Canada's pre-eminent metropolis, now usurped by Toronto, endured for another century after Confederation. This attracted both interprovincial and international immigration, which increased and diversified its English-speaking population. The first important addition to the British founding population was the arrival of thousands of Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jews from central and Eastern Europe. Jewish immigrants initially settled in a centrally located "Jewish ghetto", between Park and Saint-Laurent Avenues, which traditionally divided the

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mostly Francophone population in the east end of the city from the mostly Anglophone population in its west end (King 2000). The peak of Jewish immigration occurred in the early twentieth century and produced a Jewish population of 43,000 by 1921, the city's largest ethnic group after those of French and British origin. Though it remained culturally distinct from both of these groups, the Jewish community identified more with the English side than with the French, because of both the greater importance of English as a language of upward socio-economic mobility and the greater degree of anti-semitism in French Canadian society. Jewish children were excluded from the French schools, which were run by the Catholic church, so most of those who were not sent to private Jewish schools attended the English "Protestant" school system instead (which despite its name was really a secular, public system). Following the Second World War, as they improved their economic standing, most Montreal Jews began leaving the "ghetto" for better housing in west-side neighborhoods like Côte-des-Neiges, Hampstead, and Côte Saint-Luc (see Figure 1), adjacent to large English populations. They therefore became Anglophones, gradually replacing the Yiddish of the immigrant generation with English rather than French. By 2011, for instance, Hampstead was 75 percent Jewish by religion — making it Canada's most Jewish city — and 61 percent mother-tongue English-speaking, but only one percent Yiddish-speaking (Statistics Canada 2013a).

Montreal's Jews were the first of many groups that would later challenge the original conception of Canada as a union of French and British peoples and made a profoundly important contribution to both Montreal and Canadian culture. To this day, many of Montreal's greatest Anglophone literary figures are Jewish (e.g., Mordecai Richler, Irving Layton, and Leonard Cohen) and the foods most strongly associated with Montreal in particular, as opposed to Quebec in general, are bagels and smoked meat, the latter a local term for a variety of cured beef brisket that is similar to pastrami, served with mustard on rye bread. The most famous establishments selling these foods, well known among locals and tourists alike, are Fairmount Bakery and Schwartz's Deli, founded in 1919 and 1928, respectively, during the height of the Jewish immigration boom; they are still located today in the old Jewish "ghetto" portrayed in Richler's novels. Like other cities that received high levels of Jewish immigration, Montreal became an important center of Jewish culture in addition to its cultural status for the British- and French-origin communities.

The next major addition to Montreal's English-speaking community came after World War II, especially during the 1950s and 60s, when large numbers of immigrants began arriving in Canada from southern Europe, especially Portugal, Italy, and Greece. Of this Mediterranean group the largest number were Italians: by 1971, 66,400 Italian immigrants were living in Quebec, compared to 18,800 Greeks and 9,200 Portuguese (Jedwab 1996:70). The Italians settled mostly in the city's east end, among Francophones, particularly in the district of Saint-Léonard (see Figure 1), which today continues to be about 25 percent Italian-origin (not including those Italians who now classify themselves as "Canadian"; Statistics Canada 2012, 2013c); there was also a smaller "Little Italy" in the western suburb of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, which is now in decline. The Greeks settled initially in Park Extension, north of the old Jewish "ghetto"; and the Portuguese, in the western part of the Plateau

Mont-Royal, east of the "ghetto". By the 1970s, Italian was Montreal's third language, with 120,000 native speakers, but immigration from Italy fell off after 1971, while a new generation of Canadian-born Italians began the process of assimilation, including "transfer" to Canada's official languages; today, Italian has fallen to fifth place among Montreal's mother tongues, after Arabic and Spanish. Given their location near large Francophone populations, their common Romance language background and common Roman Catholic faith, the Italian and Portuguese communities initially tended to favor integration with the Francophone community (Boissevain 1967), whereas the Greek community, more distinct in all these respects, showed an early and enduring preference for English. Today, most members of these communities are trilingual, tending to speak heritage languages at home, French at work and English for social and recreational purposes, but as the number of native speakers of heritage languages declines, Italians have joined Greeks in favoring English as their home language. By 1991, over a third of Italian-mother-tongue-speakers had transferred away from Italian, with transfers most common among younger and mixed-ancestry people (Jedwab 2000:94, 132). Among this group, transfers to English predominated by about three to one in Montreal and about five to one in Saint-Léonard (Jedwab 1996:77). Among Canadian-born Italians, 81 percent of transfers were to English by 1991, almost as high as the rate among Greeks (98%; Jedwab 1996:71). This group would include many who first learned Italian as infants from immigrant parents at home, therefore still claiming Italian as their mother tongue, but now speak English equally well if not better, and in a wider range of domains. For present purposes, such people qualify as Anglophones.

The largest ethnic components of Montreal's English-speaking community, beyond the Anglo-Scottish core, are therefore Irish, Jewish, and Italian. In this respect, Montreal resembles other northeastern cities, which experienced similar immigration patterns over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: the same three groups formed large ethnic communities in Boston, New York City, and Philadelphia. In Montreal, they are clearly sequenced in a chronology of arrival: Irish in the nineteenth century; Jews in the early twentieth; and Italians in the mid-twentieth. As assimilation is to some extent a factor of time, this chronology suggests that the Irish should be the least distinct and the Italians the most, which is largely true. The Irish, in fact, have largely lost their identity as a separate ethnic group: 83 percent of the 216,415 greater Montreal residents who reported Irish ancestry in 2006 had "multiple" or mixed ethnic ancestry (Statistics Canada 2006). As the old Irish neighborhoods of Griffintown and Pointe Saint-Charles broke up and intermarriage became more common, one part of the community assimilated into Francophone society and has lost English altogether, while the other gradually blended in with the Anglo-Scottish community and with other largely assimilated English-oriented groups, like people of German, Dutch, and Scandinavian ancestry, to form a blended northwest-European Anglophone group. This study will therefore make no distinction between participants of Irish and other British origins: they will be jointly referred to below as British (which in fact they were during the major period of Irish immigration, prior to the independence of Ireland in 1922). Some of this British-Irish community continues to live in western and southwestern sections of Montreal itself, in administratively separate western municipalities like Westmount and Montreal West, or across the St. Lawrence River on the South Shore, in Saint-Lambert and Greenfield Park, but after World War II much of it shifted to more distant post-war suburban communities on the western end of the island of Montreal. This area is referred to locally as the "West Island" and includes the cities of Dorval, Pointe Claire, Beaconsfield, Baie D'Urfé, and Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, which extend in a line along the north shore of Lac St-Louis, or Provincial Highway 20, westward from Montreal (see Figure 1), as well as other municipalities farther away from the lake (Dollard-des-Ormeaux, Pierrefonds, Kirkland, etc.). For example, Pointe Claire, with about 30,000 residents, is 53 percent English-speaking by mother tongue (65 percent by home language) and about two thirds British or "Canadian" by ethnicity; only eight percent claim Italian ancestry and two percent Jewish (Statistics Canada 2013b). These predominantly Anglo suburbs are beyond the reach of the city's underground rail or metro system and are a 15–40 km drive from downtown, well isolated even from the traditional Jewish neighborhoods in western Montreal, let alone from the Italian neighborhoods in the east end.

Unlike the Irish and other British and North European groups, the Jewish and Italian communities remain clearly distinct in many ways and continue to live in fairly concentrated numbers in particular areas of the city, like the Hampstead and Saint-Léonard enclaves mentioned above (Lieberson 1981, Boberg 2004). Even today, 62 percent of the 260,350 greater Montreal residents claiming Italian ethnic ancestry and 55 percent of the 68,485 Jews reported single ancestry, indicating a more durable ethnic distinctiveness than that of the Irish (Statistics Canada 2006). Of these more distinct groups, the earlier arrival of the bulk of the Jewish community and its residential concentration in western districts close to the main English-speaking areas has produced a closer integration with the British-origin community, despite religious and cultural differences, and the community's most recent residential expansion has been in a northwestern direction to parts of Saint-Laurent and Dollard-des-Ormeaux, also contiguous with large Anglophone communities. The Italian community, by contrast, has expanded northward to Rivière-des-Prairies and parts of Laval, on the island north of Montreal, a good distance from any significant concentrations of British-origin (or Jewish) English-speakers. Montreal English is therefore spoken in very different contexts in places like Pointe Claire, Hampstead, and Saint-Léonard. In Pointe Claire and Hampstead, it is a local majority language, but the majority that speaks it is mostly of British and North European origin in Pointe Claire and of Jewish origin in Hampstead. In Saint-Léonard, English is a local minority language surrounded by French and the minority that speaks it is mostly of Italian descent. It will be shown below that these different contexts have given rise to different types of English.

1.2 Language laws and community decline

As the bulk of the Italian population was arriving in the 1960s, Quebec society was going through the Quiet Revolution, a major social, cultural, and political upheaval related to, but distinct from, similar contemporary trends elsewhere in the western world. In Quebec, this movement involved a secularization of institutions like healthcare and education, which had been controlled by the Catholic church; the construction of an interventionist welfare state; and the rise of a newly secular brand of French Canadian ethnic nationalism. There is no space here, or need, to discuss these developments in any detail, but their effect on Montreal's English-speaking community should be briefly stated. The growth of Quebec's English-speaking community through immigration, outlined above, had traditionally been balanced by a very high birthrate among French Canadians, as much as eight children per woman in rural areas in the nineteenth century. In the 1960s, as the social influence of the Church, which had actively encouraged fertility, was gradually supplanted by the influence of feminism, which saw large families as a restriction on opportunities for young women, the birth rate began to fall precipitously. By the 1980s, it reached a low of about one and a half children per woman (Henripin 1989), well below the level needed for population maintenance. Combined with rapid assimilation of minority Francophone communities outside Quebec, this drop in birthrate motivated some Quebec demographers to speculate that, without government intervention, the demographic position of French, and the sustainability of French-Canadian culture, would be seriously threatened in the near future (Charbonneau, Henripin and Légaré 1970). At the same time, the Canadian government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Government of Canada 1967) and the Quebec government's Gendron Commission (Government of Quebec 1972) reported that Francophones faced language-related obstacles to socio-economic advancement in an employment landscape dominated by English, even in Quebec, where French was the language of the large majority of the population. To many Francophones, this situation clearly justified a program of language planning, designed to improve and sustain the vitality of French and increase economic opportunities for French-speakers by insisting on the primacy of the French language in Quebec; this would necessarily entail the demotion and suppression of English, its main competitor. Some went so far as to suggest that the future of French, and the interests of Francophone Quebeckers, could only be secured by the political independence of Quebec from Canada.

The result of this current of public opinion was the election of the separatist Parti Québécois to form the provincial government in 1976. Its first order of legislative business was the introduction of Bill 101, the *Charter of the French Language*, in 1977. The Charter sought to increase and secure the primacy of French by four measures: French became the only official language of Quebec, with all official use of English terminated; French became the language of the workplace in all businesses with over fifty employees, thereby ensuring that Francophones would not need to learn or use English in order to gain advancement; French was to be the language of schooling for all children whose parents or siblings had not been educated in English in Canada, a provision designed to make up for the low birthrate among Francophones by ensuring that the pattern of language transfer among immigrant children would shift from English to French; and French would be the dominant language of public signage, both public and private, an important visual reinforcement of the government's intention that French was to enjoy exclusive status as the public language of Quebec. In official terms, despite its long and crucial role in the development of the province, English was reduced to the status of an immigrant language, to be spoken at home and for private purposes but not in public. Exceptions were allowed only in a restricted range of contexts connected with the historic presence of the English-speaking community: for instance at McGill and Concordia Universities; in the English public school system; in historically English-speaking municipalities and hospitals; in the Anglican and United Churches; and in English-language media, including radio and television stations and the Montreal *Gazette* newspaper. The legal effect of the Charter was to compound the minority status of English in Quebec: in addition to being a minority language in the numerical sense, it was now a minority language in the social, economic and civic senses as well.

While Bill 101 was popular among most Francophones and, arguably, successful in meeting some of its objectives (Bourhis 1984, Oakes and Warren 2007), the reaction of most Anglophones to the legislation was predictably negative: many deeply resented what they saw as an unjustified and mean-spirited attack on their rights and on their status as one of the founding cultures of modern Quebec (Taylor and Dubé-Simard 1984, Levine 1990, Radice 2000, Bourhis 2008). Overwhelming Francophone electoral power, however, made opposition to the Charter futile, so rather than adapt to the new regime, many Anglophones and businesses simply left Quebec, usually for other parts of Canada, most often neighboring Ontario (Locher 1992). This exodus, which over two decades involved well over 100,000 people and the headquarters of some of Canada's largest companies, had a devastating effect on the English-speaking community: from a high of over 600,000 mother-tongue speakers in 1976, it contracted by a third to just over 400,000 by 2001 (Jedwab 2004, Parenteau, Magnan, and Thibault 2008). Deprived of its major source of growth, the English school system began to collapse, as documented by the provincially commissioned Chambers Report (Government of Quebec 1992), which recorded an enrollment drop in Montreal of 64 percent between 1970 and 1990, forcing dozens of school closures; though Jedwab (2002) reported a stabilization of enrollment numbers, they continue to decline today (CBC News 2013), with more closures forecast for the future. The contraction and fragmentation of the English-speaking community and the exclusion of English from the public domain brought about by Quebec's current language planning regime have intensified the isolation of the various ethnic subdivisions of Montreal's English-speaking community, thereby reducing the access of non-British groups to the standard variety of Canadian English spoken by the British-origin group. This has reinforced and sustained the linguistic differences fostered by residential segregation, so that Canadian-born children learn the English of their ethnic peers, particularly in enclaves like Hampstead and Saint-Léonard, rather than that of the larger Canadian English-speaking community. It is hypothesized that this pattern of insulation from standardization and from forces of dialect-leveling is at least partly, if not largely, responsible for the ethno-phonetic differences reported below.

1.3 Ethno-linguistic variation

Ethno-linguistic variation is not, of course, unique to Montreal; it has been widely studied across North America (Boberg 2012b offers a brief overview of this work) as well as overseas (e.g., Torgersen, Kerswill, and Fox (2006) in London; Horvath (1985) in Sydney, Australia; or the various European cities and languages studied in Kern and Selting (2011)). Though most research on ethno-linguistic variation in North American English has examined differences among the major racial groups, with a particular focus on African American English, a few scholars have turned their attention to the more subtle differences that can be found among ethnic groups within the European-origin population (Boberg 2012b). For example, Labov (1966) reports on Italians and Jews in New York City; Laferrière (1979) examines Irish, Italians, and Jews in Boston; and Carlock and Wölck (1981) study Germans, Italians, and Poles in Buffalo, New York. Jewish English has been particularly well studied in the United States (e.g., Thomas 1932; Gold 1985; Benor 2001, 2009, 2010; Benor and Cohen 2011), though other varieties, like Italian-American English, have received much less scholarly attention. Ethnicity in Canadian English has also received comparatively little notice in sociolinguistic research; for example, ethnicity is not included among the social factors studied in major urban surveys by Gregg (1992) in Vancouver or Woods (1999) in Ottawa, though a program of research on ethnic variation in Toronto English has now begun (Hoffman and Walker 2010; Nagy, Chociej, and Hoffman 2013; Baxter and Peters 2014). The present article aims to contribute to this growing field by shedding further light on the unique characteristics of ethno-linguistic variation in Montreal English.

Ethnic differences in Montreal English comprise several different types of variation, as discussed in Boberg (2004, 2010:213–225). At the most obvious level, there are words associated with ethnic speech varieties, like the Yiddish words used by Mordecai Richler in his portrayal of Jewish characters in his most famous novel, *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* (1959), or the Italian words and phrases recorded by Trivisonno (1998) in his *Official Saint Leonard Dictionary* (see also Sciola 2014). These sources also provide more limited evidence of syntactic differences, usually involving transfer of syntactic patterns from heritage languages. Finally, there is a wide range of phonetic differences. Some of these involve consonants. For example, non-British Montrealers are more likely to pronounce a velar stop in words spelled with <ng>, like *wrong*, *during*, *singer*, or *hanger*, and to use dental rather than alveolar variants of /t/. Italians and Jews also favor full release of final voiceless consonants, particularly /t/ and /k/, often with audible aspiration, and Italians are more likely than others to use stops in place of fricatives at the beginning of function words such as *the*, *this*, *those*, *them*, etc. As much as these features contribute to the overall impression of "ethnic" speech in Montreal, however, the most consistent and frequently occurring ethnic differences can be heard in the articulation of vowel phonemes, which is the subject of the analysis reported below.

2. THE *PHONETICS OF MONTREAL ENGLISH* (*PME*) PROJECT

The data in this article come from a study called the *Phonetics of Montreal English*, or *PME*, which involved tape-recorded interviews, carried out between 1999 and 2005, with 93 members of the three ethnic communities discussed above, all native speakers of English who have spent their whole lives in Montreal. It should be emphasized that while many of the participants spoke more than one language (most had some second-language French and many of the Italians also spoke Italian), they all had native ability in English: this is a study of variation among people with unrestricted competence in English, not of the second-language English of immigrants. In accordance with the chronology of arrival discussed above, while most of the Italian participants and the older Jewish participants were children of immigrants, the younger Jewish participants were mostly grandchildren or even great grandchildren of immigrants. In the British group, all participants and their parents had grown up entirely in the Montreal region. All participants had two parents of the same ethnic group, so the sample is biased toward the stronger ethnic varieties spoken by people of unmixed ethnic ancestry. In addition to its ethnic divisions, the sample was divided according to age and sex, as shown in Table 1. About half of the participants had a university education; the other half did not (these groups are conflated here). The present analysis will focus mostly on ethnic identity and age, but sex will be appealed to as a secondary explanatory variable in the analysis of the Italian data.

Table 1: *Phonetics of Montreal English* (*PME*) sample

	Born before 1946		Born 1946–1965		Born after 1965		TOTAL
Ethnicity	F	M	F	M	F	M	
British	8	5	5	1	7	3	29
Italian	3	1	6	3	8	9	30
Jewish	8	8	5	3	5	5	34
TOTAL	33		23		37		93

All of the participants provided demographic information, read a word list, and conversed freely with interviewers, who were undergraduate Linguistics students at McGill University, often of the same ethnic background as the participants. The interviews were recorded on analog audiotape and later digitized for acoustic phonetic analysis, focusing on vowel production, using Kay Elemetrics' CSL program. The data presented here are from the word list portion of the interview, comprising 145 words per participant, an average of ten tokens per vowel phoneme, with more tokens of vowels that display complex allophonic patterns, such as /æ/ (as in TRAP) or /aw/ (as in MOUTH). The reliance on word list data creates a bias toward more formal speech, but eliminates confounds associated with such factors as variable lexical identity, phrasal context, stress, etc., thereby ensuring a uniform and directly comparable set of data on each participant. Measurements of the frequency of the first and second formants (F1 and F2, acoustic correlates of height and advancement, respectively) of the primary-stress vowel of each word were made at the most representative point in the vocalic nucleus. For most vowels, whose central tendency is an opening and closing of the mouth, this is the F1 maximum, though each vowel was examined individually in order to ensure that the measurement point represented the nuclear target as closely as possible. The formant data thus obtained were normalized using the Constant Log Interval Hypothesis version of the additive point system set forth in Nearey (1978). In order to identify ethnic patterns in the data, multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVAs) between the formant data and the social categories were carried out in SPSS. For further methodological details, see Boberg (2004, 2010).

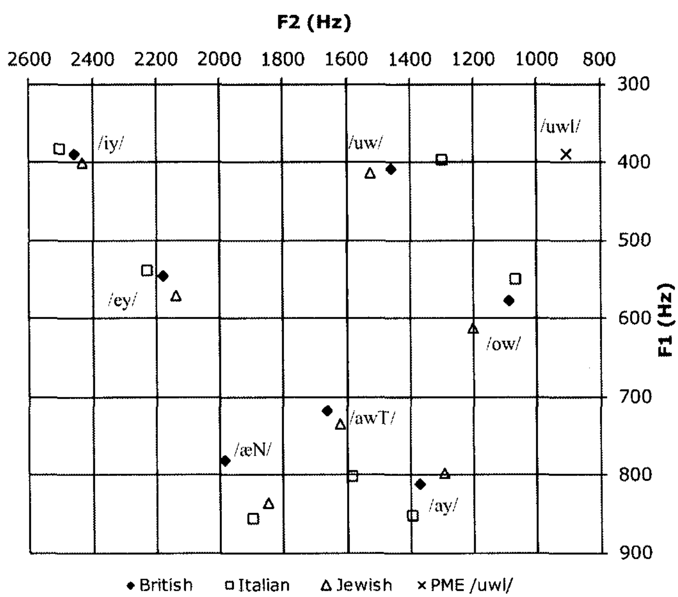
3. Results

When compared to similar data on English from other regions of Canada, reported in Boberg (2010), Montreal English was found to share the most important phonological and phonetic traits of Canadian English. Beyond general North American features such as /t/-flapping and an absence of /r/ vocalization, these include a double low-back merger of /ah/ (as in PALM), /o/ (as in LOT) and /oh/ (as in THOUGHT); variable Canadian Raising of /aw/ (as in MOUTH) and /ay/ (as in PRICE) in pre-voiceless contexts (Joos 1942; Chambers 1973, 2006; Boberg 2010:149–151; but see below); on-going lowering and retraction or "Canadian Shift" of /e/ (as in DRESS) and /æ/ (as in TRAP) (Clarke, Elms, and Youssef 1995, Boberg 2005); and variable centralization of /uw/ (as in GOOSE; but see below). In these terms, the major distinguishing feature of Montreal English is the retention of a contrast between /e/ and /æ/ before intervocalic /r/, which has been neutralized in most of North America, including the rest of mainland Canada: all ethnic groups in Montreal distinguish *marry* and *Harold*, with [æ], from *merry* and *herald*, with [ɛ]. Beyond these pan-ethnic features, however, the speech of the major ethnic groups in Montreal's English-speaking community was found to be widely divergent.

3.1 Ethno-phonetic differences in the *PME* data

Figure 2, reproduced from Boberg (2010:222 (see also Boberg 2004:549)), shows the most important ethnic differences in vowel production identified by the MANCOVAs. The top corners of the space are defined by the means for /iy/ (as in FLEECE) and /uwl/ (/uw/, or GOOSE, before /l/, as in *pool*, *cool*, etc.). These vowels do not show statistically significant ethnic differences, though separate ethnic means are given for /iy/, since they show the same arrangement as vowels that are correlated with ethnic group, implying a pattern that might attain significance in a larger sample. The remaining sets of symbols display at least one-way ethnic differences, that is, differences between one of the three groups and the other two, if not two-way differences among all three groups.

Starting at the top of the vowel space, a large ethnic gap can be seen in the production of /uw/, the vowel of GOOSE (in environments other than before /l/). The square associated with the Italian-ancestry group is well behind (to the right of) the symbols for the British- and Jewish-ancestry groups, indicating a less fronted, more Italian-like production of this vowel (acoustically, a lower F2 value). Moving down to the mid vowels, the triangles used to identify the Jewish means stand apart from the symbols associated with the other groups, indicating that Jews display a less peripheral, or more diphthongal, variant of the /ey/ of FACE and the /ow/ of GOAT. Among the low vowels, Italians display lower (less raised) variants of the /aw/ of MOUTH when it occurs before voiceless obstruents, the Canadian Raising context symbolized here as /awT/. With /ay/, the major ethnic difference involves a backer variant among Jews, which sounds close to /oy/ to some listeners (e.g., *line* sounds a bit like *loin*). Finally, while most speakers of North American English, including most in Canada, raise and front the /æ/ of TRAP to lower-mid-front position when it occurs before nasals, as in *can* or *damp* (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006:173–184; Boberg 2010:152–153), in Montreal this pattern is seen only among those of British heritage; Italians and Jews retain a comparatively unraised and unfronted vowel, [æ] or [a], in this environment, here labeled /æN/.



Key	/iy/ *see, seed*	/uw/ *too, boot*	/awT/ *shout, house*
	/ey/ *say, state*	/uwl/ *tool, pool*	/æN/ *can, damp*
	/ay/ *sigh, side*	/ow/ *toe, boat*	

Figure 2: Mean formant measures (in Hz) for three *PME* ethnic groups (Source: Boberg 2010: 222, Fig. 5.2)

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3.2 Age (birth year) correlations with ethno-phonetic differences

A natural expectation would be that the ethno-phonetic differences displayed in Figure 2 should be receding over time, as the groups involved gradually lose their internal cohesion and assimilate to the dominant model of Standard Canadian English, represented locally by the community of British origin (also referred to below as "Anglos"), as well as nationally by English-speaking Canadians as a whole. In order to assess the truth of this expectation, Pearson tests were used to measure correlations between participants' birth years and formant measures in each ethnic group, for five of the phonetic variables discussed above:

i. the F2 of /uw/ (GOOSE except before /l/);
ii. the F2 of /ow/ (GOAT except before /l/);
iii. the F1 of /awT/ (MOUTH before voiceless obstruents);
iv. the F2 of /ay/ (PRICE except before voiceless obstruents); and
v. the F2 of /æN/ (TRAP before front nasals).

The Pearson coefficients are shown, along with the ethnic means underlying Figure 2, as a set in Table 2. Correlations between birth year and individual vowel measures are graphed with regression lines for each ethnic group in Figures 3–7. These graphs show birth year ascending from left to right, so they can be interpreted as representations of generational change in progress over apparent time. This interpretation is based on the "apparent-time hypothesis", which holds that the way a person speaks as an adult is a more or less accurate record of the way the language was spoken in that person's home community when he or she acquired the language as a child (Labov 1972:163).

Table 2: Mean formant measures (in Hz) and Pearson coefficients (r) showing correlations between formant values and birth year for five major ethno-phonetic variables in three ethnic groups

Ethnicity	n	Measure	F2 /uw/	F2 /ow/	F1 /awT/	F2 /ay/	F2 /æN/
British	26	mean	1489	1073	713	1350	1990
		r	0.49	0.67	0.21	−0.38	−0.15
Italian	29	mean	1260	1049	820	1408	1876
		r	−0.16	−0.22	0.37	0.30	−0.54
Jewish	32	mean	1508	1192	733	1299	1869
		r	0.41	0.45	−0.14	0.25	0.13

An initial inspection of Table 2 finds evidence not of assimilation or convergence but of apparently opposite diachronic developments in the three groups in every case. In each column, some groups show positive coefficients, indicating that the measure increases in value as birth year goes up, that is, among younger participants; while other groups show negative coefficients, indicating that the measure decreases in value over apparent time. Not all of these coefficients are statistically significant and some are larger than others. The most notable diachronic patterns arise with the F2 of /uw/ (as in GOOSE) and /ow/ (as in GOAT) for the British and Jewish groups, which together exhibit strong fronting or advancement of these vowels over apparent time, a change that is now affecting much of the continent, including Canada (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006:152–157; Boberg 2010:151–152, 228–230); and with the F2 of /æN/ for the Italian group, which exhibits a backing of this vowel. The graphs, however, show that non-participation in a change, indicated by a low coefficient (a non-significant correlation with age), can be just as distinctive in inter-ethnic comparisons as active participation.

Italians, for instance, do not participate in the fronting of /uw/ (as in GOOSE) and /ow/ (as in GOAT) displayed by the British and Jewish groups: their coefficients for the F2 measures of these vowels are non-significant. If anything, in fact, they are negative, suggesting a slight retraction over time, which might prove significant in a larger sample (for /uw/, some of the observed variability among younger Italians, which prevents a clearer pattern from emerging, is related to sex, as discussed below). In any event, the stability of the Italian vowels observable in the present sample directly opposes the vigorous Anglo-Jewish development, as shown in Figures 3 and 4. In the case of /ow/, as suggested above, it is the Jews, not the Anglos, who set the model for more fronted vowels; the Anglos appear to be following their lead. Italians again resist this development.

Young Italian Montrealers also fail to assimilate to the Standard Canadian English pattern of /awT/-raising (Canadian Raising of MOUTH), as shown in Figure 5, where a marked divergence of young Italians from the diachronically stable model set by the British and Jewish groups is evident. In words like *doubt*, *house*, *shout*, and *south*, these Italians use a fully open vowel, [ɑʊ], whereas the British and Jewish groups show the normal Canadian pattern of raising, to a half-open or mid-central quality more like [ɜʊ]. Figure 5 shows the height of /awT/, measured as F1, with the values on the vertical axis reversed, to give a better visual representation of lowering vs. raising. Higher F1 values, near the bottom of the chart, represent lower vowels and therefore less raising. Another way to measure the degree of raising is by subtracting the mean F1 of raised /awT/ from the mean F1 of unraised /aw/: the difference registers the phonetic "distance" between these allophones. This distance is 136 Hz for the British and 124 Hz for the Jewish group, similar to the pan-Canadian mean of 142 Hz reported in Boberg (2010:149), but for Italians it is only 64 Hz, about half the non-Italian value, and getting smaller over time. Contrary to Hung, Davison, and Chambers (1993), who suggest that Montreal is an exception to the general Canadian pattern of /awT/-raising but do not consider ethnic variation, these data demonstrate that the likelihood of raising depends on a speaker's ethnic identity. The Montreal variant of Standard Canadian English, represented here by the British-origin group and acquired, at least in this respect, by Jews as well, does involve raising equivalent to that of other Canadians, but Italians (and possibly other more recently arrived ethnic groups) have not, as a group, acquired this pattern.

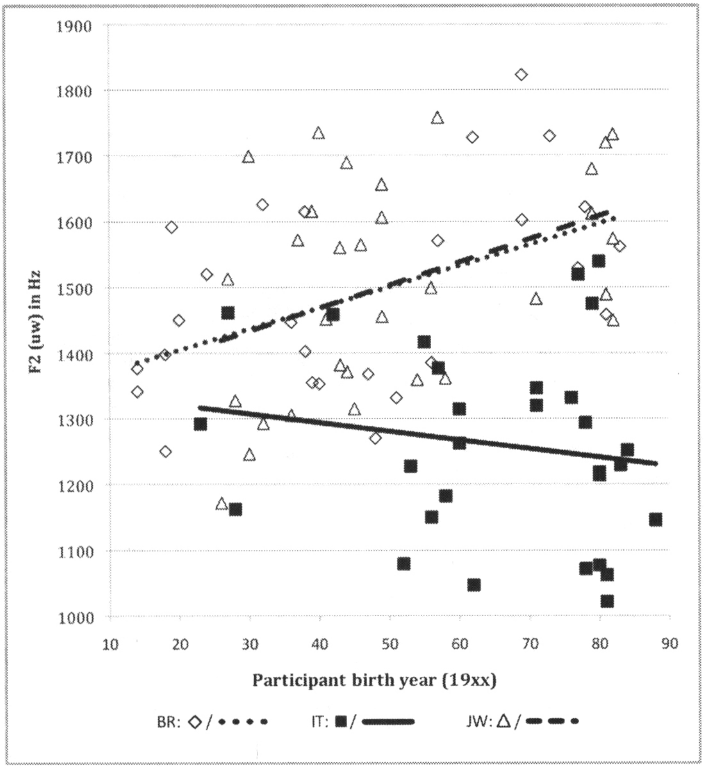

Figure 3: Advancement of GOOSE (F2 of /uw/ in Hz), as a function of participant birth year, for three ethnic groups

Figure 6, by contrast, shows a striking example of convergence, but not in the expected direction. In the relative advancement of /ay/ (PRICE in non-Canadian Raising environments), British and Jewish values approximate each other over time, but the relative slopes of the regression lines show that it is mostly the British group that converges with a Jewish model, not the other way around (the British coefficient is statistically significant, whereas the Jewish one is not). Anglos display a dramatic backward shift of this vowel. Italians, on the other hand, appear to move away from the Jewish model, with younger people using fronter variants of /ay/, though this is only marginally significant (sex, again, plays a role in this result, as discussed below).

Finally, in Figure 7, the main ethnic difference between British raising and fronting of /æN/ and Jewish-Italian failure to follow this allophonic pattern is clearly evident, but the trends again suggest a further ethnic difference. The apparent Jewish tendency to converge with the Anglo model does not attain statistical significance, but the Italians are clearly moving farther away from it.

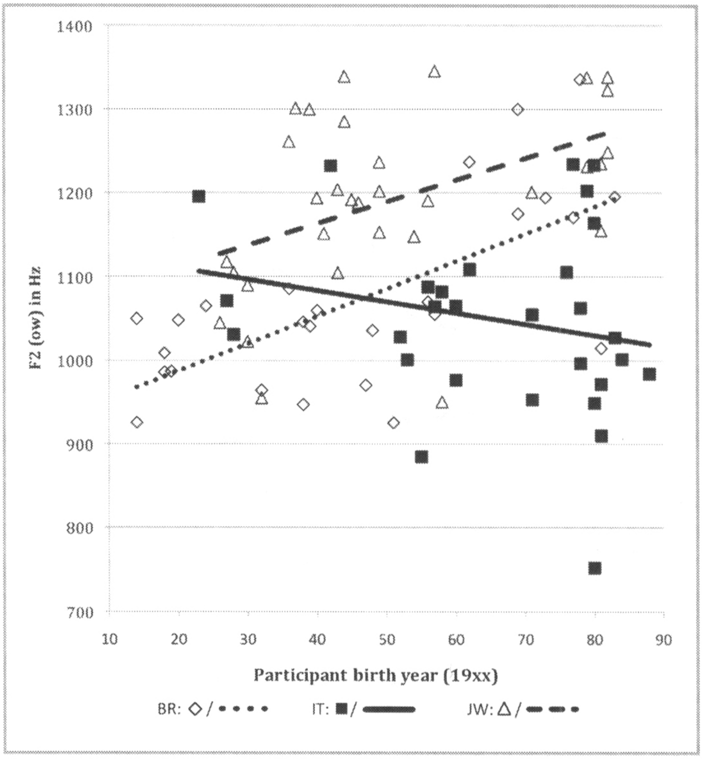

Figure 4: Advancement of GOAT (F2 of /ow/ in Hz), as a function of participant birth year, for three ethnic groups

4. Discussion and conclusions

The *PME* project is not in a position to make any definitive statements about the initial sources of ethno-phonetic variation in heritage languages, or in "substrate" influence. It will suffice here to suggest that these initial differences arise through a combination of substrate influence in the second-language English of the immigrant generation and, possibly, socially motivated spontaneous developments that are associated with community identity. Both types of development have been proposed in previous studies of ethnic varieties of English. For example, Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia (1985), Fought (2003), and Newman (2010) identify many cases of Spanish substrate influence on Latino English, and Thomas (2001:185), Eckert (2008), and Roeder (2010:174) even point to such influence as the basis for a lack of pre-nasal /æ/-raising among Chicanos, one of the features of ethnic Montreal English identified above. In the Canadian context, Piske (2008) discusses a wide range of substrate effects on both production and perception in the English phonology of Italian bilinguals in Ontario. On the other hand, Labov appeals to the role of secondary, native-born reactions to initial substrate patterns in explaining a more advanced degree of /oh/ (THOUGHT)-raising in New York City Jewish English

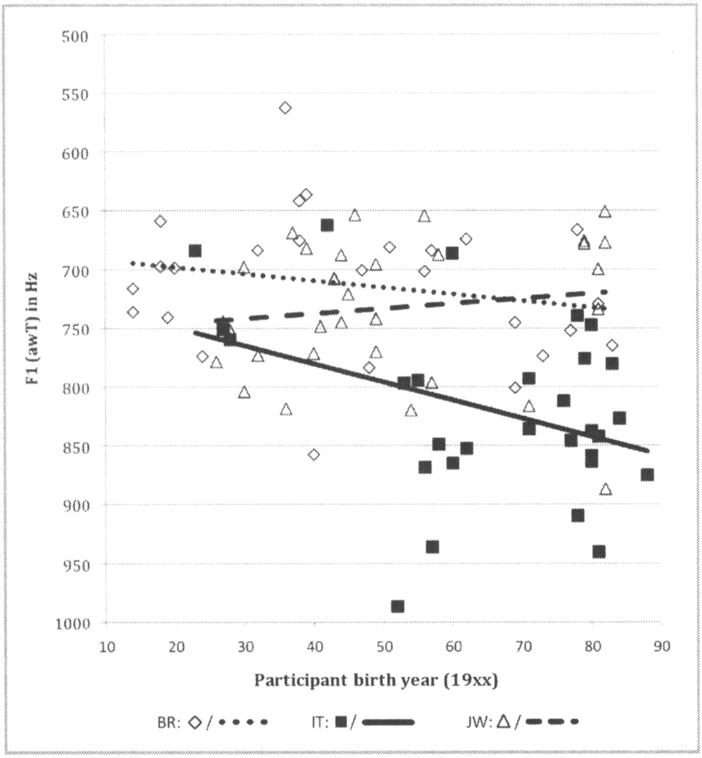

Figure 5: Canadian Raising of MOUTH (F1 of /awT/ in Hz), as a function of participant birth year, for three ethnic groups (Note: the Y-axis scale has been reversed to show lower vowels (less raising, higher F1) as lower on the chart)

(1972:177). In any case, what is peculiar about the Montreal situation is the degree to which these ethnic features, which elsewhere tend to fade rapidly as assimilation of the first native-born generation takes its course, are instead perpetuated by the second and even third generations of speakers, well beyond the bilingual transitional stage. While many Italian Montrealers still have at least passive knowledge of Italian, it is now declining as the Italian-dominant generation passes on and is no longer supported by continued immigration from Italy. This process of attrition is even more advanced in the Jewish community, most of which arrived a generation or two earlier; beyond isolated words, the unrestricted use of Yiddish has all but disappeared among Canadian-born Ashkenazi Jews, the group studied here. The ethnic features displayed by the younger participants in this study, then, are not the product of direct heritage-language influence in generally bilingual populations, but have been inherited by English-dominant speakers from earlier, bilingual generations. The relative chronology of Jewish and Italian immigration is reflected in the greater distinctness of the Italian-origin group, who have had significantly less time to assimilate: as seen in the preceding graphs, Jews now share many native Canadian features with

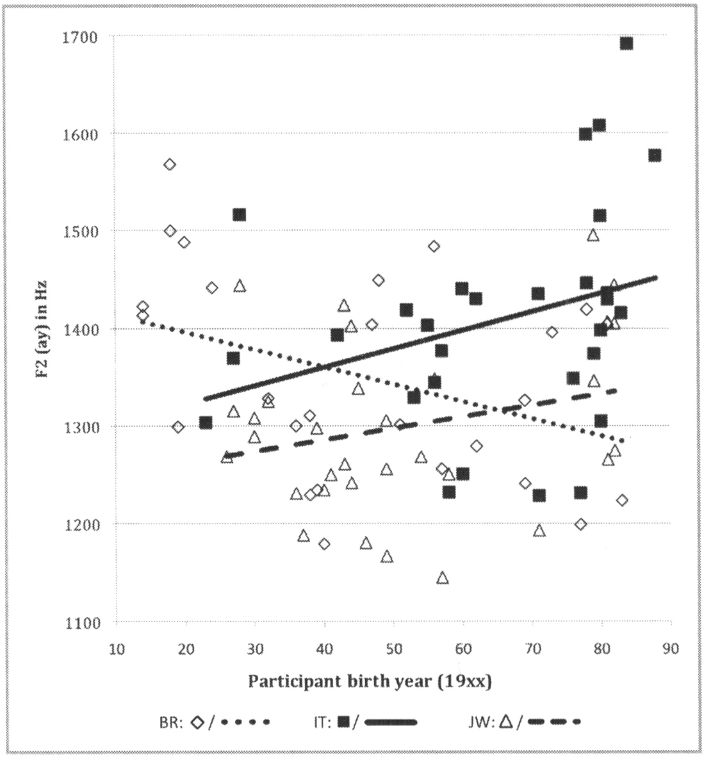

Figure 6: Advancement of PRICE (F2 of /ay/ in Hz), as a function of participant birth year, for three ethnic groups (Note: contrary to the Wells keyword, this measure is based on /ay/ in non-Canadian Raising environments, that is, not before voiceless obstruents)

Anglos (in particular, Canadian Raising of /awT/), whereas Italians have generally not acquired these features.

In the rest of North America, inter-generational transmission of ethnic linguistic features is usually only seen where important social divisions continue to separate the ethnic groups in question from the majority of the population, which might otherwise provide a model for acquiring the local variety of Standard English. The obvious case of enduring social divisions is the largest "visible" minority groups in the United States, African Americans and Latinos. Most members of these groups continue to speak distinct varieties of English even after many generations in the United States and tend to resist participation in the sound changes that characterize the local Euro-American population (e.g., Gordon 2000). The operative factor in this case, however, is not so much visible minority status as social isolation; visible minority status is merely one of the factors that tends to increase social isolation. The independence of these factors is demonstrated by the large populations of Asian Americans that are now to be found in many American cities. While some of these communities have a longer history in the United States, most have arrived fairly recently through

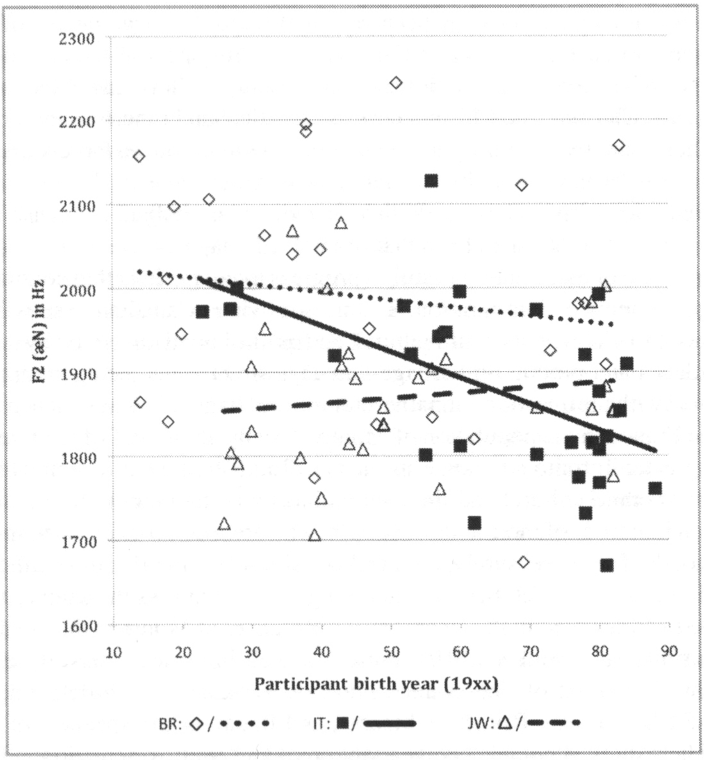

Figure 7: Advancement of TRAP before nasals (F2 of /æN/ in Hz), as a function of participant birth year, for three ethnic groups

immigration, yet have assimilated comparatively rapidly into the Euro-American majority. Their American-born children have therefore, in large part, acquired mainstream Standard American English. Lo and Reyes (2004:117), while questioning this "stereotype", nevertheless cite it as a reason for the comparative lack of research on Asian-American English, while Hall-Lew and Starr (2010:16) suggest that Chinese Americans in San Francisco lead, rather than lag behind, sound changes found in the broader local community. Indeed, where earlier social barriers begin to break down, linguistic assimilation appears to follow: Fought (1999) finds that middle-class California Chicanos, presumably less isolated from the non-Latino community, begin to adopt the fronted /uw/ characteristic of Euro-California English, a telling contrast with the Italian-Montreal pattern reported above. In Canada, most post-immigrant African-Canadians are linguistically indistinguishable from the majority (but see Baxter and Peters 2014), owing to smaller populations and a lesser degree of social isolation than prevails in the United States, whereas the opposite state of affairs applies to the Aboriginal or First Nations population, many of whom continue to be isolated from mainstream Canadian life by the reserve system and therefore preserve distinctive varieties of English (Ball and Bernhardt 2008). Among the ethnically blended Euro-American majority, however, the typical pattern in most North

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American urban communities has been assimilation to the local variety of English within a generation. Thus, the great Euro-ethnic melting pots of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — cities such as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee; even Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, with their more recent immigration histories — had produced largely undifferentiated Euro-American varieties by the end of the twentieth century. In these cities, the speech of people of Irish, German, Polish, Scandinavian, Italian, or Jewish ancestry can no longer be distinguished from that of the local majority.

This process of assimilation is still in progress today in cities that continue to receive large amounts of immigration. The most obvious Canadian case is Toronto, which likes to celebrate its multicultural and multilingual diversity by nurturing ethnic enclaves and putting up heritage-language street signs, being comparatively unconcerned with the questions of native cultural and linguistic maintenance that preoccupy the Francophone population of Montreal. Only about half of the five million people in greater Toronto are native speakers of English: the city is home to dozens of substantial ethno-cultural and linguistic minority communities, each comprising tens or even hundreds of thousands of people, who are often concentrated in specific neighborhoods. These are, surely, the ideal conditions for the rise of significant ethnic variation in speech. Yet, beyond the immigrant generations themselves, Toronto offers little to compare with the clear ethnic differences of Montreal that are reported above. Hoffman and Walker (2010) present a well-informed, carefully executed, and insightful analysis of fine-grained phonetic variables — /t,d/-deletion and the Canadian Shift — among British-, Chinese-, and Italian-origin speakers of Toronto English. Their study is notable for its adoption of an "ethnic orientation index" that registers the degree to which participants feel connected to their ethnic group, a finer measure of ethnic status than the simple group membership reported here. The results of this analysis, however, are largely negative, in the sense that major ethnic differences are not identified. In the authors' own words, "we do see evidence of substrate transfer in the first generation. However, the bulk of the evidence shows that substrate transfer does not persist. Younger Italian- and Chinese-Canadians pattern largely like their British/Irish-Canadian cohorts in terms of linguistic conditioning" (Hoffman and Walker 2010:59). It is, of course, possible that variables other than those examined by Hoffman and Walker might exhibit greater ethno-linguistic diversity, but assuming that their study is generally reflective of Toronto English, this is a striking conclusion: the same could certainly not be said about younger Italian- or Jewish-Canadians in Montreal.

4.1 Barriers to linguistic assimilation: Minority status and segregation

What, then, is special about Montreal? The most obvious difference between Toronto and Montreal is the status of English. As multilingual and non-British as contemporary Toronto has become, it is nevertheless still a city where Canadian English is unchallenged as a universally accessible matrix language, clearly identified with the cultural practices and values of the mainstream, majority society into which the children of immigrants typically wish to assimilate. In Montreal, by contrast, English has no official status and is the mother tongue of only about twelve percent of the metropolitan population; even on the island of Montreal itself, where the largest English-speaking populations are concentrated, this proportion rises only to eighteen percent. While English is still by far the most widely spoken language after French, native speakers of non-official languages (in the Canadian sense), or "Allophones", are now more numerous, as a group, than Anglophones. The presence of Standard Canadian English as a target for the linguistic assimilation of immigrants, then, is comparatively limited in Montreal. Moreover, given the need to learn French as well, some newer immigrant groups may spend most of their linguistic resources on that objective, rather than on acquiring the more subtle indicators of Standard Canadian English; restrictions on English-language schooling, non-existent in Toronto and other parts of English-speaking Canada, no doubt contribute significantly to the effect of this factor. The mandated use of French in large workplaces also removes a potential transfer of linguistic features among the adult population. For children educated in French-language schools or growing up in largely Francophone neighborhoods, the influence of non-native English (including both immigrant varieties and Francophone English) and of non-local, mass-media English rises in proportion to that of the native Canadian English that dominates the acquisition environment in English-Canadian cities.

Another major factor favoring the perpetuation of ethnic varieties in Montreal English is the unusually high degree of social and residential segregation of the city's ethnic groups (Lieberson 1981, Boberg 2004). Many Italian Montrealers, for instance, growing up in the east end districts of Saint-Léonard and Rivière-des-Prairies, have almost no face-to-face contact as children with English-speakers of British ethnic origin, since this group constitutes a negligible, in some cases virtually non-existent, proportion of the population in eastern Montreal, as discussed above. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many Italians who arrive as students at McGill University experience their first significant contact with non-Italian, non-Francophone peers at that point, long after speech patterns have been well established; some of these students are well aware of the differences between their own English and that of other McGill students and claim they attempt to modify their "East End" dialects so as not to stand out. Though the Jewish community is less geographically distant from other Anglophones, its concentration in districts like Côte Saint-Luc and Hampstead, where a large majority of the population in many neighborhoods and schools is Jewish, causes a similar isolation from mainstream Anglophone language and culture; this is even more true, obviously, of children who are sent to specifically Jewish schools, of which there are many in Montreal. Anecdotal evidence, again, suggests that Italian or Jewish children who grow up among the blended Anglo population of the West Island, outside the traditional Italian and Jewish residential enclaves, exhibit few, if any, of the ethnic features discussed above.

4.2 Causes of divergence: The role of ethnic identity and gender

The discussion has so far implied that ethnic diversity in Montreal English is largely a response to what might be seen as negative factors that diminish the exposure of ethnic minority groups to native Anglo-Canadian phonetic models. While these factors can explain the failure of the first Canadian-born generations to converge or assimilate, they have less to say about the instances of actual divergence reported above. Young Italian Montrealers, in particular, appear to be moving further away from an Anglo-Canadian model, rather than converging with it. This suggests that a more positive factor may be involved in perpetuating ethno-linguistic diversity: a force of ethno-cultural pride that motivates people to choose linguistic symbols of local rather than regional or global cultural identity. For instance, in her study of Italian-Canadians, Del Torto (2010:55) finds that some post-bilingual "second and third generation family members use [Stylized Italian English] to index Italianness". Local, intra-ethnic identity of this type is naturally more important to some ethnic group members than others: Eckert (2008) rightly points out that what matters in ethno-linguistic variation is not just ethnic groups and speech features themselves but the way subgroups or individuals within ethnic communities use those features in constructing more nuanced identities. Gender, for instance, often interacts with ethnicity in predicting how individual ethnic group members display ethnic speech styles. This, in fact, is what we find in some of the Italian-Montreal data reported above. Figure 3 reveals a great deal of variation among younger Italians in the production of /uw/ (GOOSE), which prevents a statistically stronger trend from emerging: some participants converge with the fronted values of the Anglo-Jewish group, while others appear to resist this trend, diverging from the majority development. Taking sex into account helps to explain this variation, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Italian data by sex of participant (F/M group means in Hz, significance (p) of sex difference by t-test, and Pearson coefficients (r) for correlation with birth year)

Group	F2 /uw/	F1 /awT/	F2 /ay/	F2 /æN/	F2 /ow/
F mean (n = 17)	1309	821	1367	1906	1056
M mean (n = 12)	1191	818	1466	1833	1039
t-test of sex diff. p =	0.03	0.93	0.02	0.08	0.67
F age correl. r =	0.16	0.61	0.09	−0.41	−0.19
M age correl. r =	−0.46	0.08	0.52	−0.63	−0.29

Just as Poplack (1978) found with Puerto Ricans acquiring fronted /uw/ and /ow/ in Philadelphia, among Montreal Italians it is the women who tend to acquire this feature, while the men resist it: the F2 (uw) column of Table 3 shows a difference of over 100 Hz between the sex groups, significant at $p = 0.03$, with the higher female mean much closer to the non-Italian means in Table 2. This suggests that an uncentralized /uw/ has a particularly positive value for Italian men, representing a macho stereotype that frequently appears in popular culture, particularly film, which might be labeled "Italian-American tough guy from Brooklyn". The fact that broader studies of Canadian English have identified the fronting of /uw/ as a female-led change (Boberg 2010:211–212) may reinforce this sex association among Italian men at a subconscious level. Of the six Italians at the bottom of Figure 3 with a mean F2 of less than

1100 Hz, five are men, whereas of those with a mean F2 of more than 1400 Hz, all but one are women. Turning to the age correlations in Table 3, the Pearson coefficient for Italian women is 0.16, not significant, while that for Italian men is −0.46, almost significant at $p < 0.05$; in a larger sample, this negative correlation would likely indicate that younger Italian men (those with higher birth years) have lower rather than higher F2 values for /uw/. Though it is not clear why the same pattern is not found with /ow/, centralization of /uw/ among Italian Montrealers evidently cannot be understood without reference to sex: Italian women tend to converge with the broader Anglo-Canadian norm, whereas Italian men diverge from it, preferring the local, covert prestige and symbolic masculinity of distinctively Italian-sounding speech.

A similar pattern emerges with /ay/ in Figure 3 (above), which displays an upward trend line for Italians, away from the backed vowel of the Anglo and Jewish groups, which did not quite attain significance. Table 3 shows again that this ambiguous pattern results from a mixture of convergent women, who tend to have lower F2 values (a mean of 1367 Hz), and divergent men, with higher F2 values (a mean of 1466 Hz; sex difference significant at $p = 0.02$). The age correlation is not significant for the women, but significant for the men ($r = 0.52$), indicating a strongly divergent pattern, in which younger men (with higher birth years) have fronter vowels (higher F2 values). As with /uw/, Italian men seem to be aware, at least subconsciously, of the gender symbolism of backed /ay/: for both the Jewish and Anglo groups, who might serve as a model for this variable, it shows a significant sex difference, with women's vowels on average more than 100 Hz further back then men's.

The resilience of ethno-linguistic distinctiveness in Montreal English involves more than gender identity, however. Both Jews and Italians, like many other groups, have a rich cultural heritage that is strongly valued as part of their personal and group identities. This expresses itself not just in language but in religion, food, holiday traditions, social values, and other cultural forms. These ethnic cultures are significantly older and, in many ways, stronger than Anglo-Canadian culture, which has long struggled to assert a distinct identity, independent from the overwhelmingly more powerful Anglophone cultural model provided by the United States. The same could be said for many of the other ethnic minorities that make up Montreal's English-speaking community, like the historic African-Canadian community of Little Burgundy, which produced one of Canada's most famous musicians, the jazz pianist Oscar Peterson (Winks 1997, Mackey 2010); or the Armenians (Chichekian 1989, Kaprielian-Churchill 2005), Chinese (Chan 1991), Danes (Mancuso 1997) and Greeks (Stathopoulos 1971) who arrived after World War II. The present study could profitably be extended in the future to include all of these groups, as well as other more recent groups with a partially or primarily Anglophone orientation, like Egyptians, Russians, and South Asians.

As weak as the Anglo-Canadian cultural model may be in cities like Toronto, Calgary, or Vancouver, it can only be even weaker in a place where it is officially denied any presence in the public domain, indeed seen by some as hostile to the cultural interests of the Francophone majority (Lisée 2012). The public culture of Quebec works actively and deliberately against any kind of identification with the rest of Canada, which is viewed by many Francophones essentially as a foreign country. This stance is reflected, for example, not only in local use of the term *national* for provincial institutions (*l'assemblée nationale, la bibliothèque nationale, la fête nationale*, etc.), but in the Quebec-centric content and orientation of much of the province's media. While it is particularly dominant among Francophones, it also limits the exposure of local Anglophones to the language and culture of Canada outside Quebec, which has a comparatively low profile in local media. The local representative of that language and culture, a small minority of the population isolated from the main current of public life in the privileged haven of Westmount or the suburbs of the West Island, cannot provide a clear or accessible target for cultural or linguistic assimilation. In this context, there is little to dissuade Italian and Jewish children from perceiving their primary cultural identity to be Italian and Jewish, respectively, rather than Canadian, and from maintaining or reinforcing their ethnic identities with linguistic symbols like those reported above. Ironically, the very effort to suppress local use of English in order to protect the dominance of French has made the surviving varieties of English all the more appealing for academic study.

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