Québécois' Attitudes towards Language: Evidence from a Questionnaire

Excerpt, Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of Advanced Placement Research Degree

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"If ever there was one central issue, one nerve centre in Quebec history, it would be language" — Chantal Bouchard

ABSTRACT

Quebec, the only francophone region in North America, has been home a fascinating sociolinguistics. Harmlessly, "KFC" and "Stop" are illegal signs there, but more terrifyingly, there have been independence movements and terrorists attacks against Canada. However, these problems, which are rooted in language, have seen little statistical research: As of 2019, only 2 sociolinguistic research are somewhat relevant. My research filled this gap by statistically testing Quebecois' beliefs towards French and English.

I created and sent a questionnaire to choristers from multiple choirs across Quebec, and students from the Université de Montréal, whose ages ranged between 18 and 78. The results showed that 1) Quebecois French (QF) has high prestige among most Quebecois, who believe 2) that anglicisms contaminate French, 3) believe that they must protect French's place in Quebec, but 4) do not believe that French is more precise than other languages. Based on these conclusions and a recent corpus examination, I predict that in the future, 1) QF will differ even further from Parisian French in lexicon and sound, 2) Quebec language laws will weaken, and 3) anglicisms will continue to exist in QF.

Le Questionnaire

Bonjour,

Je suis Tommy Liu, un chercheur de sociolinguistique. Je suis un étudiant à l'école Saint Michaels de Victoria, BC. J'écris un document de recherche où j'étudie les attitudes des Québécois envers la langue française et la langue anglaise. Je voudrais mener un questionnaire simple, et obtenir des réponses des francophones. Pourriez-vous prendre cinq minutes et le remplir ? Votre réponse est indispensable pour ma recherche, parce que je ne pourrai pas écrire mon document de recherche sans l'obtenir.

Je promets que ce questionnaire est complètement anonyme, et je n'utiliserai les réponses que pour mon document. Il faut seulement cinq minutes pour le remplir, mais il m'aidera beaucoup.

Je vous remercie beaucoup en avance de m'aider.

Cordialement,
Tommy Liu
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* Required

1. **Pourriez-vous prendre cinq minutes et m'aider ?**
   Check all that apply.

   ☐ Je voudrais t'aider et participer.

2. **Quelle est votre langue maternelle ? / Quelles sont vos langues maternelles ? ***
   Check all that apply.

   ☐ le français

   ☐ l'italien

   ☐ l'anglais

   ☐ l'espagnol

   ☐ Other: _____

3. **Quel âge avez-vous ?**
   Si vous n'êtes pas à l'aise de répondre, sautez cette question.
   Mark only one oval.

   ◯ 17 ou moins

   ◯ 18 à 28

   ◯ 29 à 39

   ◯ 40 à 50

   ◯ 51 à 61

   ◯ 62 à 72

   ◯ 73 à 83

   ◯ Other: _____

4. **Votre connaissance de l'anglais**
Mark only one oval per row.

	Pas du tout	Petit peu	Intermédiaire	Sans problème	Parfait
Parler	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
Compréhension Orale	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
Compréhension de Texte	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
Écrire	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭

Un Article de Libération: Deux professeurs belges veulent supprimer une règle de grammaire.

En français, si un COD précède «avoir» dans une phrase au passé composé, on doit accorder le participe passé avec le COD. Deux enseignants belges veulent supprimer cette règle quand ils enseigneront le français aux nouveaux étudiants. Ils disent que ceci économisera 80 heures sur une scolarité.

Source: https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2018/09/02/les-crepes-que-j-ai-mange-un-nouvel-accord-pour-le-participe-passe_1676135

5. **Voudriez-vous que les enseignants retiennent ou suppriment cette règle ? ***
Mark only one oval.

- ⬭ J'appuie qu'ils suppriment cette règle et écrivent «les frites que j'ai mangé»
- ⬭ Je comprends les deux aspects, et il est dificile de choisir
- ⬭ Je veux qu'ils retiennent cette règle et écrivent «les frites que j'ai mangées»
- ⬭ Cela m'est égal / Ça n'a aucune importance
- ⬭ Other: _____

6. **Pourquoi?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. **Le français a des qualités particulières qui le distinguent des autres langues. ***
Mark only one oval.

- ⬭ Tout à fait d'accord   *After the last question in this section, skip to question 10.*
- ⬭ Plutôt d'accord   *After the last question in this section, skip to question 10.*
- ⬭ Je ne sais pas   *After the last question in this section, skip to question 11.*
- ⬭ Pas tellement d'accord   *After the last question in this section, skip to question 11.*
- ⬭ Pas du tout d'accord   *After the last question in this section, skip to question 11.*
- ⬭ Other: _____   *After the last question in this section, skip to question 11.*

8. **Quel parti soutenez-vous ?**

Si vous n'êtes pas à l'aise de répondre, sautez cette question. Si le parti que vous soutenez n'est pas dans la liste, écrivez le nom de votre parti dans « Autre : ».
Check all that apply.

- [ ] Je ne sais pas
- [ ] Coalition Avenir Québec
- [ ] Parti libéral du Québec
- [ ] Parti Québécois
- [ ] Québec Solidaire
- [ ] Green
- [ ] Conservative
- [ ] Other: _____

9. **l'Effet des anglicismes** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Les anglicismes enrichissent le français	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Les anglicismes rendent le français impur

10. **Quelles sont les qualités particulières qui distinguent le français des autres langues ?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. **Comment trouvez-vous des accents suivants ?**

Si vous aimez ou n'aimez pas deux accents au même degré, vous pouvez cocher une option deux fois.
Mark only one oval per row.

	C'est la plus belle	C'est assez jolie	Je ne sais pas	Je l'accepte	Je ne l'aime pas
Sud de la France	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Québécois	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Parisien	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Algérien	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

12. **Quelle langue est la langue de raison ?** *

Mark only one oval.

- ◯ Toutes les langues sont également rationelles
- ◯ l'anglais
- ◯ le français
- ◯ le mandarin
- ◯ l'espagnol
- ◯ Other: _____

13. **↓ Soutenez-vous la loi 202 ? Pourquoi oui/non ?** *

Le Parti Québécois a proposé la loi 202 au 10 août 2017. Si elle est exécutée, les immigrants ne seront admis à la province qu'ils savent le français. Elle exige aussi que touts les réfugiés qui arrivent au Québec apprennent le français. [https://pq.org/nouvelles/identite-nationale-des-gestes-forts-pour-renverser-la-vapeur/]

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. **Où au Québec habitez-vous ?**

Check all that apply.

- ☐ Montréal
- ☐ Ville de Québec
- ☐ Other: _____

15. **Êtes-vous d'accord: Le français est plus clair que les autres langues ? Si oui, quelles langues ?** *

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. **Nous devrions protéger la place du français au Québec.** *

Mark only one oval.

- ◯ Tout à fait d'accord   *Skip to question 17.*
- ◯ Plutôt d'accord   *Skip to question 17.*
- ◯ Je ne peux pas décider   *Skip to question 17.*
- ◯ Pas tellement d'accord   *Skip to question 20.*
- ◯ Pas du tout d'accord   *Skip to question 20.*
- ◯ Other: _____   *Skip to question 17.*

17. **Que devrions-nous faire pour protéger la place du français au Québec ? ***

Vous pouvez cocher plusieurs options.
Check all that apply.

- ☐ Exiger que chaque école/université anglophone enseigne le français aux étudiants
- ☐ Insister pour qu'on suive les règles de grammaire à l'écrit et à l'oral
- ☐ Éliminer les anglicismes du français
- ☐ Ne pas laisser les immigrants entrer jusqu'à ce qu'ils maîtrisent le français
- ☐ Exiger que 100% des réfugiés apprennent le français
- ☐ Other: _____

18. **Votre avis: Parmi toutes les langues du monde, quelle langue est la plus laide et quelle langue est la plus belle ? Pourquoi ?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

19. **Si un anglophone s'approchait de vous, mais que vous ne pouviez pas parler bien l'anglais, essayeriez-vous malgré tout de parler l'anglais avec lui ?**

Mark only one oval.

- ◯ Absolument
- ◯ Probablement
- ◯ Je n'ai aucune idée
- ◯ Pas probablement
- ◯ Absolument pas
- ◯ Other: _____

Skip to question 22.

20. **Votre avis: Parmi toutes les langues du monde, quelle langue est la plus laide et quelle langue est la plus belle ? Pourquoi ?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

21. **Si un anglophone s'approchait de vous, mais que vous ne pouviez pas parler bien l'anglais, essayeriez-vous malgré tout de parler l'anglais avec lui ?**

Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Absolument
- ( ) Probablement
- ( ) Je n'ai aucune idée
- ( ) Pas probablement
- ( ) Absolument pas
- ( ) Other: _____

Merci!

Je vous remercie beaucoup de m'aider.

22. **Si vous avez des commentaires au sujet de ce questionnaire, écrivez-les ici.**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

23. **Si vous voulez connaître les résultats de ma recherche, écrivez votre courriel ci-dessous.**

_____

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3.3 Details on Each Question

		Which belief does this test?	Who can see this question?	Response Type	Deliberate Priming	Purpose
1	Could you take five minutes and help me?	/	Everyone	/	/	Asks for consent
2	What is your native language ? / What are your native languages ?	/	Everyone	Text	N	Since most people's native language is French, I will not ask detailed questions
3	How old are you ?	/	Everyone	Choices, with text option	N	How do one's [year of birth] and [Beliefs 1 to 4] correlate?
4	Your knowledge of English [Speaking, Oral Comprehension, Reading comprehension, Writing]	/	Everyone	Not at all, A bit, Intermediate, No problem, Perfect	N	Test:. How do [knowledge of English] and [belief that French is clearer] correlate?
5	Would you like teachers to keep or delete this rule?	B2	Everyone	Yes, No, don't know, don't care	N	A real life example where teachers recommends that a grammatical rule be deleted. Since this is long, I placed it where the survey just began.
6	Why?	B2	Everyone	Text	N	Seeks qualitative answers, which might reveal attitudes.
7	(To what extent do you agree): French has particular qualities that distinguish it from other languages.	B3	Everyone	Text	N	Does respondent believe that French is inherently superior BEFORE I primed him?
8	Which party do you support?	/	Everyone	Choices, with text option	N	Language in Quebec is politicized. How do one's [political party] and [Beliefs 1 to 4] correlate?
9	The effect of anglicisms	B1	Everyone	Semantic-differential	N	Tests B1.
10	What are the particular qualities that distinguish French from other languages?	B3	Those who said YES to 7	Text	N	Seeks qualitative answers to Q10.
11	How do you find following accents? [South of France, Québécois, Parisian, Algerian]	B2	Everyone	Semantic-differential	N	Tests B2.
12	Which language is the language of reason?	B3	Everyone	Text	Y	A lot of writers in the Age of Light were French. Some believed that the French LANGUAGE had allowed the works to become famous.
13	↓ Do you support Bill 202? Why yes / no?	B4	Everyone	Text	N	Tests B4.
14	Do you agree: French is clearer than other languages? If yes, which languages?	B3	Everyone	Text	Y	Does respondent believe that certain langauges are inherently superior AFTER I primed him?
15	We should protect the place of French in Quebec.	B4	Everyone	Likert Scale, with text option	N	Tests B4.
16	What should we do to protect the place of French in Quebec?	B2, B4	Those who said YES to 15	Choices, with text option	N	Do people really support PQ's Bill 202? Do they demonstrate nationalism?
17	If an anglophone approached you but you could not speak English well, would you still try to speak English with him/her?	/	Everyone	Likert Scale, with text option	N	Test the "French people don't like to speak English" myth
18	Of all the languages of the world, which language is ugliest and which language is the most beautiful? Why?	B3	Everyone	Text	Y	Does respondent believe that certain languages are inherently inferior AFTER I primed him?
/	If you have any comments about this questionnaire, please write them here.	/	Everyone	/	/	
/	If you want to know the results of my research, please write your email below.	/	Everyone	/	/	

Section 4.1: Numerical Statistics

I present numerical statistics and text responses in this section. Please see the next section (4.2) for all analysis.

Note: I intended to avoid students who study a smajor which relates to language, for example, linguistics, Spanish, Asian Studies, French literature. Spanish students likely favor Spanish over other languages, so they cannot represent the general Quebec population. Linguistics students likely see all languages equally precise and rational, so they cannot represent the general Quebec population. However, there were still responses from students who take German studies, literature, and modern languages students. For Question 12 and 18, I did not include responses from students who take language majors in the table below.

Exclusion

1 student's response from is excluded from the data because it does not seem serious.

1-3. Consent, Native Language, and English Ability

These questions only identify respondent's age, major, native language, and English level. Since the results of questions 1 to 3 are not significant, they are not released.

4. Age

	Students	Choristers	Total
18-28	49	0	49
29-39	7	3	10
40-50	1	8	9
51-61	0	19	19
62-72	0	35	35
73-83	0	20	20
Total	57	85	142

5. Would you like teachers to keep or delete this rule?

	#
Total # of respondents	142
I want them to retain this rule	52.8% majority
I understand both aspects, and it is difficult to choose	20.4%
I support that they delete this rule	16.2%
I do not care / It does not matter	10.6%

What are Quebecois' Beliefs toward the French and English Language in 2019?

6. Why?

(COD = direct object pronoun)

	Some Responses
Delete	CR07: Because it is a rule that was invented by a small group of elites in France to make less accessible written French for the lower social class. CR10: It's complicated for no reason.
Cannot Choose	CR80: Due to my age and education, I am already used to COD agreements. However, I understand that this learning is difficult. UV56: It seems logical that the past participle be granted with COD, but at the same time it would seem less difficult for people learning French to simply not do it.
Retain	CR42: The French language has difficulties that make it so rich … CR78: Because that's the way French is written, and we have to keep what is called the treasure of the language. CR77: Because it makes sense. French is a language that requires thought and work. But it's nothing when you compare to thousands of Mandarin idioms, right?
Do not Care	UV24: The agreement is not audible. In both cases the reading is understandable. Unless [one can] introduce a lack of clarity for some phrase construction [by] removing the rule, I do not care. CR50: The important thing is that we communicate without getting bogged down on a rule that could lead someone to no longer use the French.

7. (To what extent do you agree): French has particular qualities that distinguish it from other languages.

This question only guides respondents to Q10 (see Section 3.3), which means that its results are not significant. Thus, results are not released.

8. Which party do you support?

Metadata	Number
did not specify any parties	5
supported 2 or more parties	7
left blank or chose "I do not know."	34
supported 1 specific party	**98**
Total	142

The table below includes only the 98 people who supported 1 specific party:

What are Quebecois' Beliefs toward the French and English Language in 2019?

Section 4.1: Numerical Statistics

	People	Percent: (People/98)%
Québec Solidaire	36	**36.73%**
Coalition Avenir Québec	20	**20.41%**
Parti Québécois	19	**19.39%**
Liberal Party of Quebec	15	**15.31%**
Green	5	**5.10%**
Conservative	2	**2.04%**
New Democratic Party	1	**1.02%**
Total # of Specified Parties	**98**	**100.00%**

9. The Effect of Anglicisms

1 = Enrich French, 5 = Make French Impure

Option	Overall
1	7.75%
2	10.56%
3	38.03% Plurality
4	28.87%
5	14.79%
1+2	18.31%
4+5	43.66%

43.66% of respondents believe that anglicisms render French impure. Walsh ALSO found that 43% of respondents believe that anglicisms make French less pure (Walsh 171). 38.03% of respondents believe that anglicisms have mixed effects on French; and only 18.31% of respondents believe that anglicisms enrich French. Quebecois who are 51-61, however, have a pronounced positive attitude towards anglicisms.

10. What are the particular qualities that distinguish French from other languages?

Not a single respondent said that "logic" is a particular quality which distinguishes French from other languages. Please see all responses in Section 5.4.

11. How do you find following accents? [South of France, Québécois, Parisian, Algerian]
Some respondents rated only 3 accents, and left 1 blank.

It's the prettiest: 4
It's nice: 3
I accept it: 2
I do not like it: 1
I do not know / blank: not counted
(greater number indicates that respondent thinks that the accent is prettier)

	# of respondents who chose "I do not know" OR left blank	# of people who responded to this option	Sum	Average
Quebecois	21	121	357	2.950
Southern France	27	115	338	2.939
Algerian	47	95	257	2.705
Parisian	18	124	308	2.484

12. Which language is the language of reason?
I did not include responses from students who take language majors in the table below (see note).

Response	# of Respondents	Percent
All languages are equally rational	84	67.20%
English	16	12.80%
French	12	9.60%
Do not Know	7	5.60%
Mandarin	2	1.60%
German	2	1.60%
Others	2	1.60%
Total	**125**	100.00%

13. Do you support Bill 202? Why yes / no?
I read all qualitative responses, and grouped them to display them as if I collected them quantitatively. In the description, there keywords which could sway responses to this question, like "immigrants," "refugees," "Parti Québécois." I did not mention phrases like "protect French" or

"integrate immigrants." However, if respondents clicked on the link which I cited, or did further research on Bill 202, more words could have swayed their responses.

	Total	Example responses (some are quoted in verbatim)
Yes (French knowledge before entry)	54.07% Majority	Yes; [it is the] only way to avoid being drowned by other languages as in Catalonia. I think it's acceptable to ask newcomers to learn the language of the country in which they want to integrate. This should be self-evident; I find it shameful that it is necessary to legislate on this issue.
No	16.30%	No, especially in the case of refugees: someone who applies for asylum should be able to receive it without conditions.
Mandatory French education after entry	13.33%	
French education after entry, did not specify mandatory/optional	7.41%	If we really wanted to increase the number of people speaking French, why not make francization classes accessible to immigrants who do not speak French instead of closing the door to Quebec from the beginning?
Ambiguous	5.93%	I think that it is normal to learn the language of the country where we will live. The terms could be discussed.
Somewhat Agree	2.22%	maybe desirable but difficult to see impossible to implement
Amend	1.48%	
Total	100% 135 people	/

I excluded 6 responses when I calculated the percent of each group above, because they are paradoxes or because they do not answer the question.

Metadata	#	Explanation
Total # excluded responses	6	CR28: You should write without mistakes ("touts" does not exist in French) CR52: Language is our identity throughout the province it is French except the city of Montreal which is rather bilingual. UV14: Yes and no, this is an extremely delicate issue in a multicultural country UV18: I think it would be preferable for them to speak French [Does he mean "People would prefer that immigrants speak French?"] UV36: yes, it protects the environment UV53: Yes and no
Formula		$$\% \text{ of } X = \frac{\text{total \# of } X}{135}$$
% of people who overtly wanted every Quebecois to know French	91.11%	sum of the 3 groups of people which are in red in the chart above

Less than 50% of respondents wrote reasons for their stances, although I asked them: "Why yes/no?"

What are Quebecois' Beliefs toward the French and English Language in 2019?

CR29 said yes, and commented: "Once accepted into Quebec, these immigrants are not interested in mastering the language because English is more attractive." This is very accurate; allophones typically do not wish to study French, but the majority language of North America, English.

UV44 said no, and commented: "If we refuse all those people … we are only offering the qualified people to other provinces, at the same time always leaving a question of *linguistic* principles to ourselves, which are to me, ***unnecessary nationalist*** principles[1]."

UV54 said yes, and commented: "I would say that it is a good idea, since the people of Quebec want to preserve their unique language in America. If no immigrant learns the language and does not integrate, we will witness the decline of the language, because the immigration rate is increasing."

14. Do you agree: French is clearer than other languages? If yes, which languages?

I planned to use results from Q14 to test my hypotheses, but eventually I did not. Please see all responses in Section 5.4.

15. We should protect the place of French in Quebec.

Option	Number	Percent	Details
Totally agree	115	80.99% vast majority	114 people selected "totally agree." 1 person wrote "When one thinks that there are more than 350 million of anglophones in North America and about 10 million francophones, the response is obvious."
Somewhat agree	24	16.90%	selected "Somewhat agree"
Agree with condition	2	1.41%	1 person wrote "Yes, but not at the price of discriminating other people." The other person wrote "Yes, but without discriminating people."
Cannot decide	1	0.70%	selected "I cannot decide"

16. What should we do to protect the place of French in Quebec?

% = total selected/142

	% who believes that Quebecois should	% who left blank or do not think that Quebecois should
Require that every English school/university teach French to students	62.68%	37.32%

[1] Si l'on refuse toutes ces personnes … nous ne faisons qu'offrir ces personnes qualifiées aux autres provinces, nous laissant toujours dans la même situation pour une question de principes linguistiques qui sont selon moi des principes nationalistes non-nécessaires.

What are Quebecois' Beliefs toward the French and English Language in 2019?

Insist that people follow grammar rules in writing and speaking	46.48%	53.52%
Require that 100% refugees learn French	45.07%	54.93%
Eliminate anglicisms from French	27.46%	72.54%
Do not allow immigrants to enter until they master French	10.56%	89.44%

17. Your opinion: Of all the languages of the world, which language is ugliest and which language is the most beautiful? Why?

I planned to use results from Q17 to test my hypotheses, but eventually I did not. Thus, results are not released.

18. If an anglophone approached you, but you could not speak English well, would you still try to speak English with him?

I planned to use results from Q18 to test my hypotheses, but eventually I did not. Thus, results are not released.

Transition

In this section, I presented the numerical statistics. In the next section, I will explain how the statistics relate to my 4 hypotheses.

Section 4.2: Evaluated Hypotheses

I confirm or debunk the 4 hypotheses in this section.

Hypothesis 1: Most Quebecois believe that anglicisms contaminate French

Many, but not most, Quebecois believe that anglicisms contaminate French. Q9's results indicate that 43.66% of Quebecois believe that anglicisms render French impure, 38.03% Quebecois believe that anglicisms have mixed effects on French, and 18.31% (a small portion) of Quebecois believe that anglicisms enrich French. Thus, Hypothesis 1 is proven true.

Hypothesis 2: Most Quebecois want people to and speak with the Parisian accent.

Quebecois are very open to non-Parisian accents. In Q11, Quebecois demonstrate a very positive attitude towards Quebecois French, and a very negative attitude toward Parisian French. Thus, Hypothesis 2 is proven false.

Hypothesis 3: Most Quebecois believe that French is more rational/logical than other languages.

Quebecois do not believe that French is more rational or logical than other languages. In Q10, not a single respondent said that French is more logical than other languages. In Q12, even when I primed respondents that a "language of reason" exists, only 9.6% of respondents selected French as "the language of reason." Thus, Hypothesis 3 is proven false.

Hypothesis 4: Most Quebecois believe that they should protect French's place in Quebec.

Quebecois strongly believe that they should protect French's place in Quebec. In Q15, 80.99% of people strongly agreed with "We should protect the French's place in Quebec." Thus, Hypothesis 4 is proven true.

Summary: Results

1. Most Quebecois believe that anglicisms contaminate French.
2. Most Quebecois are very open to non-Parisian accents.
3. Most Quebecois do not believe that French is more logical than other languages.
4. Most Quebecois believe that they must protect French's place in Quebec.

Transition

In this section, I confirmed or rejected the 4 hypotheses. By this stage, I have filled the gap which I identified in Section 2. In the next section, I will present my new understanding, explain the implications, acknowledge my research's limitations, and give advice to future researchers.
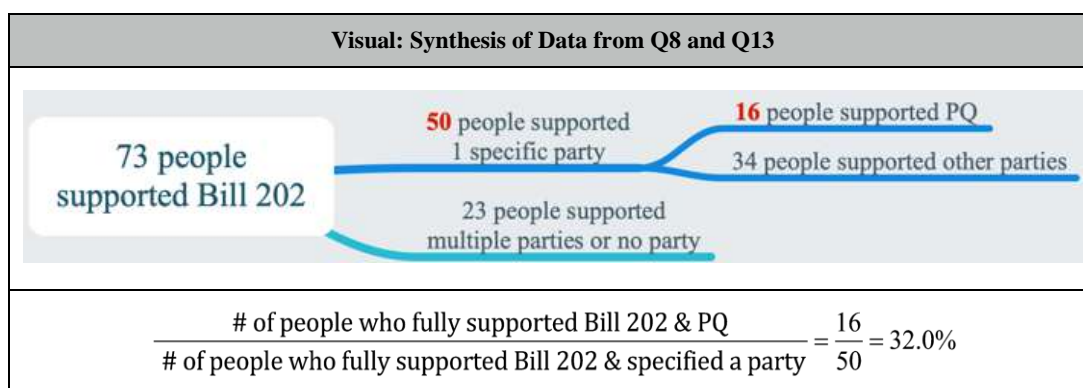
Section 4.3

In this section, I will

- present what I found beyond the results (2 new understandings).
- predict Quebec's future from what this research tells me (3 implications).
- acknowledge my research's shortcomings (limitations).
- give advice to future researchers (future research).

New Understanding 1: How Strong are the Quebecois' Desires to Protect French?

In the last section, I wrote "most Quebecois believe that they must protect French's place in Quebec." However, their desires to protect French in 2019 are much weaker than their desires in 1976. I synthesized data from Q8 and Q13: 73 people supported Bill 202. Out of those 73 people, 50 people supported 1 specific party. Out of those 50 people, only 16 people supported PQ.

Visual: Synthesis of Data from Q8 and Q13

73 people supported Bill 202

50 people supported 1 specific party

16 people supported PQ

34 people supported other parties

23 people supported multiple parties or no party

$$\frac{\text{\# of people who fully supported Bill 202 \& PQ}}{\text{\# of people who fully supported Bill 202 \& specified a party}} = \frac{16}{50} = 32.0\%$$

In 1976, most people treated a party's language policy as the most important factor when they voted. PQ was the only party which proposed an aggressive language policy, therefore most people voted for PQ. In 2017, PQ presented another aggressive language policy, Bill 202. However, data from Q13 shows that only 32% (fewer than 1 in 3) of those who fully supported Bill 202 voted for PQ. In 1976, almost 100% of people who fully supported Bill 101 voted for PQ. Thus, most Quebecois did not treat a party's language policy as the most important factor when they vote. Ergo, language no longer matters to Quebecois in 2019 as much as it did in 1976.
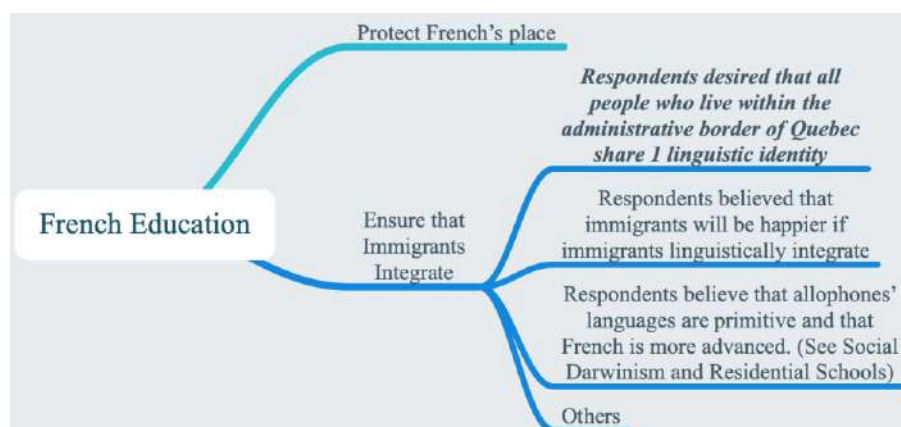
New Understanding 2: Do the Quebecois demonstrate nationalism?

Nationalism is the belief that all people who live within the administrative border of a region should share 1 linguistic identity. Thus, Quebec nationalism is the belief that all people who live in Quebec should speak French. Parti Quebecois wants every non-francophone who immigrates to Quebec to know French. PQ proposed Bill 202 on August/10/2018. In a document which explains Bill 202, PQ said "It is imperative to insist that 100% of future immigrants and their spouses be admitted to the

territory only if they demonstrate sufficient knowledge of French[1]" (Parti Quebecois). If PQ had won on Oct/1/2018, Quebec would have executed Bill 202 before January/9/2019. PQ claims that it drafted this law only in order to protect French's place in Quebec. However, nationalism could have guided PQ as well.

At least 91.11% of people wanted every Quebecois to know French (see Q13's metadata), mainly for 2 reasons: to protect French's place and to ensure that immigrants integrate. Nationalism has always been one of the causes why people want to immigrants to integrate (see diagram below). However, I did not ask "Why do you want immigrants to integrate?", so I could not find out the cause.

Ultimately, I could not determine whether Quebecois hold demonstrate nationalism.

Implications: The Future of Quebec

Unlike the model which the Belgian teacher proposed (see Q5 in Section 3.2), Quebec students will continue to study French grammar as Bon Usage prescribed. Since English evolves quickly, most anglophones 2 centuries later will not understand present-day English well. However, French will not evolve as quickly due to the conservatism in grammar, so Francophones 2 centuries later might still understand present-day French.

At least 91.11% of people wanted every Quebecois to know French (results from Q13). Thus, the province will very likely pass bills which enforce mandatory French education for all non-Francophones, which might discourage people from immigrating to Quebec. Thus, the USA and other provinces in Canada will see more immigrants.

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[1] Il est impératif d'exiger que 100% des futurs immigrants et leur conjoint/conjointe ne soient admis sur le territoire que s'ils démontrent une connaissance suffisante du français.

43.66% of Quebecois believe that anglicisms render French impure (results from Q9). Thus, the Quebec language office will continue to create calques for anglicisms, and a faster rate than the French Academy. For example, Quebecois francophones say "la fin de semaine" while French francophones still say "le weekend." Over time, Quebecois French will differ more and more from Parisian French.

Limitations[2]

My research does not perfectly represent the Quebecois population due to 4 factors: sample size, distribution, form, and age. The sample size for this research was small: I only received 142 responses. The questionnaire was not entirely randomly distributed. The questionnaire was in the form of Google forms, which excluded those who did not use technology. Furthermore, there were not many respondents who were between 29 and 40 years old. For the reasons above, my research did not perfectly represent the Quebecois population.

Further Research

In this research, I did not have any funding. Thus, I could not provide monetary reward to people to fill my questionnaire. Thus, I could only ask questions that respondents feel rather comfortable to answer. If a researcher provides monetary reward to people to fill the questionnaire, he/she can ask more direct and explicit questions like "Do you agree: I want immigrants to integrate? If yes/no, why?" I did not ask such a question, and as a result, I could not determine whether the Quebecois demonstrate nationalism.

In addition, I did not explore Quebecois' attitudes toward English culture and people. A research on whether the Quebecois like English culture might be even more significant than *this* research, for it tackles Franco-Anglo conflicts more directly.

More importantly, there has not been any research on other people's beliefs toward language. Have anglicisms penetrated Spanish, and if so, how have hispanophones reacted to them? Germany was unified on the basis of a common language, but are Germans as obsessed with language? Researchers should look into beliefs of people of other linguistic identities, and compare them to the beliefs of francophones.

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[2] "Limitations" can be 2 things: 1, the difficulties which the research has faced. For example: because I could not pay francoophones to record their voices, I could not use the Match-Guise method. 2, reasons why my conclusion might be slightly wrong. I refer to the 2nd meaning here.